

# The Date of Bruckner's "Nullified" Symphony in D Minor

PAUL HAWKSHAW

In 1895, about a year before his death, Anton Bruckner sorted through his manuscripts, organizing those he wished to preserve and destroying the remainder.<sup>1</sup> In the process, he came across the autograph score of a Symphony in D Minor which, to the best of our knowledge, he

had neglected for more than twenty years. Although the work did not belong to the corpus of nine numbered symphonies for which the composer is best remembered, he included the score among those that he felt worthy of preservation.<sup>2</sup> Reluctant to destroy it, yet hoping, perhaps, to ensure that future generations would assess the symphony in what he considered its proper perspective, he wrote annotations at various places in the manuscript. These annotations include

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<sup>1</sup>Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Sein Leben und Werk* (Vienna, 1934), p. 93; August Göllerich and Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, 4 vols. in 9 (Regensburg, 1922-37), 3/1 (1932), p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>There is no doubt that the autograph score of the D-Minor Symphony came under consideration at this time because a handwritten entry under July 1895 in Bruckner's copy of *Frommes Österreichischer Professoren- und Lehrer-Kalender für das Schuljahr 1894/95* indicates that it was included in a package with the autograph scores of the First (both Linz and Vienna versions) and Fifth Symphonies, the String Quintet, and fragments of Symphonies Nos. 3, 6, and 8. Wn Mus. Hs. 3179, fol. 726<sup>v</sup>.

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"ungiltig," "ganz nichtig," and "annulirt." As a result of this last expression and the autograph sign "0," which appears on three pages of the manuscript, the symphony has come to be known as "*Die nullte Symphonie*" or—and this is its most frequent title in English—Symphony No. 0.<sup>3</sup>

Despite its inauspicious origins and unflattering title, the symphony has attracted a considerable amount of musicological attention because it is one of the few Bruckner works to pose a chronological problem. The autograph score is dated 24 January to 12 September 1869, indicating that the manuscript was prepared during the year immediately following Bruckner's move from Linz to Vienna in October 1868. These dates conflict with a statement made by Bruckner to August Göllerich, a friend and former student whom he had asked to write his biography. According to Max Auer, who completed Göllerich's monumental Bruckner biography, the composer told Göllerich that he had written the work in Linz, where he had lived from 1856 until 1868.<sup>4</sup>

The contradiction between the dates on the manuscript and the composer's statement, as well as the "0" annotations on the autograph score, prompted Göllerich and Auer to suggest that the symphony was composed considerably earlier than 1869. They felt that the somewhat cryptic sign "0" was Bruckner's method of indicating that it was written before the First Symphony in C Minor (WAB 101), completed on 14 April 1866; they believed that the 1869 manuscript contains a revised version of the D-minor work.<sup>5</sup> As evidence, Auer cited a letter of 13 July 1869 in which Bruckner informed his friend

Moritz von Mayfeld that he had just recomposed a large portion of the second movement of a symphony;<sup>6</sup> the passage must refer to the D-Minor Symphony since Bruckner is not known to have been working on any other symphony at this time. Auer went on to suggest that the missing original version was written during an otherwise inexplicable creative hiatus between the completion of Psalm 112 (WAB 35) in July 1863 and the initial work on the D-Minor Mass (WAB 26) in the spring of 1864. If Auer were correct, the D-Minor Symphony, like the student F-Minor Symphony (WAB 99) of 1863, would have preceded all of the symphonies that are now numbered from one through nine. One final piece of evidence offered by Auer in support of this hypothesis was a letter of 21 January 1865 in which Bruckner asked another friend, Rudolf Weiwurm: "If you have already looked at the score of my symphony, would you be so kind as to send it to me."<sup>7</sup> Since Bruckner often showed Weiwurm copies of his latest works, Auer concluded that this passage must refer to a lost version of the D-Minor Symphony.<sup>8</sup>

The Göllerich-Auer two-version hypothesis gave rise to an extended controversy over two separate but related issues. Was the D-Minor Symphony written in the winter of 1863–64 and, if so, which sections of the version preserved in the 1869 manuscript date from the earlier period? Attempts to answer these questions have relied primarily on stylistic comparisons with Bruckner's other two Linz symphonies—the student Symphony in F Minor and the First Symphony in C Minor. Robert Haas, Alfred Orel, Hans Redlich, Robert Simpson, and Joseph Wöss, not to mention Auer himself, are among the many who have considered the chronological problems of the D-Minor Symphony from this point of view.<sup>9</sup> Opinions vary from that of Auer, who felt that about half the symphony preserved in the 1869 manuscript stems from 1863–64, to that of Orel, who rejected even the

