

ANTON BRUCKNER DOCUMENTARY BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 2: Bruckner's Apprentice Years at St. Florian (1845-55)

2.1 Bruckner and St. Florian

The Augustinian monastery at St. Florian, founded about 1071, has a rich musical tradition, a splendid Chrismann organ and a large library containing both manuscripts and printed volumes.¹ When Bruckner returned to what was to prove to be his spiritual home for the rest of his life, he was undoubtedly more able to appreciate and avail himself of the resources at his disposal.² The music which he copied for study purposes included extracts mainly from sacred works, for instance part of the 'Gloria' from Michael Haydn's *St. Caecilia* Mass, the final part of the *Gloria* from Joseph Haydn's Mass in B flat (*Nikolaimesse*), the final parts of the 'Gloria' movement in several Eybler Masses, the 'In te, Domine, speravi' section from Mozart's *Te Deum* in C KV141 and a passage from Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, as well as a section from Mozart's Fugue for piano duet, KV 426.³ Two

1 The organ, now known as the "Bruckner organ", had three manuals, 59 registers and 5230 pipes during Bruckner's time at St. Florian. It was overhauled by Matthäus Mauracher in 1873-75 and modernized in the 1920s. It now has four manuals, 103 registers and 7343 pipes. Although much material in the abbey library was lost through rebuilding in the 18th century and maladministration in the mid-19th century, it is well-stocked, containing about 121,000 printed volumes and 800 manuscripts. See E. Kirchner-Doberer, *Stift St. Florian* (Vienna, 1948); L. Hager, *Die Brucknerorgel im Stifte St. Florian* (Linz, 1951); Othmar Wessely, *Musik in Oberösterreich* (Linz, 1951), Altman Kellner, 'St. Florian', in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4 (1955), cols. 423-9; O. Wutzel, *Das Chorherrenstift St. Florian* (Linz, 1971); Altman Kellner, 'St. Florian', in *The New Grove* 16 (1980), 387-88; Joachim Angerer et al., 'Musiktraditionen in den oberösterreichischen Klöstern', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 179-209.

2 For Bruckner's connections with St. Florian, see I. Hollensteiner, *Das Stift St. Florian und Anton Bruckner* (Leipzig, 1940); W. Schulten, *Anton Bruckners künstlerische Entwicklung in der St. Florianer Zeit* (typewritten dissertation, Soest/Westf., 1956); idem, 'Über die Bedeutung der St. Florianer-Jahre Anton Bruckners', *Beiträge zur Anton Bruckner Forschung der Sektion der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft* I (Aachen, 1960); Walter Pass, *Bruckner-Studien 1824-1974*. 11-51; Karl Rehberger, 'St. Florian und Anton Bruckner bis 1855. Einige neue Aspekte', in *BSL 1994* (Linz, 1997), 31-6.

3 Facsimiles of Bruckner's copies of the 'Cum sancto Spiritu' fugue from the *Gloria* of Eybler's Mass in G can be found in *G-A II/1*, 34; facsimiles of copies of extracts from a Cherubini Mass and a piano sonata can be found in Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner*, 34 and 50. On 1 November 1848 Bruckner used

composers in particular exerted a considerable influence on the budding composer - Joseph Haydn in his sacred works and Franz Schubert in his secular instrumental and vocal pieces. Writing to his parents from Steyr in July 1825, Schubert had expressed his pleasure in finding so many of his works available in Upper Austria, 'particularly in St. Florian and Kremsmünster monasteries.'⁴ The St. Florian abbey library possesses a large number of early editions of many of Schubert's songs and chamber music works. Young Bruckner seized on these avidly, accompanying the tenor Ludwig Ehrenecker in Schubert lieder and forming a male-voice quartet with Ehrenecker, Johann Hueber (his future brother-in-law) and Franz Schäfler to sing works like Schubert's *Das Dörfchen* D. 598, *Die Nachtigall* D. 724, *Geist der Liebe* D. 747 and *Der Gondelfahrer* D. 840.⁵ As well as being intimately involved with music-making in St. Florian, Bruckner travelled occasionally to Linz to attend organ recitals at the Cathedral and choral and orchestral concerts organized by the *Musikverein*. It is possible that he was at one of the two performances of Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul* in December 1847 and January 1848. Although

Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* as the basis for some contrapuntal studies. See Leopold Nowak, 'Mendelssohns "Paulus" und Anton Bruckner', in *Über Anton Bruckner. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna, 1985), 194; there is a facsimile of an extract from these studies in *ibid.*, 191. Other facsimiles can be found in Paul Hawkshaw, 'Bruckners Abschriften von Werken anderer Komponisten: Bemerkungen über Chronologie und musikalische Ausbildung während des zweiten St. Florianer Aufenthalts', in 'Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht' (Linz, 2008), 173-200. Hawkshaw is the first scholar to provide a detailed account of the copies made by Bruckner particularly during the years 1845-48.

4 Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert Briefe und Schriften* (Vienna, 1954), 116ff. For further information about musical life in Steyr, see the sources listed in Chapter 1, footnote 69. For supplementary information about musical life in Upper Austria in general, see the sources listed in Chapter 1, footnote 46 as well as Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Oberösterreich in der Musikgeschichte' and Georg Heilingsetzer, 'Die Trägerschichten der Musikkultur in Oberösterreich vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 15-21 and 23-9.

5 Schubert's influence on Bruckner is discussed by Max Auer in 'Anton Bruckners Beziehungen zu Franz Schubert. Zum Beginn des Schubert-Jahres', in *Organon* 5 (1928), 1-4, and 'Anton Bruckner und Franz Schubert', in *Linz Tagespost* (17 June 1928); also by Eugen Schmitz, *Schuberts Auswirkung auf die deutsche Musik bis zu Hugo Wolf und Bruckner* (Leipzig, 1954). The Schubert-Bruckner connection is also explored in three articles in *BSL 1997* (Linz, 1999), viz. Erich W. Partsch, 'Bruckner und Schubert. Zu Interpretation und Kritik einer vielbehaupteten Beziehung', 79-97; Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, '"Himmlische Länge" und "symphonischer Strom". Bruckner, Schubert und das Problem der "Form"', 99-116; and Franz Zamazal, 'Oberösterreich als Schubert-Quelle: Was kannte Bruckner von Schubert?', 117-76.

Mendelssohn was not represented by the same quantity of works as Schubert in the St. Florian library, his influence on Bruckner was by no means inconsiderable.⁶

Bruckner's duties at the village school in St. Florian included four hours' teaching each day (8-10, 12-2) in the two most junior classes, teaching in the Sunday school, as well as giving piano and violin lessons to four of the choirboys. For this he received an annual salary of 36 florins, but his income would have been supplemented by the private tuition he provided for two young members of the aristocracy.⁷ He received organ lessons from Anton Kattinger, the abbey organist, continued travelling to Enns for a year or so for theoretical studies with Zenetti, and worked his way through the syllabus of the *Oberrealgymnasium* (upper secondary school) with one of the novices at the abbey, Josef Rom. He stayed at the home of his former teacher, the headmaster Michael Bogner with whom he was on good terms and with whose daughter Aloisia he was on even better terms, judging from some pieces specifically dedicated to her!⁸ During his time at St. Florian Bruckner took on more piano pupils and was sufficiently motivated by his teaching to compose a few pieces for piano duet.⁹

One of Bruckner's closest friends during these early St. Florian years was Franz Sailer (1803-1848), a judicial actuary and the godfather of Bruckner's younger brother, Ignaz. He was a keen music lover, an admirer of Bruckner's improvisational

6 Mendelssohn's influence on Bruckner is discussed by Othmar Wessely in 'Bruckners Mendelssohn-Kennntnis', *Bruckner-Studien 1824-1974* (Vienna, 1975), 81-112, and by Michael Märker in 'Hat Bruckner das Adagio der Zweiten im "Mendelssohnschen Stil mit Honigsüße" komponiert? Über die Mendelssohn-Rezeption Anton Bruckners', *BSL 1997* (Linz, 1999), 177-86.

7 See Franz Zamazal, 'Bruckner als Volksschullehrer in St. Florian. Anmerkungen zum Schulwesen und zur Lehrerschaft', in Theophil Antonicek, Andreas Lindner and Klaus Petermayr (ed), *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz, ABIL, 2008), 27-35 for further information about the St Florian school and Bruckner's teaching duties.

8 These are a *Lancier-Quadrille* WAB 120 for piano (c. 1850), a *Steiermärker* WAB 122 for piano (c. 1850) and a *Frühlingslied* WAB 68 for voice and piano (1851). They are discussed in more detail later.

9 These include a *Quadrille* WAB 121 (1854), dedicated to Georg Ruckensteiner whose daughter Marie was one of his pupils, and *Drei kleine Vortragsstücke* WAB 124 (1852-54), written for the children of the St. Florian notary, Josef Marböck. See later in the chapter.

skills and the possessor of a new Bösendorfer grand piano upon which Bruckner was able to practise. When Sailer died suddenly of a heart attack in mid-September 1848, Bruckner inherited the piano which remained with him until the end of his life and became the “sounding board” for all his compositions. He certainly practised long and hard on it in these early days as well as spending many hours on the so-called “workday organ” in the abbey.¹⁰ In memory of Sailer Bruckner wrote his first important major work - the *Requiem* in D minor WAB 39, completed in 1849 and first performed on 15 September - the first anniversary of Sailer’s death - in St. Florian. According to a diary entry by Father Beda Piringer, another performance of the work three months later, on 11 December, in Kremsmünster abbey was well received:

A Requiem by the St. Florian school assistant Bruckner was performed. It made a very good impression. The young man is an organ virtuoso. He performed after Vespers. He and his companion were invited to dine with us.¹¹

Bruckner was comparatively untouched by the revolutionary happenings of 1848, although he enrolled in the National Guard and took part in some military exercises.¹² Of greater consequence for his musical development and his future career was his appointment as provisional organist at St. Florian on 28 February 1850. Kattinger had been promoted to a position as tax inspector at Kremsmünster and Bruckner, who had often acted as Kattinger’s deputy since 1845, now had the

¹⁰ See Andrea Harrandt, “der mir...seinen herrlichen Bösendorfer Flügel widmete”. Ludwig Bösendorfer zum 100. Todestag’, in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* no.92 (Vienna, June 2019), 6-10 for further information about this piano which was temporarily in the possession of Bruckner’s great-niece Laura Hueber after Bruckner’s death before being sent to St Florian.

