

# The Bruckner Monastery Project

1942-1945

The playground of SS Reich Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier



Compilation of dates and events

*Gilles Houllé*



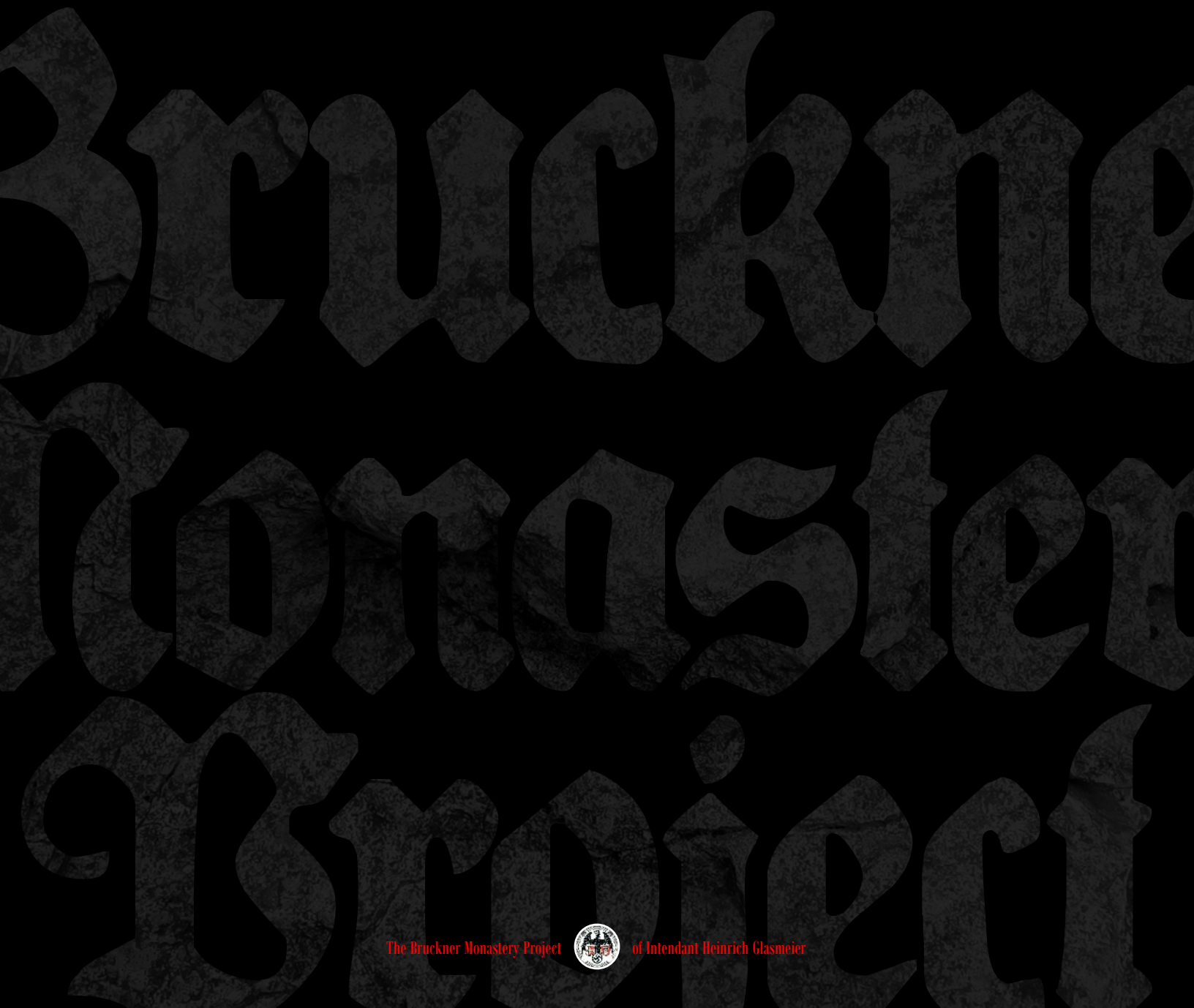
The emblem of the Nazi-secularised « Bruckner Monastery » designed by « Reich » Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier demonstrates the brazen self-importance of the Nazi ideology. It is an idiosyncratic combination of the holy-cross (the crest of St. Florian monastery) , the « swastika » under the cover of the Imperial eagle, and the coat-of-arms of the Glasmeier family from the town of Dorsten in Westphalia, which corresponds to the Intendant's personal vanity as well as the anachronism between the feudal monastic atmosphere and the state-of-the-art broadcasting technology inherent in the « St. Florian project » .





Informative dates and events prior to the

# Bruckner Monastery Project



Information from the internet compiled and assembled by Gilles Houle.

**Sunday, 9 March 1873** : The composer and church musician Vinzenz Goller is born in Sankt Andrä near Brixen, in South Tyrol. He is the son of Josef Goller and Rosina, « née » Plaikner.

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**Thursday, 16 May 1878** : Leopold Reichwein is born in the town of Breslau (Wrocław) in Silesia.

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**Wednesday, 30 April 1879** : Friedrich Castelle is born in the town of Appelhülsen in Westphalia.

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**Thursday, 6 May 1880** : Maximilian (Max) Joseph Auer is born in Vöcklabruck, Upper-Austria.

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**1885** : Vinzenz Goller sings in the boy's choir of the Augustinian « Neustift » monastery (« Abbazia di Novacella ») near Brixen in South Tyrol.

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**Saturday, 28 August 1886** : The Austrian-German librarian, writer, and playwright Robert Hohlbaum is born in Jägerndorf, Silesia, Austro-Hungarian Empire (now, Krnov in the Czech Republic) . His father is the industrialist Alois Hohlbaum (1854-1906) . The brother of surgeon Josef Hohlbaum, Robert Hohlbaum studies in Graz and Vienna.

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**Saturday, 20 April 1889** : Adolf Hitler is born in Braunau-am-Inn near Linz, a town in Austria-Hungary, close to the border with the German Empire.

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**Tuesday, 31 March 1891** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is born in Würzburg, Franconia. The son of a concert singer and voice teacher.

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**Wednesday, 6 January 1892** : Eugen Kurt Fischer is born in Stuttgart.

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**Saturday, 5 March 1892** : Heinrich Glasmeier, the son of Bernhard Glasmeier (a merchant) , is born in Dorsten, North-Westphalia.

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**Thursday, 14 March 1895** : Johannes Hollnsteiner, the son of a stone-mason and sculptor, is born in Linz, Upper-Austria.

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**Tuesday, 2 July 1895** : Franz Kinzl is born in Mettmach, Upper-Austria, the second son of Franz and Elise Kinzl. Both sons, Franz and Fritz, will become teachers.

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**1897-1902** : Leopold Reichwein works in Breslau as a « répétiteur » .

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**1898** : The Hitler family move to Linz, the capital of Upper-Austria.

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**Sunday, 31 July 1898** : Vinzenz Hartl is ordained a priest after studying at the College of Philosophy and Theology of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Saturday, 15 October 1898** : Günther (Werner Hans) Ramín is born in Karlsruhe, Germany.

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**1898-1907** : Rudolf Krzyzanowski was the first « Kapellmeister » of the Court Theatre Orchestra in Weimar. With conductor Peter Raabe, who also worked in Weimar, there were disputes about the rankings that led to the dismissal of Krzyzanowski in 1907. His court-case was rejected in 1910.

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**1899** : Vinzenz Goller marries Maria Josefa Pfeifhofer from the town of Sexten in South Tyrol. They will have 7 children.

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**Saturday, 21 April 1900** : Hans (Georg) Fritzsche is born in the Westfalian town of Bochum, in the Ruhr region. He will become the pre-eminent German broadcaster of his time, as part of efforts to present a more popular and entertaining side of the Nazi regime. His voice will be recognized by the majority of Germans.

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**Sunday, 8 July 1900** : Ludwig Daxspurger is born in the town of Raab-im-Innkreis, Upper-Austria.

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**1900-1903** : Adolf Hitler attends the « Bundes-Real-Gymnasium » (State secondary school) located on « Fadinger-Straße » in Linz.

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**1901-1906** : Franz Kinzl attends elementary school in Altenhof-am-Hausruck.

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**Friday, 25 April 1902** : Leopold Gutterer is born in Baden-Baden, Germany.

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**Thursday, 10 July 1902** : Rudolf Mildner is born in Johannesthal, Moravia.

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**Saturday, 1 November 1902** : Eugen Jochum is born in Babenhausen, near Augsburg, Swabia.

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**Saturday, 3 January 1903** : Sudden death of Alois Hitler. Adolf's performance at school deteriorates. His mother allows him to leave.

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**January 1903** : Karl Straube is appointed organist at the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig.

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**Saturday, 24 October 1903** : Heinz Drewes is born in Gelsenkirchen in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

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**1903-1904** : Leopold Reichwein is named « Kapellmeister » at the Municipal Theatre of Breslau.

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**Thursday, 28 April 1904** : Emil Rameis is born in the town of Regau, Upper-Austria.

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**September 1904** : Adolf Hitler enrolls at the « Realschule » in Steyr, where his behaviour and performance improve.

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Adolf Hitler's love of music is nourished mostly by the sounds of Richard Wagner, which he experiences during his youth in Linz and Vienna, and nurtured later in Munich ... and forever after !

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**Late-autumn 1904** : Around All Saints' Day, a young Adolf Hitler arrives early at the Linz Opera House (« Landestheater

») to purchase one of the few but cheap tickets to the standing-room - a spot on one of 2 wooden columns, where one could prop one's back-up, and still have a full-view of the stage.