<sup>3</sup>The symphony is listed in Renate Grasberger, *Werkverzeichnis Anton Bruckners (WAB)* (Tutzing, 1977), p. 109, as "Symphonie 'Nullte.'" The various annotations appear on the following folios of the autograph (LIm V/17): "ungiltig" and "0 Sinf[onie]." on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, the wrapper of the first movement; "annulirt" on fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, the first page of the opening movement; "ungiltig," "ganz nichtig," "an[n]ulirte 2. Sinf[onie]," and "zur 0 Sinfonie / D moll" on fol. 39<sup>r</sup>, the wrapper for the second movement; and "Finale zur 0 Sinf[onie]." on fol. 69<sup>r</sup>, the first page of the last movement.

<sup>4</sup>Auer, *Bruckner* [1934], p. 93.

<sup>5</sup>Auer came to this conclusion in his own work, *Bruckner* [1934], p. 93 as well as in his completion of Göllerich's Bruckner biography. Göllerich-Auer 3/1, pp. 225–26. In the latter work, part of p. 226, all of p. 227, and part of p. 228 are attributed to Göllerich, who arrives at the same conclusion.

<sup>6</sup>Göllerich-Auer 3/1, p. 225; Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Gesammelte Briefe* (Regensburg, 1924), pp. 107–08.

<sup>7</sup>Göllerich-Auer 3/1, p. 225; Auer, *Briefe*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>8</sup>Göllerich-Auer 3/1, pp. 225–26.

<sup>9</sup>Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner* (Potsdam, 1934), pp. 102–06; Hans F. Redlich, "Bruckner's Forgotten Symphony No. 0," *Music Survey 2* (1949), 14–20; Robert Simpson, *The Essence*

FOLIO	MOVEMENT	AUTOGRAPH DATE	INK COLOR
2 <sup>r</sup>	1: <i>beginning</i>	Wien 24. Jän[n]er [1]869.	dark
36 <sup>v</sup>	1: <i>end</i>	Wien 8. Febr[uar][1]869. / Scitze	dark
38 <sup>v</sup>	3: unused Trio sketch	18. März 1869. Wien.	dark
2 <sup>r</sup>	1: <i>beginning</i>	Wien 23. Juni	dark
36 <sup>v</sup>	1: <i>end</i>	Streichinstr[umente]. 1. Juli [1]869	dark
52 <sup>v</sup>	2: <i>end</i>	Wien 12. Juli 1869. / Streichmusik	dark
65 <sup>r</sup>	3, Trio: <i>beginning</i>	Wien 16. Juli complonirt]. / 1869.	dark
67 <sup>r</sup>	3, Trio: <i>end</i>	Wien 16. Juli / [1]869.	dark
91 <sup>v</sup>	4: <i>end</i>	Linz / 19 August / 1869.	dark
52 <sup>r</sup>	2: <i>end</i>	Linz / 21 Aug[ust] / 1869.	dark
67 <sup>r</sup>	3, Trio: <i>end</i>	Linz 25. Aug[ust]. [1]869.	light
36 <sup>v</sup>	1: <i>end</i>	Linz 12. September / 1869.	light
37 <sup>r</sup>	1: <i>beginning</i>	Symphonie beendet / 12. September 1869. in Linz.	light

Table 1: Dates on the autograph score of Bruckner's Symphony in D Minor

possibility that the work existed prior to the 1869 version.

Nevertheless, the Göllicher-Auer two-version hypothesis has prevailed and more recent publications, notably Leopold Nowak's critical commentary to his edition of the symphony, Renate Grasberger's *Werkverzeichnis Anton Bruckner*, and the *New Grove* article by Deryck Cooke, have accepted the winter of 1863–64 as the period of origin for the D-Minor Symphony.<sup>10</sup> It is the intention of this article to reopen the question of the symphony's date through a study of its primary sources. I shall examine these documents in the light of what is known about Bruckner's working methods during the 1860s. Is there a difference between the physical appearance of his composition scores and that of his revision scores and, if such a distinction exists, how is it reflected in the autograph or any other of the sources for this particular work?

of *Bruckner* (London, 1977), p. 20; Josef V. Wöss, *Anton Bruckner: Symphonie D moll: Studienpartitur* (Vienna, Leipzig, New York, 1924), foreword; Göllicher-Auer 3/1, pp. 229, 237, and 240; Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Sein Leben und Werk* (Zurich, Leipzig, Vienna, 1932), p. 159. Alfred Orel's comments are contained in an article, "Bruckners D-moll-Symphonie," which, to the best of my knowledge, has remained unpublished. A typescript of the article is preserved in the music collection of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

<sup>10</sup>Leopold Nowak, *Symphonie D-moll "Nullte": Revisionsbericht, Sämtliche Werke 11a* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 11–14; Grasberger, *Werkverzeichnis*, p. 109; *The New Grove*, III, 367.