¹¹ See *G-A II/1* (1928), 69. See also Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel, 1956), 673ff. where the diarist is given as Theodor Hagn.

¹² There is a facsimile of a double page of the register of members of the St. Florian branch of the National Guard, signed by the commandant, Georg Ruckensteiner, and dated 7 February 1849, in Erich W. Partsch, ‘Unbekannte Bruckner -Dokumente zum Revolutionsjahr 1848’, *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* no.44 (Vienna, June 1995), 24-25. The original is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv*, Linz.

responsibility of taking a more prominent part in the performance of church music in the abbey. Earlier, in 1848, he had received a fine testimonial from Kattinger who complimented him on his figured bass playing – ‘the fruit of conscientious theoretical study’ - and his improvisational abilities, and was confident that he would acquit himself with distinction in an open examination.¹³ It was probably at about this time that Bruckner was able to test himself against Kattinger and Anton Weiß from Wilhering abbey in an organ improvisation contest at St. Florian. According to Josef Seiberl, Bruckner’s playing in the late 1840s did not have either the contrapuntal mastery or the rich inventiveness evident in later performances.¹⁴ Nevertheless, he was a good enough player to impress Josef Pfeiffer, a well-known provincial composer and the organist of Seitenstetten abbey, who furnished Bruckner with a glowing testimonial and predicted a very bright future for the young musician both as an organist and, on the strength of some compositions he had seen, as a composer.¹⁵

As the provisional organist Bruckner received an annual salary of 80 florins. This, together with the income he received as a schoolteacher and private teacher, made him feel “like a prince”, as he recalled later in life. He was certainly not attracted to

13 The full text of the testimonial, dated St. Florian, 2 March 1848, can be found in *G-A II/1*, 95-96, and Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 311. There is also a facsimile of the testimonial in the latter, 69; the original is in St. Florian. Kattinger’s testimonial cannot be considered as a recommendation for Bruckner to succeed him as abbey organist (as stated in *G-A II/1*, 95), but should simply be viewed in the same light as another testimonial from Joseph Pfeiffer in 1848; see footnote 15. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that Bruckner was appointed provisional organist as early as 1848. It seems that Kattinger did not leave St. Florian until late 1849, after the death of his wife.

14 See also Chapter 1, footnote 52. For further remarks about Bruckner’s organ playing in his early years, see Othmar Wessely, ‘Der junge Bruckner und sein Orgelspiel’, in *ABDS 10* (1994), 62ff., and Erwin Horn, ‘Zwischen Interpretation und Improvisation. Anton Bruckner als Organist’, in *BSL 1995* (Linz, 1997), 111-39.

15 See *G-A II/1*, 97-98, and Othmar Wessely, *ABDS 10*, 94 for the text of this testimonial, dated Seitenstetten, 1 July 1848; the original is in St. Florian. Josef Anton Pfeiffer (1776-1859) was also a school director in Seitenstetten. For further information about Pfeiffer and his compositions, see Reinhold Meyer, ‘Joseph Anton Pfeiffer – Ein Seitenstettner Stiftsmusiker mit Bruckner-Bezug’, in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.13 (May 2014), 7-10. One of Pfeiffer’s pupils was Josef Seiberl, later organist of St. Florian abbey [not to be confused with the other Josef Seiberl who attended the teacher-training course in Linz at the same time as Bruckner! - see also footnote 20].

a piano teaching position at a school in Kremsmünster which was offered to him in 1848. As Göllerich points out, Bruckner's growing mastery of the organ and his sensitivity to the splendid surroundings were to exert an influence on his later symphonic compositions:

... Bruckner's later stature as a symphonist can only be properly appreciated when it is traced back to his time of growing and maturing at the great organ of St. Florian. His unbounded youthful enthusiasm and keen imagination were overwhelmed by the total art-work of the Catholic religion with its colossal architecture, magnificent paintings, splendid vestments, narcotic clouds of incense, majestic singing and the sound of the full organ.¹⁶

Although music was beginning to occupy more and more of Bruckner's energy and attention, he by no means neglected his schoolmaster duties. A new improved two-year course to prepare candidates for high school teaching had been introduced in Linz, and Bruckner entered the course as an external candidate in 1850, receiving help from Johann Paulitsch and Ferdinand Aigner, two of the St. Florian priests. Between May 1850 and October 1851 Bruckner sat four sets of examinations, passing most of them with distinction. References which he received from Michael Arneth, abbot of St. Florian, and Jodok Stülz, the parish priest, have been interpreted as a kind of corrective to criticism he may have received from some townspeople concerning the possible neglect of his teaching duties. Franz Zamazal, however, is inclined to the view that it was 'the assurance of a service contract with St. Florian abbey for an indefinite period, with the qualification that it would last as long as Bruckner fulfilled his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors.'¹⁷ Both Arneth and Stülz were entirely satisfied with his conduct and conscientious application. Indeed, Stülz was at pains to point out that Bruckner had:

¹⁶ G-A II/1, 99.

¹⁷ Franz Zamazal, 'Bruckner als Volksschullehrer', *BSL 1988* (Linz, 1992), 33; cf. G-A II/1, 110-11. See also Wessely, *ABDS* 10, 231 and 237ff. for details of the examination certificates Bruckner received; the originals are in St. Florian.

... gained the respect and love of all the parishioners not only because of his devotion to teaching and friendly and benevolent treatment of the schoolchildren but also as a result of his indefatigable efforts to develop his skills as a teacher and musician and his general behaviour which was entirely respectable and beyond reproach.¹⁸

Life at St. Florian was by no means idyllic. By 1852 Bruckner was clearly unsettled and was feeling more and more isolated. A possible source of frustration was the fact that his provisional appointment as organist had not been made definitive.¹⁹ His desire to get married remained unfulfilled, and there was yet another unrequited love affair - this time involving a girl called Antonie Werner, daughter of the local tax inspector. In March Bruckner wrote to his friend Josef Seiberl, now a teacher in Eferding, informing him of some of the changes that had taken place at St. Florian and enclosing the manuscript copy of *Die Geburt* WAB 69, a piece for male-voice choir dedicated to Seiberl and written specially for his name-day. Bruckner was quite clearly at a low ebb emotionally:

... I have very few friends that I can really call friends, and when one of them asks for something, it will certainly not be forgotten - particularly when that one is you! Ehrecker is in Enns. His successor, Ebner from Dietach, has had to return home again to visit his ailing father. Schäfler has died of a nervous disease; my Requiem was performed at his funeral on 11 March. You can see what terrible changes there have been. I sit all alone in my little

18 The texts of Stülz's and Arneth's testimonials, dated 6 and 13 September 1851 respectively, can be found in *G-A II/1*, 111-12. There is a facsimile of the former in Hans Conrad Fischer, *Anton Bruckner. Sein Leben. Eine Dokumentation* (Salzburg, 1974), 69; the originals of both are in St. Florian. Jodok Stülz (1799-1872) was a noted theologian and historian. He became parish priest of St. Florian in 1853, dean of the abbey in October 1854, and succeeded Friedrich Mayr (1793-1858) as abbot in 1859. For further information about both Stülz and Mayr, see Karl Rehberger, 'St. Florian und Anton Bruckner bis 1855. Einige neue Aspekte', in *BSL 1994* (Linz, 1997), 33-6.

19 It is possible, of course, that there was a 'gentlemen's agreement' about this (perhaps later?) In the reference which Ignaz Traumihler supplied for Bruckner in December 1855 when he was applying for the post of organist at Linz Cathedral, there is a clear suggestion that Bruckner was by that time *de facto* principal organist and officially recognised as such.

room, forsaken and very sad. Let me hear from you soon...²⁰

Bruckner turned his attention once again to studying for another examination - the *Hauptlehrer-Prüfung* - in Linz with a view to gaining additional qualifications as a teacher. He applied on 3 April 1852 to sit the examination on 22 and 23 June but did not include all the necessary certification. Permission was eventually granted on 12 June, but, by that time, Bruckner seems to have had second thoughts about taking the examination. It was not until January 1855 that he secured this qualification. Franz Scheder suggests that the death of Anton Kattinger in Kremsmünster on 17 June 1852 may have caused Bruckner to postpone the examination temporarily.²¹ But Bruckner was also setting his sights beyond St. Florian and Linz to Vienna. In 1851, Ignaz Aßmayr, the principal director of music at the Viennese court, met Bruckner for the first time when he visited St. Florian.²²

At the beginning of 1852 Bruckner travelled to Vienna to visit Aßmayr, taking with him a copy of his *Requiem*. In the course of the year Bruckner was particularly active as a composer, writing settings of *Psalms* 22 WAB 34, the *Magnificat* WAB 24, and *Psalms* 114 WAB 36. He dedicated the latter to Aßmayr and sent it to him on July for his name-day. The accompanying letter is full of gratitude for Aßmayr's advice and encouragement to 'continue composing diligently', but also contains

20 See *HSABB I*, 1 for this letter, the first of his to be preserved, from Bruckner to Seiberl, dated St. Florian, 19 March 1852. Josef Seiberl (1824-1908) was school assistant in Hörsching and Eferding in the years 1843-47 and head teacher in St. Marienkirchen bei Eferding from 1856. Anton Ehrenecker (b. 1826) was another school assistant and tenor singer at St. Florian before his move to Enns. Ebner (from Dietach, a village between Enns and Steyr) was Ehrenecker's successor for a short time, and Franz X. Schäfler had been on the administrative staff of the abbey as well as being involved in conducting the choir from 1841 to 1852. His funeral was on 11 March 1852.