On this evening, he observed another young opera-lover that had availed himself the use of the second pillar. He may have seen the young man before, perhaps they had exchanged a word or two during an intermission, or in the staircase. On this evening, they began a conversation.

In these years, Adolf's attempts at extra familiar communication were often awkward or ambiguous : his way was either gloomy sullenness or exultant monologues - silence or tirades. Something about the other boy must have induced his trust.

Because of their shared passion for the Operas of Richard Wagner, they quickly became close friends and later room-mates in Vienna while both sought admission into college.

They promenaded endlessly through Linz and its bucolic surroundings, visited every slightly famous place or building at least twice and climbed the towers of the churches and the hills that formed the back-drop of the town. A frequent target of excursions was the famous Baroque monastery of St. Florian, where Anton Bruckner was laid to rest, and the ruins of Kürnberg Castle, where the boys tracked the origins of the Song of the Nibelungs.

Excerpts from Kubizek's book, « The Young Hitler I Knew : The Memoirs of Hitler's Childhood Friend » (1955) :

« When I first knew Adolf Hitler he had, as far as he was concerned, already finished with school.

To be sure, he was still attending the Technical School in Steyr and frequently came home, usually every Sunday.

(...) For the sole reason that Adolf wanted, for a change, to see his beloved Linz from the east, I had to make with him the unattractive climb-up the Pfennigberg, in which the Linzers, as he complained, didn't show enough interest.

I also liked the view of the city but, least of all, from this side. Nevertheless, Adolf remained for hours in this uninviting spot, sketching.

On the other hand, St. Florian became for me, too, a place of pilgrimage, for here, where Anton Bruckner had worked and hallowed the surroundings by his memory, we imagined that we actually met " God's musician " and heard his inspired improvisations on the great organ in the magnificent church.

Then, we would stand in front of the simple grave-stone let into the floor beneath the choir, where the great Master had been buried 10 years earlier.

The wonderful monastery had aroused my friend to the heights of enthusiasm.



He had stood in front of the glorious staircase for an hour or more - at any rate, much too long for me.

And how much did he admire the splendour of the library !

But the deepest impression was made on him by the contrast between the over-decorated apartments of the monastery and Bruckner's simple-room.

When he saw its humble furniture, he was strengthened in his belief that, on this earth, genius almost always goes hand in hand with poverty.

Such visits were revealing to me, for Adolf was by nature very reserved.

There was always a certain element in his personality into which he would allow nobody to penetrate.

He had his inscrutable secrets and, in many respects, always remained a riddle to me.

But there was one key that opened the door to much that would have remained hidden : his enthusiasm for beauty. All that separated us disappeared when we stood in front of such a magnificent work of art as the monastery of St. Florian.

(...) In discussing these concerts with him, I noticed to my surprise that Adolf was developing a taste for symphonic music. This pleased me because it created for us a new common interest.

(...) Our special favourite was Ferdinand Löwe, the director of the Conservatory, who occasionally conducted the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra ; he was a great admirer of Anton Bruckner.

(...) In Ferdinand Löwe, on the other hand, Bruckner had an inspired partisan ; and, also, Franz Schalk, later director of the Vienna Opera, was a Bruckner supporter.

(...) I loved Bruckner, and Adolf, too, was thrilled and moved by his Symphonies. Besides, Bruckner came from our part of the country and, in exalting his work, we were exalting our homeland.

(...) Just as Bayreuth had become the centre of Richard Wagner's most impressive work, Hitler said, so Linz should become the shrine of Anton Bruckner's works. »

Aside from Opera, Adolf Hitler had little interest in Classical music. Sometimes, his friend musician August Kubizek got free tickets at the Vienna Conservatory for concerts performed in the « Golden-Saal » of the « Musikverein » . There, Hitler, for the first time, listened to the music - more precisely, the Fourth Symphony (the « Romantic ») of his Upper-Austrian compatriot, Anton Bruckner, which was still rarely played at the time and, according to Kubizek, was « intoxicated in every respect » .

Kubizek's account supports a view that Hitler, with or without his friend, attended an extraordinary number of opera and music performances in numerous opera-houses, including the Linz Opera House, the Vienna « Hofoper » , and the « Volks-Oper » in the Viennese district of Währing where performances featured the likes of Gustav Mahler and Anton Bruckner as conductors.

In the unpublished part of his memoirs, commissioned by the Nazi Party, Kubizek recalled that Hitler had « the greatest admiration » for Mahler. Although Jewish, he was « nevertheless esteemed by Adolf Hitler, because Gustav Mahler championed Richard Wagner's music-dramas and produced them with a perfection, which, for those times, was nothing short of dazzling » .

There is also reference to other performances where the young Hitler was in attendance :

**Tuesday, 8 May 1906** : « Tristan and Isolde » , under music-director Gustav Mahler.

**Wednesday, 9 May 1906** : Richard Wagner's un-cut version of « Der fliegende Holländer » conducted by Franz Schalk with soloists Erik Schmedes, Anna von Mildenburg and Richard Mayr. Stage-sets designed by Alfred Roller.

As a young man, Adolf Hitler attended August Göllerich's « Bruckner-Fest-Konzerte » in Linz.

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**Friday, 24 February 1905** : Johannes Rietz is born in Breslau (now, the Polish city of Wrocław) in Silesia. The son of a musician, he will study with Paul Graener.

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**1905** : After passing a repeat of the final examination, Adolf Hitler leaves the school without any ambitions for further education or clear plans for a career.

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Leopold Reichwein is invited to conduct at the Municipal Theatres of Lübeck (**until 1905**) , Essen (**until 1907**) , Mannheim (**until 1909**) , and Karlsruhe (**until 1913**) .

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**Friday, 1 September 1905** : Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer is born in Linz.

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**Monday, 5 February 1906** : Emil Seiler is born in Nuremberg, Bavaria.

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**1906-1914** : Johannes Hollnsteiner attends the Provincial Grammar School (« Gymnasium ») in Linz, and then, joins the Augustinian monastery of St. Florian.

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**Tuesday, 16 April 1907** : August Eigruber is born in the town of Steyr, Upper-Austria.

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**1907-1909** : Franz Kinzl attends secondary school in Linz.

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**1909-1913** : Leopold Reichwein is named Court « Kapellmeister » of the Baden « Staatskapelle » in Karlsruhe.

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**1909-1914** : Franz Kinzl attends the Episcopalian Teacher Training Institute in Linz. His music teachers are Josef Gruber (a former pupil of Anton Bruckner) and Julius Polzer.

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**Thursday, 31 March 1910 (7:30 pm)** : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Friedrich Karbach conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Overture from the 3 Act Opera, « Der fliegende Holländer » (The Flying Dutchman) (WWV 63) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 4 in D major for violin and orchestra (KV 218) . Soloist : Pálma von Pászthory.

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Concerto No. 1 in G minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 25. Soloist : Paul Weingarten.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (WAB 103) .

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**1912** : Franz Kinzl studies the oboe, the organ (with Josef Gruber) and singing (with Franz Neuhofer) at the Linz « Musikverein » (the ancestor of the Bruckner Conservatory) .

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**February 1908 to May 1913** : Adolf Hitler lives in Vienna.

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**22 February to early-July 1908** : August Kubizek and Adolf Hitler share a small-room at Number 29/2 « Stumpergasse » , Door 17, in the 6th District of Vienna.

But Hitler abruptly brakes off the friendship and drifts into homelessness. (Not until after the « Anschluß » , in 1938, did Hitler even visited Vienna.)

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**Sunday, 5 April 1908** : Herbert von Karajan is born in Kozani, in the Ottoman province of Rumelia (now in Greece) .

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**Thursday, 4 March 1909** : The German church musician, conductor, organist, lecturer and musicologist Michael Schneider is born in Weimar.

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**Friday, 10 December 1909** : Georg-Ludwig Jochum is born in Babenhausen, near Augsburg, Swabia.

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**1910** :Vinzenz Goller is entrusted with the establishment of the church music department at the Vienna Music Academy (founded in 1911) , which is located at the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg.

Robert Hohlbaum receives his doctorate from the University of Vienna. He gains employment as a scientific librarian, but maintains an avocation as a writer, writing principally for the journal « Muskete » , along with Mirko Jelusich and Rudolf Hans Bartsch.

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**1911** : The theologian Vinzenz Hartl holds the office of Dean (equivalent to a Prior among the Benedictines) at the monastery of St. Florian.

Heinrich Glasmeier studies German language and literature, history, philosophy and, allegedly, archival science (although this last topic is not part of the corpus at the time) in Münster and Munich.

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**1913** : Heinrich Glasmeier works as an archivist in Münster for the Counts of Merveldt, and their families.

Professor Leopold Reichwein succeeds Bruno Walter at the Vienna Court Opera, giving the local premiere of Richard Wagner's « Parsifal » to considerable acclaim.

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**Sunday, 27 April 1913** (3:00 pm) : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

August Göllerich junior conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (WAB 105) .

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May 1913 : Adolf Hitler moves from Vienna to Munich.

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1913-1920 : After successful engagements in several German cities (Lübeck, Essen, Mannheim, Karlsruhe ...) , Professor Leopold Reichwein works at the Vienna Court Opera (then, renamed State Opera) . He is particularly successful in the interpretation of operas by Richard Wagner, especially « Tannhäuser » and « Parsifal » .

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1914 : First conducting appearance of Professor Leopold Reichwein at the Vienna « Konzerthaus » .