## II

There are four surviving primary sources for the nullified D-Minor Symphony:

1. Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum V/17: autograph score.
2. Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum V/17, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>: autograph sketch for a Trio which Bruckner rejected during the composition of the symphony. The sketch is now kept with the autograph score.
3. Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde XIII 45.468: a set of parts with autograph entries.
4. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 3189: a copy score with autograph entries.

With the exception of isolated copying mistakes and minor differences in performance markings, there are no variants between the autograph score, the copy, and the parts.<sup>11</sup>

The autograph is written on fourteen-line oblong paper (ca. 245 x ca. 315 mm.) arranged in successive bifolios. It is not bound, although each of the first three movements is wrapped in a bifolio, also of fourteen-line oblong paper of roughly the same size as the score.<sup>12</sup> The three wrappers are now numbered with the autograph sheets as follows: first-movement wrapper, fol. 1 and 38; second-movement wrapper, fol. 39 and 54; third-movement wrapper, fol. 55 and 68. The

<sup>11</sup>Nowak, *Sämtliche Werke 11a*, pp. 52–62.

<sup>12</sup>It is difficult to make precise statements about the size of the paper that Bruckner used in Linz because the cut is very uneven.

Trio sketch which Bruckner rejected is written on the wrapper of the first movement (fol. 38<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>). As indicated in table 1, the manuscript contains numerous autograph dates which fall between 24 January and 12 September 1869. There is nothing in the way of discrepant paper sizes, torn bifolios, or variations in handwriting and ink to indicate that any portion of the manuscript was prepared at any time other than that indicated by the dates.

The parts were copied by Bruckner's principal Linz copyist, Franz Schimatschek, a French horn player, probably in the Linz theater orchestra. They are on ten-line upright paper and are signed and dated in two places by Schimatschek; both dates are in March 1870.<sup>13</sup> The copy score, Mus. Hs. 3189 in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, bears no date or signature. It was prepared by Bruckner's other major Linz copyist, who worked for the composer as early as 1863, when he copied the Overture in G Minor (WAB 98), and as late as 1881, when he copied a manuscript of the Sixth Symphony (WAB 106).<sup>14</sup> He remains, to date, anonymous. This source must also have been prepared during or after 1869, for it incorporates the final reading of all erased and corrected sections in the autograph. There is, in sum, not so much as a single folio of music for the symphony, or of music which was once part of or intended for it, which survives from earlier than 1869.

The question remains whether there is anything in the appearance of the autograph to indicate that it was prepared from lost pre-1869 material. Nowak comments on this problem in the foreword to his edition of the symphony, concluding that the work must have been written in the winter of 1863–64:

The original manuscript looks like a fair copy. Unlike the original manuscripts of Symphonies 1–4 it contains no appreciable alterations as regards composi-

tion, form, or architecture. Bruckner must have been copying from another score. The writing is clear and unambiguous and the minor corrections are completely intelligible.<sup>15</sup>

Nowak does not speculate as to why it took Bruckner nine months—from January to September 1869—to make a simple fair copy. The explanation lies in the fact that the autograph is not a fair copy at all but rather a composition score sharing all the characteristics of other Bruckner composition scores of the 1860s. This is not immediately obvious because unlike most other major works from the same period, the D-Minor Symphony was not subjected to extensive revision during the latter part of the composer's career. As a result, the autograph retains its relatively clean appearance, while the autographs of the First Symphony and the Masses in D and F Minor, for example, do not. This particular autograph is so clean, in fact, that Nowak mistakes it for a fair copy.

A brief survey of Bruckner's working methods as practiced in Linz between 1863 and 1868 will illustrate this last point. Between 1861 and 1863, Bruckner studied composition and orchestration with Otto Kitzler, conductor and cellist in the Linz theater orchestra. During this period, he developed a working procedure that he followed throughout the remainder of his Linz years.<sup>16</sup> For larger compositions such as Masses or symphonies, when the various stages of this procedure can be documented, they can be outlined as follows:

1. Sketch.
2. Transfer of the sketch to a full score.
3. Orchestration: in two or more stages, usually strings first and then winds.
4. Final corrections and addition of refined performance markings: detailed dynamic indications, rehearsal letters, etc.