21 See Franz Scheder, *Anton Bruckner Chronologie. Textband* [hereafter *SchABCT*] (Tutzing: Schneider, 1996), 61. See *HSABB I*, 1-2 for Bruckner's letter of application to the Episcopal Consistory, Linz, dated St. Florian, 3 April 1852; also Franz Zamazal, *BSL 1988*, 33 and *ABDS 10*, 231-32 and 239ff. for further details of the application procedure in 1852; the original documents are located in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz.

22 Ignaz Aßmayr (1790-1862) was a prominent figure in Viennese musical life. Formerly a pupil of Michael Haydn and a friend of Schubert he had now attained one of the most prestigious posts in Vienna and was a respected composer of church music.

further evidence of Bruckner's increasing sense of isolation at St. Florian. It was generally recognized that priests in the Augustinian order maintained a somewhat cool and distant relationship with those who were employed by them but not officially part of them:

... There is hardly anyone here to whom I can open my heart and I am frequently misunderstood - I often find this very difficult to bear. Our monastery treats music and consequently musicians as well with complete indifference. If only I could speak to you again very soon! I know your excellent heart - what a consolation! I can never be happy here, and dare not reveal any plans I might have...²³

When Bruckner complained in his letter about the abbey's poor treatment of musicians, he possibly had in mind the fact that Kattinger's emolument had been supplemented by a much larger salary from his secular occupation. And he was on a much lower rung of the social ladder. In recalling later that he felt 'like a prince', he obviously forgot his disenchantment with conditions at St. Florian while he stayed there. Bruckner even took on the unpaid job of a civil servant in the town from 1851 to 1853, no doubt an attempt to gain the necessary experience so that he could eventually aspire to the same kind of salary as Kattinger. There was also an element of uncertainty about where his future lay. By now an inveterate collector of testimonials, he procured one from Johann Mauser, the district judge, on 20 July 1853 and used it in applying unsuccessfully for a vacant full-time post in the civil service.²⁴ Göllerich is no doubt right in suggesting that the successful legal career being pursued by his former schoolboy friend Karl Seiberl, now a student in Vienna, as well as the attraction of the city itself were further contributory factors

23 See *HSABB* 1, 2-3 for this letter, dated St. Florian, 30 July 1852; the original is owned privately.

24 Bruckner sent a letter, dated St. Florian, 25 July 1853, to the *Organisierungs-Kommission*, Linz. He enclosed various documents, including a baptismal certificate, a medical certificate and teaching certificates; the original of this letter is in St. Florian. See *HSABB* 1, 3-4. for this letter and for the eventual reply (9 October 1854) [!] There is a facsimile of a portion of this letter in Franz Grasberger, *Anton Bruckner zum 150. Geburtstag. Eine Ausstellung im Prunksaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* [ABA hereafter] (Vienna, 1974), 10; there is also a facsimile of Mauser's testimonial in Hans C. Fischer, *op.cit.*, 68.

to Bruckner's unease at the time.²⁵ Two months later, in September 1853, Bruckner received some timely advice and direction from Franz Scharschmid. Scharschmid advised him against embarking upon a career, namely the legal profession, to which he was not suited by nature, criticised him for his one-sided leaning on Mendelssohn as a model and held up Bach as *the* example to be followed. He advised him further to stay in his present job because it would possibly lead to another in which he would be able to devote himself exclusively to music. 'The path of the true artist' was 'strewn with thorns', but it was those who were able to 'summon up the moral strength within them' and were not afraid to 'struggle against these external difficulties' who 'achieved recognition, fame and heavenly blessing.'²⁶

In 1854 Bruckner's compositional activities increased, largely as the result of an event which caused him great personal sadness, the death of Michael Arneth who had been a sort of father-figure to him since the death of his own father in 1837. For Arneth's funeral ceremony on 28 March he wrote *Vor Arneths Grabe* WAB 53 for male voices with trombone accompaniment, and a *Libera me* in F minor WAB 22 for five-part mixed voice choir, trombones, cello, bass and organ.²⁷ For the inauguration of Arneth's successor, Friedrich Mayr, on 14 September Bruckner wrote his most ambitious work to date, a *Missa solennis* in B flat minor WAB 29 for four-part mixed voice choir, soloists, orchestra and organ. Having worked furiously to prepare the Mass for the first performance, Bruckner was deeply hurt when he was not invited to dine with the guests at the banquet after the ceremony. Göllicher records that he booked a table for himself at one of the local inns and

25 See *G-A II/1*, 145 and *GrBL*, 102f. After completing his studies, Seiberl came to St. Florian in 1855 as a probationary lawyer. Even at this time Bruckner was still contemplating a legal career and was pursuing further Latin studies to this end.

26 See *HSABB 1*, 4 for Scharschmid's letter to Bruckner, dated Dresden, 20 September 1853; the original is in the *ÖNB*. This is Scharschmid's reply to a letter from Bruckner which has been lost. Bruckner had evidently written or spoken to Scharschmid, Baron of Adlertreu (1800-77), an appeal judge and president of the district court in Salzburg and Vienna, asking him for career advice.

27 Bruckner's *Requiem* was performed at the funeral procession a week later.

ordered a five-course meal and three different types of wine because, as he quaintly put it, 'the Mass deserved it.'²⁸ The following month Bruckner asked Aßmayr to examine his organ playing, including the improvisation of a double fugue. The examination took place in Vienna in October and Aßmayr was duly impressed, noting that Bruckner had shown himself to be a 'skilful organist with a sound technique.'²⁹

Bruckner's studies for the *Hauptlehrer-Prüfung* in Linz reached a successful conclusion in January 1855 when he received 'very good' results.³⁰ There is no indication that he made immediate use of his new certificate to apply for a better teaching position. In any case, Bruckner's career was gradually beginning to take a different direction. A visit to St. Florian by the celebrated organ virtuoso from Prague, Robert Führer, prompted Bruckner to show him his recently completed B flat-minor Mass and to improvise on the organ. Führer not only provided him with an extremely complimentary testimonial, praising his theoretical and compositional skills and describing him as 'one of the most talented and skilful organists of our time', but advised him to continue his theoretical studies with Simon Sechter in Vienna.³¹ As Friedrich Mayr had given him similar advice after hearing the Mass, Bruckner took this as confirmation that he should take the necessary steps to

28 G-A II/1, 176. Mayr, who had been director of the abbey chancellery from 1825 to 1848, was well-disposed towards music and musicians, however. During his brief spell as abbot (he died in Rome in 1858), he made it his concern to improve the standard of plainchant singing which appears to have gone into decline.

29 See G-A II/1, 148f. and Othmar Wessely, *ABDS* 10, 94 for further details, including the text of Aßmayr's testimonial, dated Vienna, 9 October 1854. The original of the testimonial is in St. Florian; there is a facsimile in Alfred Orel, *Anton Bruckner. Sein Leben in Bildern* (Leipzig, 1936), no. 12.

30 The examination was spread over two days, 25 and 26 January. See G-A II/1, 177-78 for the text of the certificate Bruckner received, dated Linz, 28 January 1855. The original of the certificate is in St. Florian; there is a facsimile in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), 72.

31 See G-A II/1, 185 for the details of Führer's testimonial, dated St. Florian, 27 April 1855. The original is in the ÖNB; there is a facsimile in Franz Grasberger, *Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit. Ausstellung im Rahmen des Internationalen Brucknerfestes* (Linz, 1977), 29.

contact Sechter.³² In July 1855 he visited Sechter in Vienna, showed him his recent Mass and was accepted as his pupil. Schubert had one counterpoint lesson from Sechter shortly before his death in 1828. Now, 27 years later, Bruckner was about to embark on a marathon course of harmony and counterpoint studies which was to last for six years. Much of it was carried out by correspondence, but a considerable amount was achieved during visits to Vienna - normally twice a year, at Advent or Lent or during the summer vacations - when the eager student would often spend entire days with his teacher working through exercises, almost certainly using Sechter's recently published *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Kompositionslehre* as his main text book.³³

Sechter's perception that Bruckner's musical development would not gain further momentum if he remained at St. Florian exacerbated his feelings of discontent and led him to apply for the vacant position of cathedral organist at Olmütz during the summer of 1855, an unsuccessful venture which, furthermore, earned him the stern rebuke of Mayr. On 13 November Alfred Just, an organ tuner from Linz, visited St. Florian abbey to tune the organ, expecting Bruckner to be at Linz participating in the contest to decide who should succeed Wenzel Pranghofer as cathedral organist.³⁴ He was amazed that Bruckner had not formally applied for the post and persuaded him to go to Linz. Bruckner first called on his former teacher,

32 Simon Sechter (1788-1867) was born in Friedberg, Bohemia and moved to Vienna in 1804. He established an international reputation as a composer, organist and, not least, theoretician. He was court organist in Vienna from 1824 to 1863, professor of Harmony and Counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory from 1851 to 1866, and an honorary member of the Salzburg *Mozarteum* and the Vienna *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*.