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During the First World War, the population of Linz suffers from food shortages and price rises, resulting in protests and demonstrations. Schools are used as hospitals and army medical wards, and camps for prisoners-of-war, refugees and internees are erected.

Robert Hohlbaum is a nationalist and becomes an officer in the Austrian army.

The Münster archivist and Doctor of Philosophy Heinrich Glasmeier becomes a cavalry officer.

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1915 : The parish of St. Peter is incorporated into Linz.

Eugen Kurt Fischer receives his doctorate after completing his studies of German literature, theatre and art history.

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Friday, 16 July 1915 : Emperor Franz-Josef appoints Johannes Evangelist Maria Gföllner as Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Linz.

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After the novitiate year in 1915, Johannes Hollnsteiner begins studying at the philosophical-theological College, and obtains his graduate degree.

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**1915-1918** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is a squadron pilot during the campaign of England. He knows Captain Hermann Göring.

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**Saturday, 25 March 1916** (3:00 pm) : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

August Göllerich junior conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .  
Soloists : Marie Keldorfer, soprano ; Anna Stiedl, alto ; Felix Gruber, tenor ; Raimund Halatschka, bass.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Vienna » , 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

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**Autumn 1916** : Günther Ramín is conscripted by the militia.

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**Sunday, 22 October 1916** : Article by Johannes Hollnsteiner entitled « Bruckner's Memorial » (« Bruckners Gedenken ») published in the Vienna « Reichs-Post » Number 494 on page 18 (= page 170f of the supplement in « Der Sonntag » Number 43) .

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**January 1917** : Günther Ramín manages to complete his examinations at the Royal Conservatory of Leipzig with distinction.

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**1917** : Hans Fritzsche joins the German Army and serves in the infantry in Flanders.

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After the end of the War :

Robert Hohlbaum becomes involved with the Austrian wing of the Right-wing German People's Party.

Franz Kinzl completes his musical training by passing the military band « Kapellmeister » examination with Joseph Marx at the Academy for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna.

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**1918-1920** : Unrest, riots and looting in Linz due to the catastrophic food shortages after the First World War. Repeated declaration of martial law.

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**Thursday, 30 May 1918** : Organist Karl Straube is able to write to the 20 year old Günther Ramin on the front that he has been chosen as organist of the St. Thomas Church of Leipzig. Ramin returns from World War I and takes up this position, which he will hold for 22 years until World War II brakes out.

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After World War I, technical defects as well as the innovations of organ-building were fundamental to the modernization plans for the instrument of the monastery of St. Florian. Spokesman in this respect was the Bruckner biographer Max Auer. Until the beginning of the work, 6 years of controversial clashes went by between supporters and opponents.

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**February 1919** : After the War, Vinzenz Goller lives happily with his parents in the town of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. He returns to the directorship of the department of church music at the Augustinian monastery - a position he will keep until 1921. During this period, he also fights courageously on the political stage.

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**Sunday, 29 June 1919** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is ordained a priest.

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**October 1919** : Johannes Hollnsteiner goes to the University of Vienna to continue his studies at the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Philosophy (History) and the Faculty of Law and State and Science.

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A cavalry officer during the First World War, Heinrich Glasmeier is a fervent patriot. He will witness the defeat of the Ruhr. In 1919, he plays a leading role in the re-establishment of the shipyard and the acquisition of ships.

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**1919-1920** : As he demonstrates in Munich to his friend, the German-American businessman Ernst (Franz Sedgwick) Hanfstaengl, Adolf Hitler is able to hum or whistle from memory arias from Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , « Lohengrin » , and (like Thomas Mann, who preferred doodling on the piano) « Tristan und Isolde » .

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**1919-1926** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is general music-director of the Bochum Symphony Orchestra in Westfalia.

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**1919-1929** : Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer works as an editor at « Der Kunstwart » (The Art Guardian) in Dresden (a German magazine specialized in poetry, theatre, music, fine-arts and applied-arts) , but also as a « feuilleton » editor in Chemnitz and Königsberg.

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**Early-January 1920** : Due to the illness of Josef Sailer, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, Vinzenz Hartl is appointed interim administrator.

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**Thursday, 29 January 1920** : Death of Josef Sailer, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Wednesday, 14 April 1920** : Vinzenz Hartl is elected the new Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 26 September 1920 (8:00 pm)** : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from « Oberon » , Romantic Opera in 3 Acts (J. 306) .

Hugo Wolf : « Penthesilea » , based on the 1808 play by Heinrich von Kleist, Symphonic-poem for large orchestra.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) .

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**November 1920** : Johannes Hollnsteiner receives his Doctorate of Theology in with the dissertation « Untersuchungen zur Chronologie des Apostels Paulus » (Investigations on the Chronology of the Apostle Paul) .

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**1920** : Heinrich Glasmeier works as an archivist in Dülmen for the Dukes of Croÿ, and their families.

With the appearance of power amplifiers around 1920, the Siemens laboratories begin to manufacture a number of different designs, which eventually give rise to the loudspeaker combination Euronor of Klangfilm GmbH in 1937. Other trend-setting loudspeakers by Berlin inventors worthy of mention include the electro-acoustic Statophon by Hans Vogt,



dating from 1921 and the O 15 with coaxial bass and treble chassis, by Hans Eckmiller, that will be used at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation studios from 1943 onward.

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An orchestra that remained a bastion of conservatism was the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, whose principal-conductor since 1920 was the Austrian-born late-Romantic composer, Siegmund von Hausegger. From the outset of his tenure, Hausegger had resisted the inclusion of « modernist » works in his programmes. But although Hausegger was singularly unenlightened as far as contemporary music was concerned, he had forged an outstanding reputation as a Bruckner conductor. Indeed, he was primarily responsible for introducing the public to the original versions of the Austrian Master's symphonies.

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Conductor of the prestigious Vienna Court Opera before the War, Professor Leopold Reichwein had been cashiered by the Austrians in the early-1920's, most likely for lack of brilliance, though, in his own recollection, the Jews had been at fault.

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**1920-1921** : Johannes Hollnsteiner devotes himself to studying History as an associate member at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research in Vienna and at the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

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During his studies in Vienna, Johannes Hollnsteiner not only joins the Catholic Academic Association « Norica » , but he is also, for a short time, in **1921**, a member of the Catholic-German University Committee in the German student body. As second Chairman of the University of Vienna, Hollnsteiner advocates the expulsion of Jews from the German student body in Erlangen, on the occasion of « Student Day » in July.

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**Saturday, 18 June 1921** : Reception hall of the Linz South Railway Station.

Bruckner gala-concert.

Ferdinand Löwe conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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**Sunday, 30 October 1921** (at noon) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (**WAB 108**) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) . Soloist : Annie Kalab.

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**Autumn 1921** : Johannes Hollnsteiner continues his studies of History at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

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**1921-1943** : Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts on a regular basis Bruckner concerts with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

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The combination of polyphonic reformism, Adolf Hitler adoration, dogmatic and liturgical restoration, and anti-Romantic crusading reach its apex in conjunction with the « Organ Movement » , which originally is also associated with the Back-to-Bach drive. It is led by true masters of that kind of instruments such as Karl Straube, Gotthold Frotscher, and Günther Ramín. It becomes tightly aligned with the Confessionalist church-music crusade, which it predates by some years, for, as a subsidiary development of neo-Classicism, it has its origins in the **early-1920's**.

**Early-1920's** : Radio bursts onto the world-wide scene as the newest, most exciting technology since the telephone or the phonograph. German radio is lagging behind the British and Americans, despite the fact that, 40 years earlier, Heinrich Hertz, whose name is adopted to measure frequency, has conducted crucial experiments on transmitting radio waves.

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**1920's** : Efforts had been going on to found an international association of all Bruckner supporters, which was to secure the financial means to restore and maintain the famous « Bruckner Organ » left to decay in the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian. The architects of the plan were the University professor Ernst Kurth (from Berne) , who pointed out, right from the beginning, that the Society would have to be an international one ; Max Auer (from Vöcklabruck) , Franz Gräßlinger (from Linz) , Karl Grunsky (from Stuttgart) and Franz Moißl, director of the church-music department of the Klosterneuburg foundation, near Vienna. This group, chiefly made-up of officials from

the « Austrian Bruckner League » set-up after the First World War, made contact with the « Berlin Bruckner Society » , founded earlier by Arthur Nikisch, and invited them to join the proposed international organization.

It was Ernst Kurth, the Austrian-born president of the Swiss Bruckner Society, who argued most vociferously for a truly international society. Kurth was instrumental in arousing interest in France, England and in particular America.

August Eigruber is employed at the Steyr factory and the Reithoffer rubber-plant before turning his interest onto politics.

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Fritz Pfeumer, a German chemical engineer, gained notoriety for fusing bronze powder to cigarette paper to create the stylish « gold tipped » cigarettes, which were all the rage in the **late-1920's**. Pfeumer was well-acquainted with the problems associated with magnetic recording, but he believed he had a solution. He replaced the wire with long paper strips, to which he glued iron shavings. His invention, which he called the « sound record carrier » (« Langschrift-Träger ») , is considered the first real working tape-recorder. Pfeumer's efforts caught the interest of « AEG-Telefunken » in Berlin.

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**1922** : Johannes Hollnsteiner receives his doctorate from the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau with a dissertation on the legal status of the monastery of St. Florian in the Middle-Ages (« Rechts-Stellung des Stifts St. Florian im Mittelalter ») .

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**Wednesday, 24 May 1922** (at noon) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (1884) (**WAB 45**) .

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**November 1922** : August Eigruber joins the National-Socialist Worker Youth of Austria.