These stages are illustrated in the next example and plate.

<sup>13</sup>Wgm XIII 45.468, fol. 138<sup>r</sup> [end of the first French horn in F part]: "Copirt in Linz den 14/3[1] 870. / Franz Schimatschek / lter Hornist"; fol. 178<sup>v</sup> [end of the timpani part]: "Geschrieben in Linz den 26/3[1] 870. / Franz Schimatschek."

<sup>14</sup>Wst MH 3793/c (Overture), Wgm XIII 37.730 (Sixth Symphony).

<sup>15</sup>Nowak, *Sämtliche Werke* 11, foreword.

<sup>16</sup>Bruckner's course of study during these years is well documented in a volume known as the *Kitzler Studienbuch*, which contains more than two hundred pages of exercises written by the composer for Kitzler. The volume is now in private possession in Munich.

[m. 31]

intermediate version

original version

[40]

N.B.: alto and tenor lines added later

8

4

original: F# F# E (quarters)

original: half-note E, quarter rest

[50]

18 März 1869.  
Wien.

original: no ♯, C

The musical score consists of several systems of staves. The first system shows a two-staff draft with a treble and bass clef, marked '[m. 31]'. Below it are two single-staff versions labeled 'intermediate version' and 'original version'. The second system is a two-staff draft marked '[40]', with a note 'N.B.: alto and tenor lines added later' and measure numbers '8' and '4' below. Below this are two single-staff versions. The third system is a two-staff draft marked '[50]', with a note 'original: F# F# E (quarters)' and 'original: half-note E, quarter rest' below. Below this is a single-staff version. The fourth system is a two-staff draft with a date and location '18 März 1869. Wien.' and a note 'original: no ♯, C' below.

Example 1

Example 1 is a transcription of the second half of the Trio sketch which was rejected during the composition of the D-Minor Symphony. It is typical of the Bruckner sketches that survive from the 1860s. Most of these are two or three-stave drafts for complete movements or large sections of movements. They outline harmonic progressions and sometimes contain contrapuntal passages. On occasion, Bruckner includes dynamics and orchestration indications (though

none appear in the section transcribed here) as well as figured-bass notations such as the sharp in m. 37. It is not uncommon to find Bruckner counting up the number of measures in phrases as he does, for example, under mm. 38 and 42. Bruckner did not rework his sketches to any great degree, at least not during the 1860s. He was prepared to engage in a minimal amount of alteration and elaboration (for example, the counterpoint in the inner voices of mm. 40–43

was not part of the initial sketch]; but if, after this, he was still dissatisfied with a sketch, he discarded it and started again with a new one. The sketch in example 1 is one of these discards.

The next step was to transfer the sketch to the full score. This usually entailed writing out the first violin part and often the cello or bass parts, again for entire movements or sections of movements. Whenever the initial conception of the piece included instruments other than the first violins carrying the melody, or the cellos or basses carrying the bass, the music was copied onto the appropriate line of the score and the first violin, cello, and bass staves were left blank. Instrument names, braces, bar lines, and bifolio numbers—Bruckner seldom numbered individual folios—were included in the score at this stage. The result of the initial work on the full score was a melody and bass skeleton such as the one shown on page 237 of volume 3/2 of the Göllicher-Auer Bruckner biography, which reproduces a page from a bifolio rejected in the process of scoring the first movement of Symphony No. 1.<sup>17</sup>

Once the initial score skeleton had been completed, Bruckner began to orchestrate, again a movement or section of a movement at a time. This occurred in two or more stages, with a considerable amount of overlap between the layers. In the normal course of events, the strings were completed first, and then the winds, though in fragmented or motivic passages, wind parts were sometimes added at the same time as the strings. Brass and percussion parts were often left to the very last. Dynamics and other performance indications were usually added during or after the final stages of orchestration.

This layered system of completing a score is illustrated in plate 1, a reproduction of a page from the autograph score of Bruckner's F-Minor Symphony of 1863 (p. 258). In the first movement of this manuscript, Bruckner alternated between pencil and ink throughout his various compositional stages in the following manner:

1. Initial score skeleton: pencil.
2. String orchestration: pencil or dark ink.
3. Wind orchestration: pencil or dark ink.
4. Second stage of wind orchestration, usually brass and percussion: dark ink.
5. Final performance markings and corrections: light ink.