33 Bruckner wrote copious notes in the margins of his copies of the three volumes of *Die Grundsätze* (Leipzig, 1853/54). These are now in the *ÖNB*. See *G-A III/1* (1932), 72 and *ABA*, 68 for facsimiles of pages from these volumes. See also Ernst Tittel, 'Bruckners musikalischer Ausbildungsgang', in *Bruckner-Studien* (Vienna, 1964), 105-11.

34 Wenzel Pranghofer (c. 1805-1855) had held the post on a provisional basis from 1 February 1840 and on a permanent basis from 13 June 1843. He died on 9 November 1855. See Elisabeth Maier, *Anton Bruckner als Linzer Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist. Aspekte einer Berufung* [*ABDS* 15 hereafter] (Linz, 2009), *Dokumente*, 3ff. for transcripts of Pranghofer's death certificate and documents relating to the contest. The original documents are located in the Stadtpfarrarchiv, Linz.

August Dürnberger, and then accompanied him to the parish church to listen to the other two applicants, Engelbert Lanz, a schoolteacher and composer from Linz, and Raimund Hain, also a schoolteacher from Linz. It was with some reluctance that Bruckner finally entered the competition and improvised on a theme submitted by Dürnberger himself. There was no doubt that he was by far the most accomplished organist and, although he was not the unanimous choice, was appointed to the post, albeit on a provisional 'caretaker' basis.³⁵ On 14 November Bruckner received a letter from the administrative office of the cathedral, signed by Schiedermayr, Dierzer von Traunthal and Franz Guggeneder. This was both an official confirmation of his appointment and an indication of what would be expected of him:

... You are expected to take up this position immediately and are required to discharge your duties in public worship with propriety at all times and in a manner that will help to edify the congregation. You must not be dilatory in your duties, you should strive to form good relationships with the musical director and with the other musicians, and you should do your utmost to maintain the good reputation which you have acquired...³⁶

On 15 November the following report of the contest appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung*:

... The contest for the provisional post of cathedral organist in Linz, held on the 13th, was of particular interest. The adjudicators consisted of Dr. Schiedermayr, canon of the cathedral; Arminger, the curate; Vinzenz Fink, representative of the town council;

35 The members of the listening panel were the cathedral canon, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, and curate, Georg Arminger, Vinzenz Fink, assistant mayor of Linz, Anton M. Storch, choirmaster of the Linz choir, *Frohsinn*, Karl Zappe, orchestral director at the Landständisches Theater in Linz, and August Dürnberger. Further details of the contest and the adjudicators' reactions can be found in *G-A II/1*, 191ff.; Othmar Wessely, 'Anton Bruckner und Linz', in *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1954* (Linz, 1955), 211ff.; and Elisabeth Maier, "'Kirchenmusik auf schiefen Bahnen". Zur Situation in Linz von 1850 bis 1900', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), 112-13.

36 See *G-A II/1*, 191-92 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 21. Bruckner's provisional appointment was reported in the *Linzer Zeitung* 271 (14 November 1855) and the *Linzer Abendbote* (also 14 November 1855); see Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 22.

Professor Dürrnberger and A.M. Storch, the music director. A considerable number of music lovers and connoisseurs were also present. The candidates were set the task of developing a theme, provided by Professor Dürrnberger and written down immediately before the performance, into a complete fugue according to the rules of strict counterpoint. This task was performed by the candidates with much skill for the most part but, according to the unanimous decision of the jury and the connoisseurs, was undertaken with distinction by Mr. Anton Bruckner from St. Florian, with the result that, as announced yesterday, the position of cathedral organist in Linz was offered to him on a provisional basis.³⁷

A contest for the definitive, permanent appointment was arranged for 25 January 1856. By mid-December, however, Bruckner had not put his name forward as an official competitor, although he had played at the Cathedral for the first time in his capacity as provisional organist on 8 December.³⁸ His seeming reluctance and dilatoriness came to the attention of two well-wishers, Georg Ruckensteiner and Joseph Weichardt, who recognized his worth and advised him to be more careful about his personal appearance while 'on duty' and to make a greater effort to cultivate friends in high places, including Schiedermayr and Josef Dierzer von Traunthal, president of the chamber of commerce and a town councillor!³⁹ Bruckner's reluctance to put himself forward was almost certainly due to misgivings about taking such a major step and leaving the comparative security of St. Florian

37 See Franz Gräßlinger, *Anton Bruckner. Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte* (Munich, 1911), 18-19, Elisabeth Maier, *BSL 1990*, 112 and Othmar Wessely, *ABDS 10*, 95 for the text of this article which appeared in the *Linzer Zeitung* 272 (15 November 1855), 1131. There is a facsimile of the article in *ABA*, 12 and a full transcript can be found in Maier, *ABDS 15 Dokumente*, 22. This report, is not completely accurate. Zappe, one of the adjudicators, is not mentioned, and Bruckner secured a majority, but not a unanimous decision.

38 See *G-A II/1*, 193, and Altman Kellner, *op.cit.*, 213.

39 See *HSABB 1*, 8-9 for the texts of these letters, the first from Georg Ruckensteiner (see footnote 9), a judge at St. Florian and district councillor in Linz (dated Linz, 17 December 1855), the second from Joseph Weichardt, a church administrator in Linz (dated 18 December 1855); the originals of both are in St. Florian. The second survived in spite of Weichardt's request that Bruckner destroy it immediately. The particular occasion to which they were referring was probably the 'swearing in' ceremony on 26 November. See also Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 25-6 and 34-5.

for the unknown and faster-paced town life of the provincial capital. Having received Mayr's blessing together with his assurance that the organist post at St. Florian would be kept free for two years in the event of his not staying at Linz, Bruckner finally made an official application on 18 December.⁴⁰ At the same time he obtained two testimonials - a character reference from his parish priest, Jodok Stülz, and a reference giving particular prominence to his musical abilities from Ignaz Traumihler, choir director at St. Florian.⁴¹ On 25 December he wrote to the parish office in Linz, expressing concern about the condition of the new organ (built by Ludwig Mooser in 1852) in the parish church. Manuals and pedals were in need of mechanical repair and a better wind flow was required for the sake of good intonation. Bruckner was clearly taking his position, albeit still provisional at this stage, very seriously!⁴²

Although the Linz district council gave its official recognition to Bruckner as the most suitable candidate for the permanent position of cathedral organist, Schiedermayr insisted that a second competition be held. On 21 January 1856 Bruckner was sent official notice of his participation in the competition.⁴³ Four days

40 On 16 December, the organist Robert Führer (see earlier and footnote 31), having been excluded from the preliminary competition for the Linz post, wrote to Ignaz Traumihler (see below and footnote 51), offering himself as a candidate for the position of organist at St. Florian now that Bruckner was apparently certain to move to Linz. See *HSABB I*, 5-7 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 31-3 for this letter, dated Schwanenstadt, 16 December 1855.

41 See *HSABB 1*, 9-10. and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*. 35-7 and 42-9 for the text of Bruckner's application in a letter to the Linz parish council and enclosed "references" (dated St. Florian, 18 December 1855). The originals are in the *Archiv der Stadt Linz*; there is a facsimile of part of the letter in *ABA*, 13. See *G-A II/1*, 208ff. and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 30-31 and 49-50 for the texts of Stülz's testimonial, dated 15 December 1855, and Traumihler's testimonial (countersigned by Mayr), dated 19 December 1855. The originals are in St. Florian.

42 See *HSABB*, 11 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 54 for the text of this letter. The original is in the *Archiv der Stadt Linz*. Also see Elisabeth Maier, *BSL 1990*, 111 and 114 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 50, 58-64, 66 and 80-82 for further references to the state of the organ in documents of the district council (20 December 1855 – 3 January 1856) and letters from Hofstedter to Mooser (end of December 1855 / beginning of January 1856) and from Mooser to the Linz district council (15 February 1856).

43 See *G-A II/1*, 196 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 68 for the text of this letter, signed by Dierzer von Traunthal. Also see Othmar Wessely, *Anton Bruckner und Linz*, 216-17, and Maier, *ABDS 15*,

later he was to prove once again that he was the best man for the job. His fellow competitors were Georg Müller, a music teacher from Linz, Ludwig Paupié, parish organist from Wels, and Raimund Hain. Engelbert Lanz, who had participated with Hain and Bruckner in the earlier contest, had obviously lost interest. The adjudicators included Joseph Storch, a priest, Vinzenz Fink, Franz Guggeneder, a diocesan commissioner in Linz, August Dürrnberger, Georg Armingier and Anton Storch. According to the official diocesan report of the proceedings, Bruckner was the clear winner, and only one of his rivals, Raimund Hain, came anywhere near his level of competence. He evidently acquitted himself with distinction in the two tests - improvisation of a fugue on a given theme, and plainsong accompaniment - and reference was also made to the mastery he had already shown in his 'well-known and very well-written church music compositions'.⁴⁴ Another report, signed by Dierzer Ritter von Traunthal, who had been present at both contests, was unequivocal in its assessment of Bruckner's merits:

... I believe that I should recommend Anton Bruckner as the most suitable and deserving for the following reasons, viz.

1. Because he had already shown that he was the most able candidate at the provisional contest and was appointed provisionally in the expectation that he would be offered the position permanently, since a provisional appointment normally becomes a permanent one;
2. Anton Bruckner has already justified the confidence placed in him to the fullest extent during the period of his provisional

Dokumente, 64-67 for the council's original recommendation (dated 11 January 1856), Schiedermayr's counter-recommendation (c. 18 January 1856) that another contest be held, and other documents relating to the second competition. The originals of these documents can be found in the *Stadtpfarrarchiv*, Linz.