Eigruber will become one of the most powerful Austrian men in the Nazi Party hierarchy. Eigruber will become an associate of several top Nazis including Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Adolf Eichmann and Adolf Hitler, all of whom were born in Austria. He will also be a friend of Martin Bormann, Hitler's Deputy.

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**End of 1922** : Johannes Hollnsteiner returns to the monastery of St. Florian.

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**1922-1933** : Heinrich Glasmeier works as an archivist in Velen for the Counts of Landsberg and their families.

Professor Leopold Reichwein heads the conducting class at the State Academy of Music and the Performing Arts in Vienna.

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The Austrian dancer and dance educator Ellinor Tordis (1896-1976) worked in Vienna in the 1920's. She danced as a member of the Munich « Tanz-Drei » , and ran a dance school in Vienna, focused on coordinated mass-gymnastics, as positive expressions of social unity and public health.

Tordis was a proponent of « Nackt-Kultur » , which she integrated with concepts from German physical culture and dance. The « Nackt-Kultur » (or « Frei-Körper-Kultur ») , movement espoused a healthful ideal of physical beauty and vigour. Roughly translating as « free body movement » , « Frei-Körper-Kultur » was a nudist movement meant to realign both men and women with nature and the outdoors. This movement emerged in the late-19th Century and acquired its name in 1903. « Nackt-Kultur » was associated with vegetarianism and was influenced by the physical ailments plaguing Germany's urban population. Natural outdoor healing was promoted as a way to combat the unhealthy conditions of the cities. The movement was wide-spread in Germany but was not unified ideologically, encompassing a fairly diverse range of beliefs.

Among Tordis's students were dancers Gisela Taglicht and Hans Wiener (Jan Veen) , and actress Vilma Degischer. For a time, her accompanist was pianist and dancer Gertrud Kraus (5 May 1901 - 13 November 1977) , and Anne Winter who headed the gymnastics department.

Tordis's ambitions included dancing to the music of Anton Bruckner. From 1922 to 1924, she approached Janine Solane (6 January 1912 - 17 April 2006) - who danced to the music of Richard Wagner - by creating several dances using piano transcriptions for sections of the Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) . In 1924, Ellinor Tordis and her group performed at the Festival of Music and Theatre in Vienna.

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**First half of 1923** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is named chaplain at Lasberg in the Mühlviertel region.

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**1923** : Heinrich Glasmeier works as director of the United Archives of the Westphalian Nobility. Glasmeier is (probably) introduced to the National-Socialist movement by the circle of aristocrats.

Hans Fritzsche becomes a journalist for the Hugenberg Press, which promotes nationalistic opinions not very different from the Nazis.

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Professor Günther Ramín assumes the direction of the « Lehre-Gesangverein » (Teachers' Choral Society) in Leipzig, which includes giving concert performances of works with large orchestra. The experience soon awakes in him a passion for conducting.

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The name of Bruckner is finally established with the upgrading of the Music School to the Bruckner Conservatory of Linz.

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**Sunday, 1 April 1923** : Under the name « Radio Hekaphon » , the Czeija & Nissl Company of Vienna begins broadcasting entertainment programs on a 100 Watt radio transmitter.

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**May 1923** : Archivist Heinrich Glasmeier is elected as a full-member of the Historical Commission for the province of Westphalia.

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**Autumn 1923** : Johannes Hollsteiner becomes professor of Church History (canon laws) at the philosophical-theological College of St. Florian, where he also directs the archive and coin collection of the monastery. His main research interest is focused on the records of the ecumenical Council of Constance which took place during the 15th Century, which he edit together with his teacher Heinrich Fin.

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**Monday, 29 October 1923** : Birth of German broadcasting.

**8:00 pm** : First live-broadcast of the newly-created Berlin Radio Orchestra (« Rundfunk-Orchester Berlin ») from a small studio which is acoustically prepared on a temporary basis with horse blankets, crumpled silk paper, and curtains. For the recording, a Reiss microphone is used, as well as a « Vox » phonograph which irradiates the sound via a trumpet directly into the microphone. The « Vox » building (« Voxhaus ») at « Postdamer Platz » is full of studios with different acoustical properties, such as the so-called Schaeffer tent.

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**1924** : Conductor Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed general music-director of the Westphalian city of Münster, which includes the Symphony Orchestra and the Municipal Theatre.

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**Tuesday, 22 January 1924** : The Central German Broadcasting Corporation (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » , or MIRAG) is founded in Leipzig.

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**Thursday, 31 January 1924** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, Opus 60.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) .

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**February 1924** : Oskar Czeija's and Gustav Adolf Schwaiger's attempts to broadcast lead to the establishment of « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) - a joint venture of the Austrian federal government, the City of Vienna, and several banks. Czeija is appointed general director while Schwaiger is appointed head technical director.

Under Schwaiger's direction, applied research work is carried out in the « RAVAG » laboratory. Results : transmissions also become possible via telephone lines. Within a short period of time, this innovation will be widely used internationally in radio technology.

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**Saturday, 1 March 1924** : The radio transmitter in Leipzig starts broadcasting. It is the second radio station in Germany (5 months after Berlin) . The station covers the States of Sachsen, Thüringen and Anhalt as well as the prussian « Provinz Sachsen » (except the northern part of the Magdeburg District) and some parts of Braunschweig.

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**Monday, 10 March 1924** : « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) - run by the radio pioneer and enthusiast Oskar Czeija - is broadcasting its first live-concert. There are already around 30,000 radio receivers in Austria, which explains to the overwhelming success of the new medium.

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**Wednesday, 16 April 1924** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28) . Soloists : Klara Musil, soprano ; Emilie Rutschka, alto ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Anton Tausche, bass ; Franz Schütz, organ.

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**Tuesday, 29 April 1924** : The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (« Maria-Empfängnis-Dom ») is consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocese of Linz, Johannes Maria Gföllner.

The plans, drawn by the master-builder of the Archdiocese of Cologne, Vincenz Statz, were made in the French high-Gothic style. The construction was begun under the reign of Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger. The building was not completed until 1935. The cathedral is the largest church in Austria, around 2 meters lower than St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.

As part of the celebrations for the 150th anniversary of the Diocese of Linz, the cathedral square was redesigned at the same time.

In 1862, Bishop Rüdiger had already commissioned to Anton Bruckner a Festive cantata (« Fest-Kantate Preiset den Herrn » , WAB 16) to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone. In 1866, he asked Bruckner to compose a mass to celebrate the accomplishment of the construction of the Votive Chapel of the new cathedral. Because of a delay in completing the construction, the celebration of the dedication did not take place until 3 years later, on Wednesday, 29 September 1869, on the « Neuer Domplatz » . The performers were the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , the « Sängerbund » and « Musikverein » of Linz, and the wind band of the Imperial and Royal Infanterie-Regiment Number 14 (« Ernst Ludwig, Groß-Herzog von Hessen und bei Rhein ») .

The manuscripts and dedication scores of the Mass in E minor (WAB 27) and the Festive cantata (WAB 16) are stored in the archive of the Episcopacy of Linz.

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**Friday, 25 July 1924** : « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) is broadcasting from Vienna « Madama Butterfly » by Giacomo Puccini.

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**Wednesday, 27 August 1924** : A new radio transmitter, which was installed in a makeshift studio inside the building of the old Imperial and Royal Ministry of War (« Kaiserlich und Königlich Kriegsminister ») on the « Ringstraße » , goes into operation.

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**September 1924** : The Centenary of Anton Bruckner's birth has been celebrated by numerous public events, book publications, special issues of periodicals, and, most importantly perhaps, the founding of numerous local Bruckner Societies, especially in German-speaking countries. The enthusiasm Bruckner evokes in these organizations certainly

varies from one to the next, but, on the whole, promoting the works and mythologizing the life of Bruckner often takes on a fervour that approaches religious reverence.

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**Wednesday, 1 October 1924** : The radio transmissions of « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) feature Classical music, literature, and lectures. « Radio Wien » begins broadcasting officially from a provisional studio on « Stubenring » .

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**Friday, 10 October 1924** : The « West-Deutsche Funkstunde AG » (WEFAG) officially starts to broadcast in Münster, Westphalia : it is the last regional company to go into operation in Germany.

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**Friday, 17 October 1924** : The Central German Broadcasting Corporation (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG ») starts participating in the activities of their own Symphony Orchestra (« MDR-Sinfonieorchester ») .

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**Saturday, 29 November 1924** : « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) is broadcasting from Vienna a Mass by Anton Bruckner.

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**1924-1939** : The International Radio Exhibition (« Internationale Funkausstellung ») is held annually in Berlin.

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**Wednesday, 18 March 1925** : First live radio broadcast from the Vienna State Opera, featuring Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's « The Magic Flute » .

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**Tuesday, 24 March 1925 (7:00 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture for Heinrich Joseph von Collin's tragedy « Coriolan » (1804) , Opus 62.

Johannes Brahms : Variations for orchestra on a theme by Franz-Josef Haydn, Opus 56a.

*Intermission*



Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

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Spring 1925 : The Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra (« Rundfunk-Sinfonie-Orchester Berlin ») is officially formed.

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Tuesday, 28 April 1925 (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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Wednesday, 6 May 1925 (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 39 in E-flat major (KV 543) .

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (WAB 103) .

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Monday, 24 August 1925 : First live radio broadcast from the Salzburg Festival.

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1925 : August Eigruber becomes the leader of the National-Socialist Worker Youth of Austria.

« Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) officially begins regular live-broadcasts from opera houses and concert-halls.