The first two layers are not too difficult to discern in plate 1. The initial skeleton—the instrument names, brace, barlines, the first violin part in mm. 1–2 and 5–10, and the bass part from m. 2 through the first beat of m. 5—are in pencil while the remainder of the string orchestration is in ink. The cello part in mm. 11–12 was written first in pencil and later gone over in ink, indicating that the pencil preceded the ink. The wind parts, also written in both pencil and ink, could possibly have been done at the same time as the strings, but if Bruckner followed the same pattern as in the remainder of the manuscript, they were more probably added in two separate stages after the string orchestration was completed.

This procedure is quite different from that followed by Bruckner when he was revising an earlier work. When revising, he entered his alterations directly into the autograph or a copy score of the original version, with the result that his revision scores contain a great many more erased, crossed out, or pasted over sections than do unrevised autographs.<sup>18</sup> Except when he wrote an entire new movement for a work, or when the revisions were so extensive that use of the original score was impractical,<sup>19</sup> he seldom prepared a fresh score or even a fresh folio himself. This chore was left to a copyist.

The characteristics of a composition score, rather than those of a revision score, are evident throughout the autograph of the nullified D-Minor Symphony. The most obvious indication is the layering implied by Bruckner's dates, which are listed in table 1. In the opening movement, the earliest date (24 January) is located on the

<sup>17</sup>The entire bifolio, which is now in **Wn** Mus. Hs. 6012, is reproduced on pp. 234–37 of Göllicher-Auer 3/1. The bifolio was used for a sketch after it was rejected from the First Symphony score; as a result, the score skeleton on page 237 has some extraneous material on the top two lines.

<sup>18</sup>For an illustration of a revision score from Bruckner's Linz period see Göllicher-Auer 2/1, pp. 115–28, a reproduction of the autograph of the cantata *Heil, Vater, dir zum hohen Feste* [WAB 61], composed in 1852 and revised in 1857.

<sup>19</sup>The First Symphony, for example, was revised to such a degree in 1890–91 that Bruckner prepared a new score, **Wn** Mus. Hs. 19.473.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a symphony in F minor. The score is written on ten staves. The first two staves are for the Flute (Fl.) and Oboe (Ob.). The next two staves are for the Clarinet (Cl.) and Bassoon (Fag.). The fifth and sixth staves are for the Trombones (Trombi). The seventh and eighth staves are for the Trumpets (Tromp.). The ninth and tenth staves are for the Cymbals (Cym.) and Bass Drum (B.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* and *f*. There are also some handwritten annotations and corrections throughout the manuscript.

Plate 1: Symphony in F Minor, autograph (KR C56.7, fol. 4r)

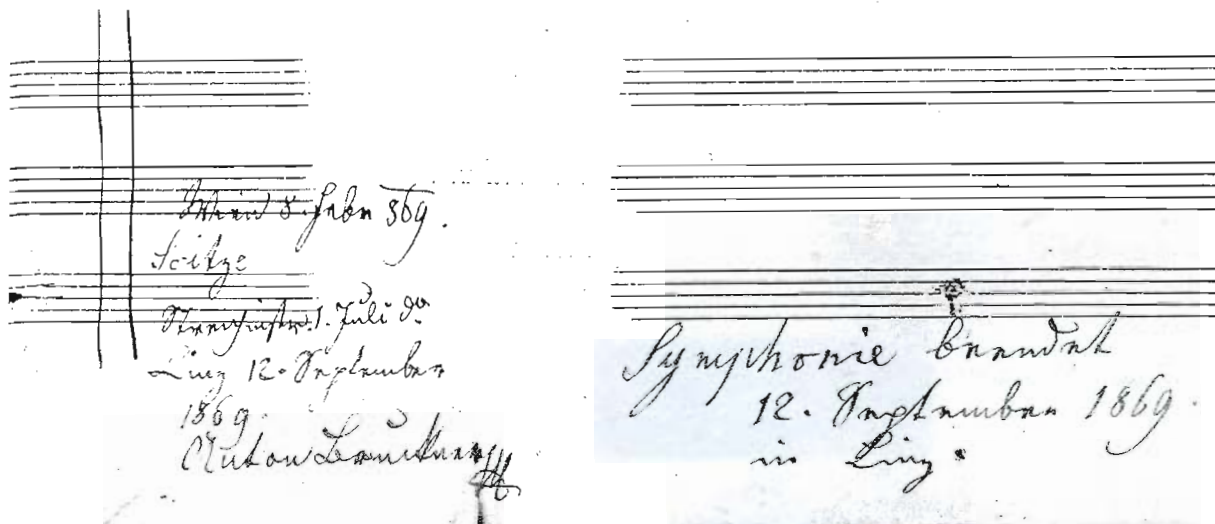


Plate 2: Ink colors used for dates in the autograph of the Symphony in D Minor  
(LIm V/17, fol. 36<sup>v</sup> and 37<sup>r</sup>)