⁴⁴ See *G-A II/1*, 197-201, *GrBL*, 21-24 and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 69-71 for the text of this report which was written on the same day as the competition; the original is in the *Stadtpfarrarchiv*, Linz. Dates are given in *GrBL* for notes confirming the appointment sent by the bishop's office to the provincial and church administration offices in Linz (11 April 1856) and the reply from the district council (20 May 1856?); the original of the former is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv*, and that of the latter is in St. Florian. Transcripts and some facsimiles of these and other related documents can be found in Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 71-79, 82-87, 90-98, and 100-06.

appointment, and we have good reason to expect that with his artistic tastes, in particular his love of music, especially church music, he will continue to justify this confidence in the future;

3. He has been educated in an extremely prestigious abbey where he has had more opportunity than any of the other candidates to develop his skill in plainsong accompaniment which is particularly necessary for a cathedral;

4. In order to pursue his musical career he has given up his position as organist and school assistant at St. Florian and, if one of the other candidates were preferred to him, would consequently be unemployed as he pursued his honourable vocation - an outcome all the more unjust in view of the fact that each of the other candidates still has a position or at least a means of livelihood in which to further his career.⁴⁵ Moreover, according to the report of the examination held on 25 January this year, Anton Bruckner clearly distinguished himself above the other candidates. In these circumstances the esteemed church administrators (according to the note attached) are in complete agreement with these recommendations. In conclusion, I believe that I should also mention the fact that Anton Bruckner has a poor, ageing mother for whose sake he has given up his former posts so that he can be in a better position to support her in her old age. His moral integrity is beyond doubt, according to the most reliable sources, and is certainly not exceeded by any of the other candidates. For all these reasons I take this liberty of requesting that Anton Bruckner's appointment as cathedral and parish church organist be given favourable consideration and that these recommendations be implemented.⁴⁶

On 25 April a formal contract was sent to Bruckner. He was officially appointed cathedral and parish church organist with an annual salary of 448 florins. He was also eligible for certain additional fees and could stay rent-free in one of the church houses - the Meßnerhäusel on the Pfarrplatz.⁴⁷ Bruckner took his oath of office on

45 Bruckner had indeed 'burnt his boats' in the expectation of securing the appointment. He received his final payments as school assistant and organist just before Christmas 1855 and moved temporarily to the Florianerhaus, Landstraße 22 in Linz.

46 See *GrBL*, 19ff. and Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 96-97 for this letter, dated Linz, 5 March 1856; the original is in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv*, Linz.

47 See *G-A* II/1, 203-04, Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner* (Mainz, 1983), 58ff. and Maier, *ABDS* 15, *Dokumente*, 106-07 for the full text of the contract; the original is in St. Florian. The fact that there

14 May.⁴⁸ But he was certainly acting in some kind of official capacity as early as March. On 30 March, he played the organ at a special service in the cathedral to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of *Frohsinn*, the choral society which he had already joined as a second tenor. There were favourable comments on his organ playing in the *Linzer Abendbote* the following day and in the *Österreichisches Bürgerblatt* on 2 and 3 April.⁴⁹

Although the important physical break with St. Florian had now been made, giving Bruckner the opportunity to spread his wings and continue his development as a composer in a more favourable environment, he maintained close links with the abbey. It became a spiritual sanctuary for him, particularly in the Vienna years - a place to which he could escape from the pressures of teaching and composing and in which he could both relax and work in a more restful atmosphere. As a keen swimmer he made use of the facilities of the abbey's private swimming pool. He was also able to spend some time with his brother Ignaz who was employed at the abbey first as a gardener, then as a general handyman. His visits to St. Florian in the years 1881-86 are particularly well documented in the correspondence between two admirers of his compositional and organ-playing skills, Simon Ledermüller, a priest at St. Florian, and Oddo Loidol, a priest at Kremsmünster and former pupil of his at the Vienna Conservatory.⁵⁰ Bruckner was on good terms with the musical staff at St. Florian. When his successor as organist, Josef Seiberl, died in 1877 Bruckner recommended Hans Rott, one of his pupils at the Vienna Conservatory, for

was no pension with the job was later to assume some importance when Bruckner was in two minds whether to move to Vienna in 1868. The actual date of his move from temporary to permanent accommodation in Linz is not certain. There are conflicting views in the Bruckner literature.

48 See Wessely, *Anton Bruckner und Linz*, 219-20, and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 109 for the text of this oath of office; the original can be found in the *Stadtpfarrarchiv*, Linz.

49 See Wessely, *op.cit.*, 223-24, for an extract from the review in the *Linzer Abendbote* and Maier, *ABDS 15, Dokumente*, 98-100 for the texts of all three reviews; there is also a facsimile of the first review in the *Stadtpfarrarchiv*, Linz.

50 Extracts from this correspondence can be found in *G-A II/1*, 273ff.

the post. But when the post was eventually filled in 1878, it went to Josef Gruber. In July 1879 Bruckner composed the gradual *Os justi* WAB 30 and dedicated it to Ignaz Traumihler, choir director at the abbey. Traumihler was seriously ill when Bruckner visited St. Florian in the summer of 1884. He died in October and Bruckner played the organ at his funeral. After a performance of Mozart's *Requiem*, Bruckner improvised on the themes of the double fugue from the end of the *Agnus Dei*.⁵¹

Traumihler's successor, Bernhard Deubler, corresponded regularly with Bruckner and was responsible for several performances of the composer's works in the abbey, including two performances of his *Requiem* in November 1887 and November 1888 and the first performance of the motet *Vexilla regis* WAB 51 on 15 April 1892. Karl Aigner, choirboy at the abbey and, from 1881, music teacher of the choirboys, became a close friend of Bruckner in the later 1880s and was often asked to give his opinion of the composer's latest revisions of his symphonies, some of which were undertaken during his St. Florian vacations. Aigner has left the following account of his cordial relationship with Bruckner:

... Musically his formative influence was of great value to me. He often asked me to be with him when he was working, and if I ventured my opinion his response was really like that of a happy child. When Bruckner played on the large organ I was regularly called upon to change the registration. I was able to identify with his playing in such a way that I had an extremely free hand in combining the different stops without any indication from him; indeed he was so accustomed to my help that he would not play if I was not there. Above all, I will never forget his incomparable, masterly organ performances. On another occasion he listened, without my being aware of it, to my violin playing; he often asked me to play one or another passage from his splendid Adagios to him.⁵²

51 Ignaz Traumihler (1815-1884) came to St. Florian in 1835 and was ordained as a priest in 1840. He was choir director at the abbey from 1852 until his death and a firm supporter of the Caecilian church music reform movement. Bruckner dedicated his *Magnificat* WAB 24 (1852), *Ave Maria* WAB 5 (1856) and two organ works, *Vorspiel* WAB 130 (c.1852) and *Nachspiel* WAB 126 (c.1852) to him.

52 Karl Aigner (1863-1935) was a bank clerk by profession. He possessed a few original manuscripts

Bruckner for his part referred in glowing terms to Aigner's virtuoso violin playing and excellence as a pianist and organist in a testimonial he provided for his young friend in April 1894.⁵³ He had just returned to Vienna after spending Holy Week at St. Florian and participating in some of the services. On Easter Sunday he had played the abbey organ for the last time, a free improvisation on the fugal theme from his setting of *Psalm 150* WAB 38.

Two and a half years later, on 15 October 1896, Bruckner's coffin was brought into the abbey, accompanied by reminiscences from Wagner's *Parsifal*. His own setting of *Libera me* WAB 22, which had been sung for the first time at Michael Arneth's funeral 42 years earlier, was then performed. In accordance with his wishes his coffin was placed below the organ and a marble plaque now marks the spot below which it rests. The following day another Bruckner work closely associated with the abbey - the *Requiem* - was performed at a memorial service, a fitting tribute to a composer whose links with St. Florian spanned a period of nearly 60 years.

2.2 The Music

Bruckner's St. Florian works show a gradual development in technical expertise but, with one or two exceptions, rarely rise above the average level of contemporary sacred and secular music. At the age of 31 Mozart, Schubert and Mendelssohn had all written the bulk of their finest work and Beethoven was embarking upon the 'second period' of his creative life. At the same age Bruckner was on his way from St. Florian to Linz without having composed anything which gave any real indication

and several copies of Bruckner's works which were later procured by the ÖNB. See G-A II/1, 261-62. for Aigner's account.

53 See G-A II/1, 262-63 for the text of this reference, which is dated Vienna, 4 April 1894 here but 14 April by Elisabeth Maier in "'Es wird schon einmahl eine Zeit kommen, wo es einen Wert haben wird...'" Bruckneriana in Vöcklabruck', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (Tutzing, 1993), 297, note 27. The original of the reference is in the ÖNB.

of the stature of the works to come. The reasons are not difficult to find. First, he had very little opportunity to hear and participate in contemporary music. His duties as an organist prevented him from regularly attending concerts in Linz, and the music to which he had access at the monastery consisted mainly of Baroque and Classical works. Second, just as he was in awe of his superiors at St. Florian, so he was afraid of going beyond the strict rules of music theory in his compositions. Indeed, this almost slavish observance of rules was to become even more marked during his period of study with Sechter. He was to remain 'imprisoned' within the Classical period until the early 1860s when, freed at last from the constraints of theoretical instruction, he began to write music of striking originality. All in all, in the areas of harmony, melody, rhythm and orchestration, these St. Florian works are predictable and, for the most part, unadventurous.