Robert Hohlbaum publishes « Die Herrgotts-Symphonie. Eine Bruckner-Novelle. » (The Lord God's Symphony. A Bruckner novel.) , Verlag Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, Leipzig.

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« RAVAG » moves from the makeshift studio located inside the building of the old Imperial and Royal Ministry of War on the « Ringstraße » to a semi-detached house built in 1885 on « Johannesgasse » (Numbers 4a and 4b) , which was first occupied by an elementary school for boys and girls until this year. The station will start broadcasting in **October**.

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**Tuesday, 6 October 1925 (7:00 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 39 in E-flat major (KV 543) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**Wednesday, 4 November 1925 :** A joint-conference takes place in the monastery of St. Florian under the chairmanship of Provost Vinzenz Hartl, during which the decision to found an « International Bruckner Society » is formally registered.

Prior to Adolf Hitler's assumption of power, 2 major organizations, the « Upper-Austrian Bruckner League » and the « Bruckner League for Vienna and Lower-Austria » had been founded in Austria, whilst in Germany, 4 great Societies emerged : the « Württemberg Bruckner League » , the « Baden Bruckner League » , the « Westphalian Bruckner League » and the « Rhineland Bruckner League » , along with a dense network of local groups in Munich, Hamburg, Berlin and numerous other German cities. To this was added the « Bruckner Community for the Cultivation of Sacred Music » , in Munich.

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**November 1925 :** Johannes Hollnsteiner qualifies as a professor in Church History (canon laws) at the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna.

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**Tuesday, 24 November 1925 (7:00 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, Opus 60.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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Wednesday, 16 December 1925 (at noon) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Cantata « Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben » (BWV 102) .

Johann Sebastian Bach : Cantata « Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild » , celebrating the Reformation (BWV 79) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (1884) (WAB 45) . Soloists : Luise Helletsgruber, soprano ; Lydia Kindermann, alto ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Josef von Manowarda, bass ; Franz Schütz organ.

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1925-1927 : Johannes Hollnsteiner is involved in the field of cultural politics, acting as editor of the Vienna « Reichspost » . He also publishes numerous articles as a free-lancer when Friedrich Funder, with whom Hollnsteiner developed a friendship, acts as chief-editor. Funder is a close political advisor to the Austrian Chancellors Ignaz Seipel, Engelbert Dollfuß and Kurt Schuschnigg.

Hollnsteiner, whose impetuous ambition will find satisfaction in Alma Mahler-Werfel's high-society « salon » , can still have the opportunity to thank Schuschnigg - to whom he also owes his appointment as Professor of Church History and Dean of the University of Vienna - for his admission to the political establishment of the Austrian State.

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1925-1928 : Franz Kinzl is the military band « Kapellmeister » of the Tyrolean Rifle Regiment Number 12 of Emperor Franz-Josef in Innsbruck.

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1926 : Professor Leopold Reichwein is appointed director of the opera school at the New Vienna Conservatory and

music-director of the « Konzertverein » Society.

Foundation of the Bruckner Association of Upper-Austria and its local branch in Linz.

Their primary goal is the renovation of the defective great organ of the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian. They also offer a large number of Bruckner performances featuring local performers but also renowned guest-orchestras (like the Vienna Philharmonic in 1928) and conductors (Bruno Walter, Eugen Ormandy, Volkmar Andreæ, Hans Weisbach, Oswald Kabasta) . Large-scale Bruckner festivals will be organized in 1935, 1936 and 1937, creating national interest.

The German journalist and writer Friedrich Castelle (pseudonyms : Hans Dietmar, Fritz von Schonebeck, Hans Uhlenbrock) is appointed Director of the radio station in Düsseldorf which is part of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) - a post he will keep until 1930.

Johannes Hollnsteiner publishes « Die Union mit den Ostkirchen : Bericht über die Wiener Unionstagung Pfingsten » (The Union with the Eastern Churches : Report on the Conference for Unity held in Vienna on Pentecost Day) , edited by Ulrich Moser, Graz and Leipzig.

The two 105 meter high transmission towers of the Leipzig MIRAG « Groß-Sender » , which stand between the building of the German library and the exhibition grounds of the Technical Fair, are operational. The Bach Cantata performed on Sunday from St. Thomas Church is broadcast on the medium-wave at 259.3.

Horst Wessel joins the Nazi Party. He is a local commander of the S.A. (« Sturm-Abteilung ») , a para-military wing of the Nazi Party.

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**Thursday, 7 January 1926** : « Deutschland-Sender I » (DLS I) , the powerful transmitter situated at Königs Wusterhausen in Brandenburg near Berlin, is put into operation. The station is run by the commercial company « Deutsche Welle GmbH » , which was set-up by the network of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») , or RRG) for nationally relaying programmes from Germany's 9 regional broadcasting stations.

Broadcasting on long-wave (182 kHz) from a central position in the German « Reich » , the transmitter of the « Deutschland-Sender I » enables programmes from these stations to be heard throughout the country. Its name is adopted as a station identification.

The first programme broadcast is a concert from the Berlin regional station of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation : the « Funk-Stunde AG » .

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**Tuesday, 16 February 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 7 in A major, Opus 92.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) .

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**Tuesday, 20 April 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 22 in E-flat major for piano and orchestra (KV 482) . Soloist : Rudolf Serkin.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Tuesday, 5 October 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from « Oberon » , Romantic Opera in 3 Acts (J. 306) .

Carl Maria von Weber : Concerto No. 1 in C major for piano and orchestra, Opus 24. Soloist : Franz Schmidt.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Vienna » , 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

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**Tuesday, 26 October 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1877 version (**WAB 102**) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**Friday, 29 October 1926** : The supervisory board of the « West-Deutsche Funkstunde AG » (WEFAG) decides to relocate the transmitter station, which is located at « Hitzelerstraße » Number 125 in Raderthal, to the city of Cologne.

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**Tuesday, 23 November 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 36.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (**WAB 104**) .

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**Tuesday, 7 December 1926** (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach : Symphony for 2 flutes and string orchestra.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (WAB 105) .

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Winter-semester of 1926-1927 : Johannes Hollnsteiner is appointed to a lectureship in Christian cultural history.

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1926-1938 : Professor Leopold Reichwein is the general music-director of the Bochum Symphony Orchestra in Westfalia. During his tenure, the modern compositions of Paul Hindemith, Ernst Křenek, Erwin Schulhoff and Anton Webern, which were cultivated by the orchestra until then, take a back-seat in favour of the Classical and Romantic repertoire.

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Saturday, 1 January 1927 : The « West-Deutsche Funkstunde AG » (WEFAG) is renamed « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » or WERAG (the predecessor of the WDR) .

A new broadcasting centre (« Funkhaus ») is established at « Dagobertstraße » Number 38 in the Kunibertsviertel district. In view of the rapidly increasing number of listeners and thus employees, the site soon proves to be too small. Considerations for the erection of a new building in the outer green belt of Cologne goes back to the early-1930's.

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Tuesday, 4 January 1927 (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 8 in F major, Opus 93.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

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Saturday, 15 January 1927 : First day of broadcasting - via the powerful medium-wave transmitter in Langenberg - of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) at « Dagobertstraße » . Unfortunately, the broadcasting turns out to be too weak to cover the greater Cologne area.

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Tuesday, 8 February 1927 (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 40 in G minor (KV 550) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (WAB 107) .

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**1927** : An « umbrella organization » , which is registered in the Book-Trade House in Leipzig as a « Bruckner Society » , is founded through the then existing Bruckner Associations which include the ones created in 1926 in Vienna, Lower-Austria, Upper-Austria, and Switzerland. The foundation had already been decided in 1925. A structure is initially set-up to « build the new entity from the bottom » through the creation of regional alliances or local groups. The founders include Franz Moibl, Franz Gräßlinger, Karl Grunsky, Fritz Grüninger, and Max Auer who becomes the first President. As a result, numerous other local groups are founded.

Heinrich Glasmeier works as part-time director of the Archival Advisory Office of the Province of Westphalia.

Group picture of all the employees working for the « Westdeutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) taken in the large broadcasting hall of the Cologne « Funkhaus » at « Dagobertstraße » Number 38 in the Kunibertsviertel district. Among others : Alexander Maass, Josef Kandner, **Friedrich Castelle**, Rudolf Rieth, Paul Korte, Paul Apel, Hanns Ulmann, Otto Julius Kühn, Ernst Hardt, Willi Schäferdiek, Albert Oettershagen, Wilhelm Strienz, Wilhelm Buschkötter, Martha Walther, Heinz Holwe (baritone) .

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**Tuesday, 1 March 1927 (7:00 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from the sacred festival drama « Parsifal » (WWV 111) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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**Tuesday, 26 April 1927 (7:00 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.



## Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (WAB 109) .

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**Sunday, 9 October 1927** : All the separate Bruckner groups, the overwhelming majority of which are situated on Imperial German soil, are amalgamated into one vast organization called the « Bruckner Society » . This amalgamation results from a meeting in the Book-Trade House in Leipzig.

The headquarters of the proposed Bruckner Society, which is to be given the name « International Bruckner Society » , will be transferred to Vienna.

The engineer Norbert Furreg is appointed to manage the « Musicological Publishers » , and, at the same time, to function as treasurer and manager of the Vienna Office of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Professor Max Auer will serve as President of the « International Bruckner Society » **from 1927 to 1953**. But regrettably, at the end of March 1938, after the « Anschluß » , conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler will allow himself to be installed as new President to replace Professor Auer - a Jew.