first score page. By 8 February he had completed the initial score skeleton, as indicated by the term "Scitze" after the date on fol. 36<sup>v</sup>, the last page of the movement. By 1 July he had filled in the string orchestration, implied by the term "Streichinstrumente" on the same page. A large part of the wind orchestration was probably not completed until shortly before 12 September, the third date on fol. 36<sup>v</sup>.

It is possible to make this last suggestion, as well as to sort out layers within the score itself, as a result of a fortunate coincidence of dark and light brown inks. Although Bruckner did a large portion of his work on the score in Vienna, the manuscript was completed during a vacation in Linz in August and September. As indicated in table 1, all of the dates written in Vienna as well as the first three in Linz are in dark ink, while the last three Linz dates are light; this shows that the light ink was introduced into the score at a relatively late date. Numerous light ink corrections of passages in the darker color corroborate this suggestion. The two colors of ink are illustrated in the dates reproduced in plate 2.

In the first movement, the exposition, part of the development, and the coda sections are written in both colors of ink. From the beginning up to rehearsal letter C in the development most of the music on the top nine lines, containing the timpani and all the wind instruments, is visibly

lighter than that in the string parts.<sup>20</sup> Beginning at letter C and continuing until fourteen bars after G (i.e. throughout the remainder of the development, the recapitulation, and the first thirteen bars of the coda) the entire score is copied in dark ink.<sup>21</sup> When the winds and the timpani enter again in the coda (they have rests for the first thirteen bars), they are light and continue light until the end of the movement. All of this indicates that both the string and wind orchestration from C to G was done in Vienna or shortly after Bruckner went to Linz, whereas the wind orchestration for the beginning and very end of the movement waited until well after the composer arrived in Linz.

Bruckner's use of the terms "Scitze" and "Streichinstrumente," the layered system revealed by the different colors of ink, and the large number of erasures, especially in the development and recapitulation sections, indicate that

<sup>20</sup>The dark-ink exceptions on the top nine lines in this section are the horn solo, mm. 43–46; the f indications in the woodwinds, mm. 52–53; the woodwinds, mm. 88–99; the bassoon and horn parts, mm. 133–34; and possibly the flute solo, m. 127. Instrument names, braces, and bifolio numbers are dark throughout the score.

<sup>21</sup>In this section two exceptions written in light ink are the trombone parts in mm. 169–70 and numerous whole-note rests in the cello and bass parts.



the score of this movement is a composition score similar to the one we have seen for the F-Minor Symphony. The same is true of the finale, which was also prepared in two colors of ink, although here the overlap between layers of orchestration is greater. The Andante is copied entirely in dark ink. However, this movement too was prepared in at least two stages because Bruckner dated the first one 12 July ("*Streichmusik*") but did not complete the score until 21 August, as shown in table 1. The Trio of the third movement was written between 18 March, the date of the rejected draft on fol. 38<sup>v</sup>, and 16 July, the date when Bruckner pronounced it "*componirt*" on fol. 65<sup>r</sup>, the first page of this section.

Of the entire symphony contained in this manuscript, only the Scherzo section of the third movement cannot be demonstrated with any degree of certainty to have been composed in 1869. Even here, another of Bruckner's standard compositional habits, that of leaving the brass orchestration to the final stages, is evident. In this portion of the manuscript, the brass parts are often written in lighter ink than the remainder of the score.<sup>22</sup>

It is possible, no doubt, that the D-Minor Symphony existed prior to 1869 in a state with three and a half or even four entirely different movements—although then the question arises whether we are talking about one and the same symphony. Even this possibility becomes more and more remote when we realize that no source for the symphony, or for any instrumental movement which could have belonged to it, survives from earlier than 1869. Apart from the ambiguous passage cited by Auer from the *Weinwurm* letter—which, as Orel pointed out, could refer to the F-Minor Symphony<sup>23</sup>—there are no references or even anecdotes which mention the composition of any symphony before 1869 other than those in F and C Minor (the student symphony, 1863, and the First Symphony, 1865–66). Surely Orel was correct to conclude that the D-Minor Symphony never existed in more than one version.