Musical life in St Florian

Not only was there a regular provision of church music at the abbey, but the performance of secular and semi-sacred music, strongly encouraged by the abbot, Michael Arneth, was a frequent occurrence. Excerpts from oratorios such as Haydn's *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, overtures, ensembles, choruses from operas by Auber, Beethoven, Cherubini, Mozart (usually with a reduced accompaniment for string ensemble), and songs, solo piano music and chamber music (violin and piano duos, piano trios, string quartets) were performed. The unaccompanied male-voice quartet was a particular favourite. For special occasions brass players from one of the military garrisons based in Linz were used.⁵⁴

2.2.1 Secular and semi-sacred choral works

The most interesting of these works are *Der Lehrerstand* WAB 77 (c.1847) for a

⁵⁴ For further information about secular music in the Upper Austrian monasteries during the first half of the 19th century, see Andreas Lindner, 'Weltliche Musik in den oberösterreichischen Stiften im Umfeld des jungen Anton Bruckners', in *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz, 2008), 37-58.

cappella male voices, dedicated to Michael Bogner, Bruckner's superior, and possibly performed by the St. Florian *Liedertafel* in the late 1840s; *Sternschnuppen* WAB 85 (1848) for a *cappella* male-voice quartet, written for Bruckner's own quartet and displaying strong Mendelssohnian influence; *Entsagen* WAB 14 (c. 1851) for soprano (or tenor) soloist, mixed voice choir, organ or piano, a 'spiritual song' in three sections, the outer sections in the form of a Protestant chorale and the middle section, a solo for soprano or tenor, rather repetitious and unappealing in its arid three-part semi-contrapuntal style; *Ständchen* WAB 84 (early 1850s) for a *cappella* male-voice quartet, essentially a tenor solo with a three-part 'humming' accompaniment which later has words added, and dedicated to Mrs. Schlager, the wife of the mayor of St. Florian from 1850 to 1862; *Die Geburt* WAB 69 (1852) for a *cappella* male-voice choir, an appealing work betraying a fondness for Schubertian mediant relationships; and *Vor Arneths Grabe* WAB 53 (1854) for male voices and three trombones, written specifically for the burial ceremony of Michael Arneth.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ *Der Lehrerstand* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 35ff. and its music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 16-22 and *ABSW XXIII/2*, 8-16; the dedication reads: "gewidmet dem hochverehrten Herrn Michael Bogner, Schullehrer in St. Florian". *Sternschnuppen* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 65-66 and its music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 94ff. and *ABSW XXIII/2*, 17-19; the text was provided by Ernst von Marinelli (1824-1887) who came to St. Florian as a novitiate priest in 1845, was curate there from 1850 to 1854, and was later active in Vienna as professor at the *Technische Militärakademie*. The text of the cantata *Entsagen*, dedicated to Michael Arneth on his name-day, is taken from Oskar von Redwitz's poem, *Amaranth*; it is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 44ff., there is a facsimile of the autograph in *G-A II/2*, 47-58, and there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXII/1*(Vienna, 1987), 49-56. *Ständchen* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 47-51 where there is also a facsimile of the sketch of the work; there is a facsimile of the fair copy in *G-A II/2*, 61-4; it was also printed by Robitschek in 1954 (A.R. 7178) and there is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 5-7. *Die Geburt* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 132ff. and its music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 147-50 and *ABSW XXIII/2*, 24-5; Bruckner sent this work to his friend Josef Seiberl with an accompanying letter on 19 March 1852 - see earlier and footnote 20. *Vor Arneths Grab* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 152-53 and its music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 184-8 and *ABSW XXIII/2*, 26-28. See also Christoph Meran and Elisabeth Maier, 'Anton Bruckner und Charles O'Hegerty. Zur Geschichte eines lange verschollenen Bruckner-Autographs', *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz, 1997), 195-210, concerning the five-part male-voice chorus *Des Dankes Wort sei mir vergönnt* WAB 62 (text by Marinelli) which Bruckner composed c. 1851 for Charles O'Hegerty whose daughters were piano pupils of Bruckner. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 37-43. Further information about *Ein jubelnd Hoch in Leid und Lust* WAB 83/1 and *Lebt wohl, ihr Sangesbrüder* WAB 83/2 (printed in *ABSW XXIII/2*, p.20), two short mottos composed for the Eferding Liedertafel and performed at the Passau Sängerkfest in 1851, is provided by Robert Klugseder in his article 'Das Passauer Sängerkfest von 1851', *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.18 (December 2016), 6-13.

On a larger scale are three occasional compositions: *Heil, Vater! Dir zum hohen Feste* WAB 61 (1852), a cantata for six-part mixed-voice choir, three horns, two trumpets and a trombone, written to a text by Ernst von Marinelli for the name-day of Michael Arneith and performed at the abbey on 28 or 29 September; *Auf, Brüder! auf, und die Saiten zur Hand* WAB 60 (1855), a cantata for male-voice quartet, male-voice choir, mixed-voice choir and a wind band consisting of two oboes, two bassoons, solo horns, two horns, two trumpets and three trombones, written on 17 July for the name-day of Friedrich Mayr; and *Sankt Jodok spross aus edlem Stamm* WAB 15 (1855), a cantata for soloists, mixed-voice choir and piano, completed on 6 December for the name-day of Jodok Stülz, the parish priest and perhaps intended as a parting musical gift.⁵⁶ Another cantata - *Laßt Jubeltöne laut erklingen* WAB 76, scored for male-voice choir, two horns, two trumpets and four trombones - is undated, but may have been written for the *Frohsinn* choir to be performed at the reception in Linz of Princess Elisabeth on 22 April 1854.⁵⁷

56 The title-page of the autograph of *Heil, Vater!* contains a note to the effect that the work was performed again with an altered text five years later on the evening of 17 July 1857, the day before Friedrich Mayr's name-day. Bruckner used another Marinelli poem, omitted one of the solo quartet movements and made some slight alterations in the voice parts. The same music was used again - to a text by Beda Piringer: *Heil Dir zum schönen Erstlingsfeste* - for a performance in Kremsmünster. The cantata is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 112-30 (including a facsimile of the autograph of the second version). The music of the first version is printed in *ABSW XXII/1*, 57-75, and the music of the second version is printed in *G-A II/2*, 131-40 and *ABSW XXII/1*, 77-95. For a very full discussion of the different versions, see Paul Hawkshaw, *The Manuscript Sources for Anton Bruckner's Linz Works* (Ann Arbor, 1987), 214-21. *Auf, Brüder!, auf* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 179-83; its music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 229-39 and *ABSW XXII/1*, 98-126. *Sankt Jodok spross* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 205-08; there is a facsimile of the original manuscript, in which the piano part is incomplete, in *G-A II/2*, 241-54. See *ABSW XXII/1*, 127-45 for a modern edition of the work with a completed piano part.

57 The piece is discussed in *G-A III/1* (1932), 536-37, and the music is printed in *G-A III/2*, 162-79 and *ABSW XXIII/2*, 29-36. The original text was by A. Weiß but a new text, *Dir holde Heimat soll erklingen*, was provided by A.A. Naaff in 1898. As there is no mention of a performance in the *Singakademie (Frohsinn)* archives, *Stadtarchiv*, Linz), contemporary newspaper reports and commemorative publications, it is probable that this chorus was not performed on 22 April but was replaced by another piece. For further information about this chorus and later pieces for male-voice choir, see Andrea Harrant, 'Bruckner und das bürgerliche Musiziergut seiner Jugendzeit', in *BSL 1987* (Linz, 1989), 93-103; idem, 'Bruckner und die Chormusik seiner Zeit', in *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 51 (1997), 184-95; Angela Pachovsky, 'Bruckners weltliche Chorwerke', in *Bruckner-Vorträge. Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), 35-46; and A.C. Howie, 'Bruckner and secular music', in John Williamson, *The Cambridge Companion to Music* (Cambridge, 2004), 64-76.

2.2.2 Sacred works

As one would expect from a young composer involved with music at St. Florian, there are several short sacred works. Most of them are no more than competent, but Bruckner had a high enough opinion of five of them - *Vier Tantum ergo* WAB 41 (1846) for mixed-voice choir and organ ad lib., and another setting of the same text, a *Tantum ergo* in D major WAB 42 (1846) for five-part mixed-voice choir and organ - to revise them in 1888.⁵⁸ Yet another setting of the text - a *Tantum ergo* in B flat major WAB 44 (1854 or 1855), scored for mixed-voice choir, two trumpets, violins and organ - has a typically 'busy' string accompaniment but is more adventurous melodically and harmonically.⁵⁹ As well as providing a secular piece, *Die Geburt*, in 1852 for his friend Josef Seiberl in Marienkirchen, Bruckner also sent him two *Totenlieder* WAB 47 and 48 for a *cappella* mixed-voice choir.⁶⁰ In similar vein, but

58 The order of the first four settings of this *Corpus Christi* hymn according to the autograph parts in St. Florian and in Bruckner's 1888 revision is No. 1 in B flat major, No. 2 in A flat major, No. 3 in E flat major and No. 4 in C major. When Groß of Innsbruck published the pieces in 1893, the order was changed to E flat, C, B flat, A flat, and no organ part was provided. The fifth setting was also published by Groß in 1893. On the autograph parts there are some dates of performances at St. Florian, namely 20 January, 7 April and 4 August 1853, and 19 January 1854. The five pieces are discussed in *G-A II/1*, 52-58, *ABSW XXI/1*, 184 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 35-41 and 139-45. There are modern editions of the original versions in *ABSW XXI/1*, 41-51, and of the revised versions in *ABSW XXI/1*, 150-7.

59 This setting of the *Tantum ergo* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 212-13, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 55-56. The music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 255-58 and *ABSW XXI/1*, 68-74. An earlier dating of WAB 44 is mooted by Klaus Petermayr who surmises that this motet may have been performed as part of a New Year's Eve service at St Florian at the end of 1849. See Petermayr, 'Welches *Tantum ergo* Bruckners erklang zu Silvester 1849?', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.21 (July 2018), 7-9.