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**Wednesday, 30 November 1927** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Antonio Vivaldi : « Concerto grosso » in A minor for string instruments (RV 161) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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**Thursday, 15 December 1927** : The newly-built radio transmitter in Cologne-Raderthal goes into operation at 283 on the dial (1,060 kHz) with an output of 4 kilowatts. On both sides of the transmitter building, two 80 meter high

wooden transmission masts (made of pine wood) for the transmission antenna (T-antenna) are erected at a distance of 140 meters.

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**Tuesday, 20 December 1927** : The « Deutschland-Sender II » (DLS II) transmitter starts to broadcast from the nearby town of Zeesen.

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**1927-1928** : Johannes Hollnsteiner worked as a provisional scientific officer at the Austrian National Library.

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**1927-1930** : Michael Schneider studies piano with Bruno Hinze-Reinhold, organ with Friedrich Martin, and composition with Richard Wetz at the College of Music in Weimar.

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**1927-1932** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed music-director of the Essen Opera in the Ruhr valley. He is also co-founder and director of the Folkwang University of the Arts (« Folkwang Universität der Künste ») .

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The Austrian-born inventor Fritz Pleumer (1881-1945) develops a process for striping powdered bronze on to cigarette paper, then realizes that he can use the same process to coat paper recording tape simply by replacing the bronze with a magnetizable material. Using pulverised iron particles for the purpose, he creates the first magnetic tape, and builds the first tape-recorder in the modern sense, receiving German patent DRP 500,900 (« Lautschriftträger » , « Sound Recording Carrier ») , on **Tuesday, 31 January 1928**. It uses 16 millimeter paper tape, recording 8 millimeters in each direction ; a 300 meter reel makes a 20 minute recording. Sound quality from his first recorder is however poor, suitable only for demonstration purposes.

Pleumer subsequently contracts with the German electronics manufacturer AEG, and development continues in conjunction with a team led by Friedrich Matthias, of BASF (a subsidiary of I.G. Farben) , until they are in a position to launch their « Magnetophon KI » recorder and « Magnetophon » Type C tape at the Berlin International radio exhibition (« Internationale Funkausstellung ») held on August 1935.

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**Wednesday, 1 February 1928** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from « Oberon » , Romantic Opera in 3 Acts (J. 306) .

Franz Liszt : Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major for piano and orchestra (S. 124) . Soloist : Josef Pembaur.

*Intermission*

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 6 in F major, « Pastorale » , Opus 68.

Otto Siegl : Music for chamber orchestra, Opus 31.

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**Wednesday, 29 February 1928 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Peter Cornelius : Overture from « Der Barbier von Bagdad » , Comic-Opera in 2 Acts (original version) .

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 95 in C minor (Hoboken I:95) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

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**Spring 1928** : The installation of a long-distance transmission cable between the cities of Vienna, Linz, Salzburg and Innsbruck is completed, thus ensuring high-quality programs in the new regional stations.

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**Wednesday, 18 April 1928 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Eighth subscription-concert of the season of the « Konzertverein » Society.

The concert is broadcast by « Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Hans Pfitzner : Overture from the music « Das Käthchen von Heilbronn » , based on the play by Heinrich von Kleist,

Opus 17a.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 38 in D major, « Prague » (KV 504) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (WAB 107) .

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April 1928 : August Eigruber joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 83.432) .

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1928 : Josephus Calasanctius Fließer is named Chaplain of the City Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary of Linz.

Johannes Hollnsteiner publishes « Das Chor-Herren-Stift St. Florian » (The Augustinian Canons of St. Florian monastery) , edited by Doctor Benno Filser, Augsburg and Vienna.

« Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) officially begins live sports broadcasts.

The cities of Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck and Klagenfurt, as well as the densely populated Rhine valley in Vorarlberg, are to receive a so-called intermediate radio transmitter.

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June 1928 : A radio transmitter is put into operation in Linz. This Marconi transmitter has an output of half a kilowatt.

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Sunday, 24 June 1928 : « Gymnasium » and festival hall of Linz

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from « Der Freischütz » , a Romantic Opera in 3 Acts, Opus 77 (J. 277) .

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (WAB 109) .

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1928-1929 : Theodor Innitzer is Rector of the University of Vienna.

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**Sunday, 2 December 1928** : Arrangements are confirmed during a meeting held at the Augsburg Town Hall, and put before a plenary assembly of members convened on **Sunday, 17 February 1929**, in Vienna, which approved and ratified the necessary changes to the constitution of the Bruckner Society.

The headquarters are located at Number 1 « Bucker-Straße » , at the old Vienna University (editorial office of the « Wiener Zeitung ») .

### The elected Presidents

Professor Max Auer, from Vienna-Vöcklabruck : Colleague of conductor August Göllerich junior, who was appointed by Bruckner as his biographer and whose unfinished multi-volume biography of the composer was completed by Auer after his death.

Professor Walter Braunfels : Director of the « Hochschule für Musik » , in Cologne.

University Professor Doctor Ernst Kurth from Berne, Switzerland.

### The elected Treasurers

Doctor Benno Filser, from Augsburg.

Doctor Karl Krieser, from Leipzig : Manager of the Leipzig Office.

Engineer Norbert Furreg : Manager of the Vienna Office.

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**Tuesday, 8 January 1929 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Hugo Wolf : « Penthesilea » , based on the 1808 play by Heinrich von Kleist, Symphonic-poem for large orchestra.

## *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (WAB 105) .

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Wednesday, 9 January 1929 (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

The concert is broadcast by « Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Hugo Wolf : « Penthesilea » , based on the 1808 play by Heinrich von Kleist, Symphonic-poem for large orchestra.

Hector Berlioz : « Les Nuits d'été » , song-cycle, Opus 7. Soloist : Rosette Anday, alto.

## *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (WAB 105) .

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1929 : Josephus Calasanctius Fließer becomes a lecturer in Christian art at the Teaching Institution of the Diocese of Linz.

Provost Vinzenz Hartl establishes the private « Gymnasium » (Grammar School) of the monastery of St. Florian and cultivates with enormous interest the musical tradition of Anton Bruckner.

The « International Bruckner Society » (« Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Vienna is founded by its first President, Professor Max Auer.

The mission of the Society is to publish versions of Bruckner's works **based directly on the original manuscripts**, which the composer had bequeathed to the Austrian National Library, but also, above all, to remain **apolitical** - goals that will not be met during the Nazi regime.

Bruckner Festivals and concerts are organized in many cities, including Aachen, Hamburg, Linz, Stuttgart, and Leipzig.

Horst Wessel writes an anthem for the S.A. that is published in a Nazi Party newspaper under the title « Der Unbekannte SA-Mann » (The Unknown S.A. Man) . It eventually becomes known from its opening words as « Die Fahne hoch » (The Flag on High) - and later, the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » .

The Central German Broadcasting (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » , or MIRAG) in Leipzig is composed of a literary department (headed by Julius Witte until 1928) and a music department.

After winning an architectural competition to create a replacement for the old « Voxhaus » on « Potsdamer-Straße » in Berlin, Hans Poelzig designs the German Expressionist « Haus des Rundfunks » (House of Broadcasting) , which will be erected on « Masuren-Allee » : a plan shape of a rounded triangle with a 150 metres (490 feet) long façade of ceramic tiles. It is the oldest self-contained broadcasting house in the world, exceeded in age only by the « Münchner Funk-Haus » .

...

With its monumental scale reflecting the need for a complex section to accommodate large performance halls and a dense warren of offices, and its radial plan allowing for the careful parsing of programmatic elements, the building was seen as the best building yet built for radio. It served, until the exigencies of the rise of Nazism and World War II intervened, as the fulcrum of a new project of urban planning in far West-Berlin.

There is much yet to be said about the architecture of one of Poelzig's masterworks, from its unusual planning to its main court including the Georg Kolbe sculpture « Die Nacht » to the curious cladding system of glazed ceramic tiles ; yet what is most relevant here is the architect's almost instantaneous disavowal of a relationship between the purpose and program of the building and its architecture. For Poelzig, there could be no relation between the two.

As he argued vehemently in a speech delivered only a few months following the dedication of the « Haus des Rundfunks » :

« No one dares refute the demonic grandeur of technical forms - but they are worlds away from the sphere of art and architecture, which, in the past, reached their greatest heights, produced their best achievements, in the religious sphere. Technology is rooted in natural sciences, architecture in the arts, in religion, and in philosophy. »

Anticipating later 20th Century eschatologies of technology such as miniaturization and automation, Poelzig added that the advance of technology was busy rendering itself invisible and informal :

« Technical forms (...) will (...) disappear or become so small that they will no longer have any significance as forms. There is, therefore, no point in trying to attach artistic significance to technical forms. »

Today, technology is pursuing its own course with its own achievements, using, for example, radio or wireless telegraphy to lose itself in the formless and elevate itself to technological magic.

Art, and with it architecture, cannot follow this course. Architecture is concerned with spatial design, with form for its own sake. Its laws are not on the technical plane, although this can serve architecture, and, indeed, must influence its

forms. »

Poelzig saw the increasing autonomy of technology, embodied in the « formless » tangles of wires and concealed by the invisible forces of broadcasting, as challenging the formal and spatial basis of architecture. This conservatism in the face of technology had a long pedigree in German architectural theory, but it is shocking to witness the architect of the famous chemical factory in Lubán (1910), the « Haus des Rundfunks », and the mind-numbingly large headquarters for I.G. Farben in Frankfurt (1931) turn so sharply away from the putative essence of his architecture when attempting to discuss architecture's past and future.