There is another piece of evidence pointing to the same conclusion. The autograph, the copy score, and Schimatschek's parts for the D-Minor

Symphony are all entitled Symphony No. 2.<sup>24</sup> According to Nowak, this number confirms that the original version was written in 1863–64, when it would have been preceded only by the F-Minor student symphony of 1863.<sup>25</sup> If this line of reasoning is correct, the present First Symphony in C Minor, completed in 1866, must have originally been entitled Symphony No. 3. For this work, unfortunately, the first bifolio of the autograph is now lost, and has been replaced by a copy in the hand of Schimatschek, so that it is impossible to tell what number, if any, Bruckner himself wrote. Nevertheless, the number on Schimatschek's bifolio is "1," not "3."<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to ascertain when Schimatschek copied his bifolio because the entire source, which belonged to the well-known collector of Brahms autographs, Jerome Stoneborough, has been in private possession since World War II. In the critical commentary to volume 1 of the first Bruckner *Complete Works* Robert Haas, who in the 1930s had access to the source, determined that the initial bifolio in Schimatschek's hand was once part of another score of the First Symphony, **Wn. Mus. Hs. 3190**, which was also copied by Schimatschek and dated 26 July 1866.<sup>27</sup> Haas reports that this bifolio is the same size, 256 x 328 mm., oblong format, as the paper in **Mus. Hs. 3190**, whose present initial bifolio, roughly 15 x 15 mm. smaller than all the others in the source, appears to be a substitution. If Haas was correct, and there is no reason to assume otherwise, the C-Minor Symphony was entitled No. 1 by Schimatschek as early as 1866. In that case, it is more logical to conclude that the D-Minor Symphony was given the number "2" in 1869 because it was written after, not before, the C-Minor Symphony. The 1863 F-Minor Symphony, which is precisely what Bruckner called it in his note on the autograph, a "*Schularbeit*" or student exercise, was not given a number.

<sup>24</sup>For the exact titles see Nowak, *Sämtliche Werke* 11a, pp. 18, 50, and 56.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>26</sup>A photograph of the autograph is available in **Wst MH 9013/c**.

<sup>27</sup>Robert Haas, *1. Symphonie in C-moll, Sämtliche Werke*, 1 (Vienna, 1935), 9\*. Beyond the paper size, it is difficult to differentiate paper types in manuscripts of Bruckner's Linz works because watermarks are, with very rare exceptions, non-existent. Schimatschek signed and dated **Wn Mus. Hs. 3190** on fol. 100<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup>For example, the French horn parts in mm. 143–55.

<sup>23</sup>Orel, "D-moll Symphonie," p. 4.

What about Auer's reasons for placing an original version of the D-Minor Symphony in the winter of 1863–64? In support of his position, as we have already noted, he cites four pieces of evidence: the letter to Weinwurm of 21 January 1865; the letter to Mayfeld of 13 July 1869; the composer's statement to Göllicher that the work was written in Linz; and the puzzling lack of compositional activity in the winter of 1863–64. It has already been pointed out that the letter to Weinwurm could just as well have referred to the F-Minor Symphony, rather than to a missing version of the D-Minor Symphony. Auer's second piece of evidence, Bruckner's letter to Mayfeld, reads:

The work on the symphony is now progressing steadily. You will be amazed at how I have followed you in the Andante. The entire middle section is new.<sup>28</sup>

This passage indicates that Mayfeld, who lived in Linz, may have known the Andante in some state before 13 July 1869, even though the earliest date on the autograph score of this movement is "*Wien 12. Juli 1869*" (see table 1). Since Bruckner often played unfinished compositions for friends, one reasonable explanation is that he played the movement for Mayfeld from a sketch when he was in Linz for Easter of that year.<sup>29</sup> Mayfeld is known to have encouraged Bruckner in his compositional efforts, so the composer would have had every incentive to show him sections of work-in-progress on a piece as large as the D-Minor Symphony. In any case, as Orel points out, the letter to Mayfeld only proves that part of the Andante once existed in a different state. It does not prove conclusively that Mayfeld was acquainted with the movement in that state and it certainly does not prove that there was an 1863–64 version of the symphony.<sup>30</sup>

Bruckner's statement that the work was written in Linz is, to a point, true, even without an 1863–64 version, because the autograph manuscript was completed in Linz on 12 September 1869 and a large portion of the work on it was done in Linz during Bruckner's vacation in the

summer of that year. As far as the lack of compositional activity during the winter of 1863–64 is concerned, that must remain, for now, a mystery.