60 These two short funeral pieces are discussed in *G-A II/1*, 131-32, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 47-50; the music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 141-44 and *ABSW XXI/1*, 56-57. For further information about these two pieces in their historical context, see Klaus Petermayr, 'Anton Bruckners Totenlieder WAB 47 und 48 im volkskundlichen und regionalhistorischen Kontext', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 91 (December 2018), 5-11.

for the mellow combination of three trombones, are the two *Aequali* WAB 114 and 149, written in January 1847 probably in memory of his aunt, Rosalia Mayrhofer.⁶¹ The longest and most impressive of these short sacred works is undoubtedly the *Libera me* in F minor WAB 22, written in March 1854 for Michael Arneith's funeral service and performed during the benediction after the Requiem Mass. As in the contemporary *Missa solemnis* in B flat minor, the influence of Haydn and Mozart is very much in evidence.⁶²

On a much more substantial scale are five larger sacred works, the *Requiem* in D minor WAB 39 (1848-49), settings of the *Magnificat* WAB 24 (1852), *Psalm 22* WAB 34 (1852), *Psalm 114* WAB 36 (1852) and the *Missa solemnis* in B flat minor WAB 29 (1854).

The *Requiem*, Bruckner's first composition of any length, was written in memory of his friend Franz Sailer and was first performed at the abbey on 15 September 1849, the first anniversary of Sailer's death. It is scored for four soloists, mixed-voice choir, strings, three trombones and organ continuo.⁶³ Bruckner's knowledge of the *Requiem* literature in 1848 was almost certainly confined to a few settings of

61 The *Aequale* or *Aequale* was a short instrumental piece played at funeral services in Austria in the 18th and 19th centuries. Bruckner's two *Aequali* are discussed in *G-A II/1*, 63 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 42ff. The first piece is printed in *G-A II/2*, 83; both pieces are printed in *ABSW XXI/1*, 52-53, with the missing bass part of the second provided by Hans Bauernfeind. See also Othmar Wessely, *2 Aequale WAB 114 und 149*, in Uwe Harten (ed.), *Anton Bruckner. Ein Handbuch*, Salzburg-Vienna 1996, 44-45, and Johannes Leopold Mayer, 'Zum Phänomen des Aequale-Blasens', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* 23/24 (December 2019), 5-7.

62 The *Libera me* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 153ff. and *ABSW XXI/2*, 51-55. It was published for the first time by Universal Edition (U.E. 4976) in 1922. There is a modern edition in *ABSW XXI/1*, 58-67.

63 The first detailed discussion of the work can be found in *G-A II/1*, 68-92. The autograph full score (Mus. Hs. 2125 in the *ÖNB*) was completed on 14 March 1849. Various later annotations in the manuscript indicate that Bruckner revised the work during the summer of 1892. In its revised version it was dedicated to Franz Bayer, director of the parish church choir in Steyr who performed it there on 2 December 1895. The *Requiem* was first published by Benno Filser Verlag, Augsburg in 1930. See Leopold Nowak's comments regarding the layout of the score in the foreword to *ABSW XIV* (Vienna, 1966).

his Austrian predecessors, particularly those of Mozart and Weiß, whose Requiem in E flat had been a favourite of his since his year's stay at Hörsching in the mid-1830s, and probably did not include Cherubini's two settings in C minor (1815-16) and D minor (1836) or Berlioz's highly individual and colourful setting (1837). Bruckner's debt to Mozart especially in points of style and structure and in a number of other details becomes evident in any detailed comparison between their works.

Bruckner's setting of the *Magnificat*, scored for soloists, chorus and an orchestra consisting of strings (without violas), two trumpets, timpani and organ continuo, was composed in August 1852 and dedicated to Ignaz Traumihler.⁶⁴ The *Magnificat*, part of the text of the Vespers, has its own traditional plainsong with which Bruckner would undoubtedly have been familiar. We do not know which earlier settings of the text - either as part of the sung Evening Service or as an independent work - Bruckner would have heard or studied, but we can surmise that he had some knowledge of works by Michael Haydn, Mozart and Schubert as well as those of lesser-known provincial composers. As in the *Requiem*, the main influence in this work is Mozart - the Mozart of the Litanies and Vespers.

The texts of Bruckner's five psalm settings are all in the German vernacular. His first two settings in particular - *Psalm 22* and *Psalm 114* - are more in the tradition of the Protestant psalm motets of Mendelssohn than the Catholic psalm motets and psalm cantatas (settings of the Vespers) of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century composers. Having already studied Bach's chorale harmonizations, Bruckner was aware of the musical value of the Protestant chorale. In the mid-1840s he copied out Josef Preindl's collection of German church songs 'together with new cadences and introductions, which will be sung by the congregation with organ accompaniment throughout the year at St. Stephen's

64 The *Magnificat* is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 100-03 and by Paul Hawkshaw in the foreword to his edition of the full score, *ABSW XX/3* (Vienna, 1996). There is also a short score of the work in *G-A II/2*, 99-110. The St. Florian abbey library contains an unsigned and undated set of parts, some written by Bruckner himself, some by an unknown copyist. The dedication date is 15 August 1852.

Cathedral in Vienna.⁶⁵ Both *In jener letzten der Nächte* WAB 17 (c.1848) and *Dir, Herr, dir will ich mich ergeben* WAB 12 (c.1845) for a *cappella* mixed-voice choir are chorale harmonizations, probably the result of his studies with Zenetti.⁶⁶ When Bruckner moved to Linz in 1856 he retained his interest in Protestant church music. This is borne out by a letter which Franz Gräflinger, one of the composer's early biographers, received from Josef Hoffmann, choir director of the Lutheran church in Linz from about 1860 to 1876:

... Bruckner was very interested in the chorale 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden', well-known and frequently sung in all Lutheran congregations. On one occasion when I was with him in the organ loft (of the old cathedral) during a service, I had to sing very quietly and in an undertone the first line of this chorale, although it was very well known to him, whereupon he proceeded to make use of these seven notes as the theme of a masterly free fugue which he played as a postlude at the close [of the service].

So that he might hear this chorale sung by the congregation, he asked me once to inform him as soon as I knew that it would be sung in the Lutheran church in Linz. It was not long before I was able to comply with this request and I had hardly finished the opening voluntary on the day in question (it was during Lent) when he came with head bowed - probably so as to draw less attention to himself - through the choir entrance, sat down quite near the organ bench, and listened with the greatest devotion and attention to the congregational singing. He thanked me for my invitation to accompany the singing, but declined. After he had heard four verses of the chorale he expressed his satisfaction with it, and said, 'Ah, that is beautiful'. He then left the church just as discreetly and imperceptibly as he had entered it.⁶⁷

65 Josef Preindl (1756-1823) was associate music director at St. Stephen's, Vienna from the early 1790s until his death.

66 *In jener letzten der Nächte* is a Maundy Thursday setting. It is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 94 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 44-47; the piece is printed in *G-A II/2*, 97-98 and *ABSW XXI/1*, 54-55. See also Elisabeth Maier, 'Bruckner's Passionlied "In jener letzten der Nächte (WAB 17)"', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 82 (June 2014), 5-9. The autograph of *Dir, Herr, dir will ich mich ergeben* contains corrections made by Josef Pfeiffer, the organist of Seitenstetten abbey who provided Bruckner with a testimonial in 1848; see earlier and footnote 15. The piece is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 110, *ABSW XXI/1*, 184 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 31-32; it is printed in *G-A II/2*, 114-15 and *ABSW XXI/1*, 37.

67 *GrBL*, 96. This anecdote was later corroborated by Hoffmann's daughter, Berta. See Hubert

There is a direct quotation from 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden' in the semi-sacred cantata *Entsagen* WAB 14 (c.1851).⁶⁸

Bruckner's setting of *Psalm 22* WAB 34 is scored for four-part mixed-voice choir and piano and was composed presumably for private performance at St. Florian. It is quite clear that Bruckner was acquainted with the fine setting of the same text (*Psalm 23* in the Lutheran translation and the Authorized Version of the bible) by Schubert, *Gott ist mein Hirt* D.706 (1820) for female voices and piano. There are several similarities in the piano writing.⁶⁹ The contemporary *Psalm 114* WAB 36, scored for five-part mixed-voice choir (SAATB) and three trombones, was dedicated to Ignaz Aßmayr and sent to him with an accompanying letter. The text is equivalent to verses 1-9 of *Psalm 116* in the Lutheran translation and Authorized Version. One can discern Mendelssohnian influences in several places, but Bruckner was being unduly modest when he described the work as a 'weak attempt' in his dedication to Aßmayr.⁷⁰

Taferner, 'Eine unbekannte Bruckner-Anekdote', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.17 (June 2016), 20.

68 See earlier and footnote 55.

69 Bruckner's setting of this Psalm remained unknown until 1921 when it was 'discovered' in St. Florian by Franz Müller. Its first 'modern' performance took place at the abbey on 11 October 1921, the 25th anniversary of Bruckner's death. Bruckner used the German translation by Allioli in the third edition of his 'The Scriptures according to the Old and New Testaments' (Landshut, 1838); there is a copy in the St. Florian library. For further discussion, see *G-A II/1*, pp.106ff., Paul Hawkshaw's foreword to his edition of the work, *ABSW XX/2* (Vienna, 1997), and Hermann Jung, 'Zu den Psalmvertonungen Bruckners', in *Bruckner Vorträge 2006 Bericht: Anton Bruckner. Die geistliche Musik* (Vienna 2007), 65-77. There is a facsimile of the original autograph in *G-A II/2*, 119-30.