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**Tuesday, 16 April 1929 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Armin Hochstetter : Theme and Variations for violin and string orchestra. Soloist : Christa Richter.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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**Wednesday, 17 April 1929 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Armin Hochstetter : Theme and Variations for violin and string orchestra. Soloist : Christa Richter.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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**Sunday, 1 September 1929 to 1932 :** Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer takes over the direction of the literary department at the Central German Broadcasting (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG », or MIRAG) in Leipzig.

The spoken word on the radio is clearly given preference over the printed word. Fischer develops a form of popular



dramaturgy using broad-based radio broadcasting. He demands that literature becomes a living word, whether it reflects current events, serves political education or relaxing entertainment.

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**Thursday, 31 October 1929** : In the course of the centralization process of the « West-Deutsche Funkstunde AG » (WEFAG) in Cologne, the radio transmitter of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Elberfeld is closed.

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**Tuesday, 10 December 1929** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Siegfried Wagner : Prelude from the Opera « Die heilige Linde » (The Holy Linden Tree) , Opus 15.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto No. 5 in E-flat major for piano and orchestra, « Emperor » , Opus 73. Soloist : Walter Gieseking.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1877 version (**WAB 102**) .

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**Wednesday, 11 December 1929** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Siegfried Wagner : Prelude from the Opera « Die heilige Linde » (The Holy Linden Tree) , Opus 15.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto No. 5 in E-flat major for piano and orchestra, « Emperor » , Opus 73. Soloist : Walter Gieseking.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1877 version (**WAB 102**) .

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**1929-1930** : Theodor Innitzer is the federal Minister of Social Affairs in the third Austrian government of Chancellor Johann Schober.

Construction of the « Parkbad » , the first indoor pool in Upper-Austria to plans by Curt Kühne, the city's construction director.

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**1929-1931** : Franz Kinzl is music advisor at the Teachers' Academy of Upper-Austria.

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The « Konzerthaus » Society of Vienna has always been a german-nationalistic institution.

This is clearly visible in the statutes and in the inscription on the front of the building :

« Ehret eure Deutschen Meister, dann bannt ihr gute Geister. »

(Quotation from Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .)

So, it is no wonder that the « Konzerthaus » Society managed to stand the changes between 1930 and 1945 without much trouble. Beginning with the arrival of Baldur von Schirach and the rise of a true Austrian national consciousness, the « Konzerthaus » Society began to emphasize more on its Austrian roots, then, on the previously more important German roots.

It is striking how much power the German « Reich » had on the programs, that the « Konzerthaus » Society planned, even before March 1938. On the other hand, it is striking, that the « Konzerthaus » Society planned a lot of explicit National-Socialist musicians in their subscription-series before 1938 as well. Against the strong opposition of the Austrian government, the « Konzerthaus » Society managed to stay with Professor Leopold Reichwein, a known Nazi, as the conductor of their concerts. Those concerts soon became the meeting point of the illegal Austrian N.S.D.A.P. His composition « 3 Melodramas in the spirit of Adolf Hitler » (« Drei Melodramen im Geiste Adolf Hitlers ») was premiered in the Great Hall of the Vienna « Konzerthaus » . In the end, all that made the « Konzerthaus » Society known in Berlin and the German government recognized the « Konzerthaus » as a partner for a possible « Anschluß » of Austria to the German « Reich » . The programs of the « Konzerthaus » had not to change a lot during the years 1930 to 1945. What was liked by the public in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Republic of Weimar and the Corporate State (« Ständestaat ») was also good in the eyes of the Nazis. But it must not be forgotten that a lot of the programming was done due to economical reasons. Expensive concerts with little sight for high-income where replaced by cheaper programs. The concerts featuring a choir and an orchestra usually sold not as expected and resulted in big deficits. To deal with that factor the « Konzerthaus » Society let the artists and conductors themselves participate in the financial risks of those concerts.

The financial situation got worse after the Civil War of 1934. From now on, the « Konzerthaus » Society also used

the Great Hall for sport events. Interesting enough, the number of contemporary music programs rose in the same time. This is even more important regarding the fact, that the Corporate State was mainly interested in a backwards oriented cultural history. The « Konzerthaus » Society programmed a lot of young National-Socialist composers like Friedrich Bayer, Wilhelm Jerger und Friedrich Reidinger. The Corporate State did not have the power to prohibit the National-Socialist demonstration of power. On April 10, 1938, Josef Bürckel, the « Reich » Commissioner for the union of Austria with the German « Reich » , told the German public that the plebiscite was in favour of the « Anschluß » . The « Konzerthaus » Society was very proud that this event took place in their Great Hall. From now on, the rental business went on very well. The « Strength through Joy » organization (« Kraft durch Freude » , or KdF) and other N.S.D.A.P. institutions were very fond of the « Konzerthaus » . The « Konzerthaus » did make a lot of fuss with their Jewish board-members and donors. In April 1938, the board is very happy that most of the Jewish members of the board have left « voluntarily » . Interesting enough, there was no change of the situation after the War. Board-member Felix Stransky returned from the Theresienstadt concentration-camp on July 10, 1945. He is welcomed in the board meeting but the protocol does not state, where he came from or why he was not there for the past years.

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At the « Gewandhaus » (which still stood next to the « Reichs-Gericht » (State Tribunal) in the « Musicians' Quarter ») , MIRAG hired several rooms between the main auditorium and the chamber-music hall and fitted them out as a broadcasting studio.

The live-broadcast of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra's New Year Concert on **January 1, 1930** proved that the new MIRAG outside broadcasting unit was fully-functional. On that evening, for the first time, listeners sitting around radio-sets all over central Germany heard the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra under its conductor Bruno Walter join « Thomas-Kirche » organist Günther Ramín at the Walcker organ of the New « Gewandhaus » in Max Reger's Organ Fantasia Opus 40, No. 1, in a concert that also included Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's motet « Exultate, jubilate » (K. 165) and Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) .

In that same year, the Great Depression would drive innumerable German companies into bankruptcy and push unemployment figures towards the 6,000,000 « Reich » Marks, threatening the existence of even such large cultural institutions as the « Gewandhaus » and the Conservatory in Leipzig. That made MIRAG's plan for regular broadcasts with the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra all the more welcome.

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**Wednesday, 15 January 1930 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Frédéric Chopin : Concerto No. 2 in F minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 21. Soloist : Wilhelm Backhaus.

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**Monday, 10 February 1930** : First opera by Richard Wagner to be produced in Bulgaria.

Performance of « The Flying Dutchman » (« Der Fliegende Holländer ») in Sofia, meticulously prepared by conductors Venedikt Bobchevski and Hermann Stange with directors Ilia Arnaudov and Nikolay Vekov.

Singers : Tsvetana Tabakova (soprano) , Tsvetan Karolev, Lyuben Minchev (tenor) , Mihail Popov (bass) .

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**Wednesday, 19 February 1930 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Sixth subscription-concert of the season of the « Konzertverein » Society.

The concert is broadcast by « Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Max Reger : 4 Tone-poems after Arnold Böcklin, Opus 128.

Franz Liszt : Concerto No. 2 in A major for piano and orchestra (S. 125) . Soloist : Josef Pembaur.

### *Intermission*

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 12 in E major (Hoboken I:12) .

Josef Strauß : « Sphärenklänge » , Waltz, Opus 235.

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**Sunday, 23 February 1930** : Horst Wessell is killed possibly by communist militants in retaliation for organizing an attack on local Communist Party headquarters. His funeral is given wide attention in Berlin, with many of the Nazi « élite » in attendance. After his death, he is glorified as a martyr to the Nazi cause, becoming a major propaganda symbol of the Third « Reich » . The Nazi Party credits him as both the composer and lyricist of the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » but, until such criticisms are strongly discouraged under Adolf Hitler's government, musicologists point out that the melody has long existed in German folk-songs.

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**March 1930** : Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 232.248) .

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**Tuesday, 29 April 1930** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from the Romantic Opera « Euryanthe » , Opus 81 (J. 291) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 5 in A major for violin and orchestra (KV 219) . Soloist : Rudolf Malcher.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Wednesday, 30 April 1930** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from the Romantic Opera « Euryanthe » , Opus 81 (J. 291) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 5 in A major for violin and orchestra (KV 219) . Soloist : Rudolf Malcher.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

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**1930** : Professor Ludwig Daxsperger succeeds Franz Neuhofer as organist of the Linz Cathedral.

Johannes Hollnsteiner is awarded the title of « associate professor » . The Catholic Academic Association is founded in Vienna under his decisive initiative. It is intended to be a forum for discussion and - in addition, not in opposition to the Association - to serve the formation of the Catholic « élite » and the advancement of religion.

Eugen Hadamovsky joins the N.S.D.A.P. Doctor Josef Gæbbels commissions him to build-up the Right-wing « Reich » association of German broadcasting participants (« Reichs-Verband Deutscher Rundfunk-Teilnehmer ») .

Hans Joachim von Braunmühl, a scientist noted for his « extraordinary breadth of knowledge and great musical talent », joins the « Vox » building (« Voxhaus ») at « Postdamer Platz » in Berlin.

Von Braunmühl lists the most important guide-lines :

To record rehearsals to instruct performers concerning errors in their presentation.

To check reports prior to broadcast, especially for censorship purposes.

To broadcast programs at sites without program lines.

To play-back performances at times when the majority of listeners can hear them in stead of at the pre-determined time of performance.

To make better use of prominent performers who have other commitments during the primary listening times.

To repeat broadcasts which, due to their importance, deserve to be broadcast several times.

To exchange programs with other broadcast organizations by shipping sound carriers instead of requiring land lines.

To archive valuable recordings for future generations.