### III

Leaving aside the question of when it was written, the nullified D-Minor Symphony poses another chronological problem. We know that Bruckner finally nullified the work for posterity in 1895 when he organized his manuscripts; when did he first reject it? This decision can be placed within a fifteen-month period in 1872–73. On 11 September 1872 Bruckner completed what is now known as his Second Symphony in C Minor (WAB 102), and then arranged to have a copy score and set of parts prepared.<sup>31</sup> Nowak points out that the autograph, the copy score, and the parts for this work were all originally given the number "3," indicating that in the fall of 1872 Bruckner still included the D-Minor (originally entitled No. 2) among his repertoire of numbered symphonies.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, the first version of the present Third Symphony in D Minor (WAB 103), which Bruckner began in October 1872, is not known to have had any number other than 3. If Bruckner had not already set the earlier D-Minor Symphony aside by October 1872, he must have decided to reject it by 31 December 1873, when he finished the Third Symphony. Otherwise the first version of the latter work would have been called Symphony No. 4 at some point.

It might be possible to pinpoint more accurately when Bruckner abandoned his symphony if we knew his reasons for doing so. It has been suggested that the major factor in his decision was Hofkapellmeister Otto Dessoff's negative reaction to the work.<sup>33</sup> Göllicher reports that at some unspecified time Bruckner showed the work to Dessoff, no doubt hoping that the latter would arrange for a performance. Whatever his hopes they came to naught when Dessoff derisively inquired about the first movement, "*Ja, wo ist denn das Thema!*"<sup>34</sup>

But however adversely Bruckner was affected

<sup>28</sup>See fn. 6 above: "An der Symphonie wird jetzt fest gearbeitet. Werden staunen, wie ich Ihnen im Andante gefolgt habe. Der ganze Mittelsatz ist neu."

<sup>29</sup>Orel, "D-moll Symphonie," p. 5.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>For the dates given in this paragraph, see Nowak, *Sämtliche Werke* 2 and 3/1, forewords.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. 11a, pp. 11–12.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>34</sup>Göllicher-Auer 3/1, p. 228.

Symphony in D Minor, first movement, mm. 1-5

Vns  
p  
pp

Symphony No. 3 (first version), first movement, mm. 1-4

Vns  
ppp  
pp  
Ww  
ppp  
pp  
Str ppp  
pp

Symphony in D Minor, first movement mm. 298-300

Vns  
ppp  
p  
cresc.  
mf  
Ww  
ppp  
pp  
Str ppp  
p  
cresc.  
mf

Symphony No. 3. (first version), first movement, mm. 674-78

Vns  
ppp  
pp  
Ww  
ppp  
tr  
Str ppp  
pp

Example 2

## IV

Regardless of when or why Bruckner rejected the D-Minor Symphony, the resolution of the question of its composition date is important to the history of Bruckner's frequent and all too problematic revisions. Because the 1869 autograph is a composition score, because there is no concrete evidence that the work existed prior to 1869, and because Bruckner called it Symphony No. 2, it now seems clear that the symphony was not revised but was originally written in 1869. This means that the only substantial revision of the entire Linz period is that of the cantata *Heil, Vater, dir zum hohen Feste* (WAB 61), which was composed in 1852 and revised in 1857. The alterations consisted largely of replacing the original text with a new one suitable for a specific occasion, the name-day celebration of Friedrich Mayr, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Florian.<sup>35</sup> In 1857 Bruckner was immersed in his studies with Simon Sechter and may not have wished to take time to write a new cantata. Only one other work survives from 1857, the tiny a cappella chorus *Das edle Herz* (WAB 66).<sup>36</sup>

If, then, the D-Minor Symphony was composed and not revised in 1869, the first of the major revisions which have come to haunt musicologists and performers alike occurred in 1874, when the fifty-year-old composer rewrote part of his Third Symphony. That being the case, revision did not begin to form an important part of Bruckner's compositional activity until well into his Vienna period, suggesting that the social and artistic pressures of the middle 1870s may have played an even greater role in prompting him to revise material than previously thought. These pressures are the subject for another study.



<sup>35</sup>Ibid. 2/1, p. 112.

<sup>36</sup>Grasberger incorrectly dates this work 1861.