70 See earlier and footnote 22 for details of Bruckner's letter to Aßmayr. The first performance of this Psalm was a private one, in the music room of the abbey, probably in July 1852. Göllerich conducted the first public performance of the work in Linz in April 1906. The autograph score is in St. Florian, and the dedication copy sent to Aßmayr, which was not found until 1921, is privately owned. For further discussion, see *G-A II/1*, 136-42 and Paul Hawkshaw's foreword to his edition of the score, *ABSW XX/1* (Vienna, 1997); there is a facsimile of the autograph in *G-A II/2*, 152-77. See also Paul Hawkshaw, 'Bruckners Psalmen' in *Bruckner-Vorträge, Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), 7-19, for further information about Bruckner's psalm settings, and Helmut Schmidinger, 'Ich glaube, darum rede ich. Kompositorische Kontexte zu Anton Bruckners Psalm 114 (WAB 36)', in *ABIL Mitteilungen* no.14 (December 2014), 18-21.

The *Missa solennis* in B flat minor WAB 29, scored for soloists, mixed-voice choir and an orchestra consisting of two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings and organ continuo, is the crowning achievement of Bruckner's years at St. Florian and, in Leopold Nowak's words, a 'summa musicæ' of the first thirty years of his life.⁷¹ Sketches of two *Kyrie* movements, a *Kyrie* in G minor WAB 140 and a *Kyrie* in E flat major WAB 139, both undated but probably written in the mid- to late-1840s, reveal that Bruckner had already been contemplating a larger-scale setting of the Mass. The latter, a 58-bar fragment scored for mixed-voice choir, two oboes, three trombones, strings and organ continuo, is fairly ambitious in scope but can hardly be regarded as a preparation for the *Missa solennis*.⁷²

2.2.3 Songs and instrumental pieces

Of the secular songs of the period only one has survived in complete form. The voice part of *Mild wie Bäche* WAB 138 (c.1845) is complete but the piano part is sketched in only a few places. In *Wie des Bächleins Silberquelle (Duetto)* WAB 137 (c.1845) for two sopranos and piano, the voice parts are again complete but there is no piano accompaniment apart from a few bass notes. The Mendelssohnian *Frühlingslied* WAB 68 (1851) was dedicated to Aloisia, Michael Bogner's daughter, described by Bruckner as a 'blossoming spring rose'.⁷³

71 From the foreword to Nowak's edition of the full score, *ABSW XV* (Vienna, 1975). According to Bruckner's own insertion at the end of the dedication score for Mayr, the work was completed on 8 August 1854 'at midnight'. The parts for the first performance were copied between 24 August and 4 September by Franz Schimatschek from Linz whom Bruckner used frequently in later years to copy scores and parts. For further discussion, see *G-A II/1*, 155-77, Nowak's foreword and the *Revisionsbericht* of *ABSW XV* (Vienna, 1977) in which Robert Haas's earlier revision report of the Mass in the old Complete Edition (Vienna, 1930) is updated, corrected and amplified by Nowak. There is a facsimile of the original dedication score in *G-A II/2*, 189-228.

72 The *Kyrie* in G minor is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 63, *ABSW XXI/1*, 186, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 163. There is a facsimile of the original manuscript in *G-A II/2*, 84-85 and a realization in *ABSW XXI/1*, 172. The *Kyrie* in E flat major is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 63-64, *ABSW XXI/1*, 186, and *ABSW XXI/2*, 164-67. There is a facsimile of the original manuscript in *G-A II/2*, pp.86-93 and a realization in *ABSW XXI/1*, 173-78.

73 Bruckner probably intended to dedicate both *Mild wie Bäche* and *Wie des Bächleins Silberquelle*

The two solo piano pieces, also dedicated to Aloisia, are a *Lancier-Quadrille* WAB 120 (c.1850) and a *Steiermärker* WAB 122 (c.1850). The former is in four movements, and Bruckner makes use of themes from Lortzing's operas *Der Wildschütz* and *Zar und Zimmermann* which were performed in Linz several times during the 1840s. The *Steiermärker* is a kind of stylized Ländler in A-B-C-A form.⁷⁴ The *Drei kleine Vortragsstücke* for piano duet (the 'Primo' part at least) are slightly more demanding technically.⁷⁵

Although he was a very proficient organist, Bruckner left very few compositions for the instrument. Three works survive from the St. Florian period, a *Vorspiel und*

to Michael Arneith who was no doubt the 'Vater' mentioned in the text of the former. The text of the latter is the same as that of *Ständchen* WAB 84 for male-voice quartet. The author of the poems is unknown but was possibly Ernst Marinelli. The autograph sketch material is in St. Florian and the *Stadtmuseum, Wels*. *Mild wie Bäche* and *Wie des Bächleins Silberquelle* are discussed in *G-A II/1*, 46-47 and 51 and by Angela Pachovsky in her edition of the *Lieder für Gesang und Klavier*, ABSW XXIII/1 (Vienna, 1997), foreword and *Revisionsbericht*. There are facsimiles of the sketches of both pieces in *G-A II/2*, 59-60 and 65-66. and transcriptions of the music in ABSW XXIII/1, 30ff. *Frühlingslied*, written for Aloisia Bogner (1836-92), is a setting of a poem by Heinrich Heine. The autograph fair copy can be found in the library of the *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz*. For further information, see *G-A II/1*, 41ff. (including a facsimile of the original manuscript) and ABSW XXIII/1, foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 33; the music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 44ff. and ABSW XXIII/1, 1f.

74 These two pieces are discussed in *G-A II/1*, 39-42 and by Walburga Litschauer in *Anton Bruckner. Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen*, ABSW XII/2 (Vienna, 1988/2000), foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 36-37, and her article 'Bruckner und das romantische Klavierstück', in *BSL 1987* (Linz, 1989), 105-10. They are printed in ABSW XII/2, 1-11. See also Klaus Petermayr, "'Dirndl merk dir den Bam". Zur Verwendung eines Volksliedes in Bruckners "Steiermärker", in *BJ 2001-2005* (Vienna, 2006), 293-96, for a discussion of the Styrian folksong which was probably the inspiration for Bruckner's piece, as well as Petermayr, 'Ländliche Gebrauchsmusik in Oberösterreich zur Zeit des jungen Bruckner' in *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz, 2008), 69-75 for an account of the popular vocal and instrumental music that Bruckner would have encountered during his early years.

75 See earlier and footnote 9. There is a facsimile of the autograph of the *Quadrille* WAB 121 in *G-A II/2*, 24-42. There are two sources of the piece (an incomplete Bruckner autograph and a copy with autograph entries) in the music archives of Kremsmünster abbey. The autograph of the *Drei kleine Stücke* WAB 124 written for the Marböck children can be found in the ÖNB; there is a facsimile of this autograph in *G-A II/2*, 178-83. Further information can be found in Walburga Litschauer, ed., *Werke für Klavier zu vier Händen*, ABSW XII/3 (Vienna, 1994), foreword and *Revisionsbericht*, 25ff. See also Frida Reingrüber, "'Randbemerkungen" zu Anton Bruckners Klavierstücken für vier Händen', in *BJ 1987/88* (Linz, 1990), 79-80 for additional background information about the *Drei kleine Vortragsstücke*. The music of the *Quadrille* and the *Drei kleine Stücke* is printed in ABSW XII/3, 4-7 and 8-23.

Fuge in C minor WAB 131 (1847) which has annotations on the original manuscript suggesting that it was undertaken as a compositional or theoretical exercise, and a *Nachspiel* in D minor (c.1846) and *Andante (Vorspiel)* in D minor (c.1846).⁷⁶

However, it is in the *Missa solemnis* - in spite of the unevenness of inspiration and often uneasy juxtaposition of different styles - that we have a foretaste of the future, in particular the strikingly original Mass in D minor which was to herald the arrival of the mature Bruckner ten years later. In between lay a long period of rigorous and methodical application to various musical disciplines which provided a solid foundation and launching pad for the great sacred works and symphonies. It is to this period that we must now turn.

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⁷⁶ The *Vorspiel und Fuge* is dated 15 January 1847 at the beginning and the end of the autograph which is located in Seitenstetten abbey. A note in the upper margin of the first page – ‘NB. Versuchen versch[iedener] Contr[apunkte]’ - indicates that Bruckner was experimenting with different contrapuntal techniques, for instance stretto and organ point which appear towards the end of the fugue. The work is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 60ff. (including the facsimile of a page from the original manuscript) and in the foreword to Erwin Horn, ed., *Werke für Orgel*, ABSW XII/6 (Vienna, 1999), vi and xii; the music is printed in *G-A II/2*, 78-82, Franz Philipp, ed., *Vorspiel und Fuge C-moll für Orgel von Anton Bruckner* (Augsburg, 1929) and ABSW XII/6, 5-8. The precise dates of the *Nachspiel* and *Andante* are not known. The fair copy of both is on a single sheet of manuscript, unsigned and undated. A comment in the margin (not in Bruckner’s handwriting) indicates that they were given to (dedicated to?) Ignaz Traumihler. He was appointed choirmaster at St. Florian in 1852, but stylistically the two pieces belong to the beginning of the St. Florian years. They were first published by Anton Böhm Verlag (Augsburg, 1927). See ABSW XII/6, v-vi and xi-xii for Erwin Horn’s comments and 1-4 for the music. See also Erwin Horn, ‘Zwischen Interpretation und Improvisation. Anton Bruckner als Organist’, *BSL* 1995 (Linz, 1997), 111-39; idem, ‘>Die Orgelstücke Bruckners’, *Bruckner-Vorträge. Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999* (Vienna, 2000), 21-34 which also includes facsimiles of these and other organ pieces, and Benjamin Gunnar-Cohrs’ article concerning a book of organ pieces owned by Bruckner, viz. ‘Das Sogenannte “Präludienbuch”, *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 89 (December 2017), 13-23.