The pressure on technicians to discover an ideal means of recording is correspondingly powerful. None of the then-known processes (wax records, the Lorenz « Stahlton-Bandmaschine » (steel tape machine) , sound foil, sound film and the lab-tested mechanical-optical Philips-Miller procedure) are adequate.

Heinz Drewes is appointed conductor to the Provincial Theatre in Altenburg (« Theater und Philharmonie Thüringen ») . He starts a local branch for the Fighting League for German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , or KfdK) . The same year, he joins the N.S.D.A.P. and writes articles in the « NS-Zeitung and Völkischer Beobachter » .

The music department at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne is headed by the conductor and composer Hans Ebert, a student of Philipp Jarnach.

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Starting in **September 1930**, Professor Leopold Reichwein publishes, among other things, heated tirades in Alfred Rosenberg's « Völkischer Beobachter » against Jewish composers such as Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, who he primarily accused of financial interests as the driving force of their artistic creation.

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**October 1930** : August Eigruber takes the leadership of the District Council of « Steyr-Land » .

He promotes the Nazi Party agenda, which is now banned in Austria, even serving time (several months) in prison for his activities.

### Bruckner festival, Munich (1930)

**Monday, 27 to Friday, 31 October 1930** : First Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » . It takes place in Munich (not in Vienna) - « A Demonstration of German Spirit » .

Annual general meeting of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, and Max Millenkovich-Morold, the dramatist, theatre- and music-critic, are among the participants.

Millenkovich-Morold gives a lecture entitled « Bruckner's Mission » .

Presentation of the first publication of the « Complete Edition » (« Requiem » **WAB 39** ; « Missa solennis » **WAB 29**) .

Presentation of the third volume of « Anton Bruckner, ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild » (Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg) written by August Göllerich junior and Max Auer.

Decision to establish a Vienna Office of the « International Bruckner Society » under the supervision of councillor Rudolf Holzer (journalist and writer) and Norbert Furreg (engineer) .

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The Szántó String Quartet (Jani Szántó, first violin ; Anton Huber, second violin ; Valentin Härtel, viola) performs at the « Odeon » concert-hall :

#### Programmed work, among others

Anton Bruckner : String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) .

...

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Choir of the Munich Cathedral in 2 sacred concerts held at the « Frauenkirche » :

#### Programmes

Mass No. 1 in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

...

Adolf Mennerich conducts a sacred concert.

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28)

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...

Josef Ruzek conducts the « Bruckner Association for sacred music » at the Theatine Church of St. Cajetan on « Odeon-Platz » .

### Programme

« Requiem » in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 1 horn, strings and organ with figured bass (WAB 39) .

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**Monday, 27 October 1930** : Day one of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

A reception takes place at the residence of conductor Siegmund von Hausegger. Franz Schalk declares that he retouches Bruckner's scores less and less.

...

Franz Schalk conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 (WAB 106) .

*Intermission*



Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (WAB 105) .

Orchestral parts have been printed for Schalk's concert version of the Sixth. Schalk entered his changes in a copy of the first edition.

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**Wednesday, 29 October 1930** : Day three of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

Symphonic concert held at the « Tonhalle » on « Türkenstraße » (Number 5) .

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (WAB 109) .

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**Friday, 31 October 1930** : Day five of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Sunday, 2 November 1930** : Day seven of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

Sacred concert held at the Cathedral of Our Dear Lady (« Frauenkirche ») .

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Cathedral Choir.

#### Programme

Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

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**Tuesday, 9 December 1930** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Vienna » , 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto in C major for violin and orchestra, Opus 61 (WoO 5) , fragment completed by Joseph Hellmesberger. Soloist : Joan Manén.

### *Intermission*

Niccolò Paganini : Concerto in B minor for violin and orchestra, Opus 7, adapted by Joan Manén.

Eugen Zádor : « Rhapsody » for large orchestra.

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**Wednesday, 10 December 1930 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Vienna » , 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto in C major for violin and orchestra, Opus 61 (WoO 5) , fragment completed by Joseph Hellmesberger. Soloist : Joan Manén.

### *Intermission*

Niccolò Paganini : Concerto in B minor for violin and orchestra, Opus 7, adapted by Joan Manén.

Eugen Zádor : « Rhapsody » for large orchestra.

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**1930's - 1940's** : Due to the impoverishment of the traditional theatre audience, the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz goes through a cultural crisis with the middle-class. The new generation much prefers the fashionable film theatre.

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**Between 1930 and 1955** : 13 international Bruckner festivals organized by the « International Bruckner Society » take

place in German, Austrian and Swiss cities.

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**Sunday, 4 January 1931** : Foundation of the « Bruckner Society of America » . The first honorary chairman is Mrs. Harriet Bishop Lanier who is using her influence to stage the New York premiere of Bruckner's Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) under the direction of Artur Bodanzky.

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**Thursday, 22 January 1931** : Constructed from 1929 to 1930 under the supervision of Hans Poelzig's master-student Max H. Berling (originally, Max Henry Berliner) , the « Haus des Rundfunks » (House of Broadcasting) in Berlin is inaugurated as the seat of the « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » (RRG) .

The building « vis-à-vis » the « Funkturm » (radio tower) contains 3 large broadcasting rooms located in the centre, shielded from street noise by the surrounding office wings. Kurt Liebknecht is responsible for the interior design. Part of the structure is devoted to the « großer Sende-Saal » : a large hall from which symphony orchestra concerts are frequently transmitted live.

The mandate of the technical department is to present artistically important productions to a non-homogeneous audience surprisingly seriously. The cooperative efforts of both artistically interested technicians and technically open-minded program production staffs are certainly one of the finest legacies of the House.

The « Funk-Stunde AG Berlin » , the « Deutsche Welle GmbH » (from 1933 : « Deutschlands-Sender ») and the RRG are now broadcasting from the new complex on « Masuren-Allee » .

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**Friday, 30 January 1931** : Performance of Richard Wagner's « Tannhäuser » at the National Opera in Sofia, under chief-conductor Hermann Stange and director Nikolay Vekov.

Stange works hard with the singers, the choir and the orchestra, in order to re-create the « Wagner style » .

### Cast

Princess Elisabeth, the Landgrave's niece : the young, temperamental and talented dramatic soprano Tsvetana Tabakova.

Venus, Goddess of Love : Lyuba Krasteva (mezzo-soprano) .

Walther von der Vogelweide, a Minnesinger : Konstantin Karenin (tenor) .

Wolfram von Eschenbach, a Minnesinger : Mihail Popov (bass) .

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**Tuesday, 10 February 1931** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Georg Friedrich Händel : Concerto in A major for organ and orchestra, Opus 7, No. 2 (HWV 307) . Soloist : Franz Schütz.

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen ! » (Praise God in All Lands) , Cantata for the 15th Sunday after Trinity (BWV 51) . Soloist : Ria Ginster, soprano.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**Wednesday, 11 February 1931** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Georg Friedrich Händel : Concerto in A major for organ and orchestra, Opus 7, No. 2 (HWV 307) . Soloist : Franz Schütz.

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen ! » (Praise God in All Lands) , Cantata for the 15th Sunday after Trinity (BWV 51) . Soloist : Ria Ginster, soprano.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**July 1931** : After protracted negotiations, the director of MIRAG and the Theatre and Music Department of the City of Leipzig - the body responsible for the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra - finally signed a contract stipulating that MIRAG was to « record live and include in its programme 3 “ Gewandhaus ” concerts per year for 10,000 “ Reich ” Marks » .

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**1931** : The « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » has petitioned the Bavarian Ministry of Culture to have a bust of Bruckner installed in Ludwig the First's « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich, a Parthenon replica and cultural display cabinet for Germanic heroes.

The petition was unsuccessful, but, by the time the final instalment of Professor Max Auer's completion of August Göllerich's Bruckner large biography appeared in 1937, he was able to bring the work to what was evidently intended to be a satisfying conclusion with the following :

« The “ Führer ” and Reichs-Chancellor of the German “ Reich ”, Adolf Hitler, has at last agreed to the request of the “ International Bruckner Society ” that a bust of Bruckner be installed in the Pan-Germanic Hall of Honour, the “ Walhalla ”, in Regensburg. »

One year before the National-Socialists seized power in Germany, the ultra-conservative view on music has gained influence in Berlin.

Rudolf Mildner becomes a member of the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 614.080) .

AEG acquires Fritz Pfeumer's patent, and sets about making improvements. The first priority is to replace the record medium with something more robust. Pfeumer's paper strips break easily during rewind, and it is evident that a more reliable material is needed. For this job, AEG contracts I.G. Farben. Scientists (including the native Berliner Friedrich Matthias) at I.G. Farben's BASF subsidiary in Ludwigshafen come up with a much more suitable backing for the magnetic material. Chief-engineer Eduard Schüller invents a circular electro-magnet « head » (« Ringkern-Magnetkopf ») for the critical recording process. The tape path is optimized, and 3 separate motors are utilized for improved play-back, rewind, and fast forwarding.

After the extension of his « venia legendi » (habilitation) , Johannes Hollnsteiner is responsible for canon laws.

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**Tuesday, 27 October 1931 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

### *Intermission*

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Concerto in E minor for violin and orchestra, Opus 64. Soloist : Henri Temianka.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 36.

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**Wednesday, 28 October 1931** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

### *Intermission*

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Concerto in E minor for violin and orchestra, Opus 64. Soloist : Henri Temianka.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 36.

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**November 1931** : Bruckner festival in Linz.

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**Wednesday, 11 November 1931** : Article by A. R. (Anton Riegl ?) in the « Linzer Tages-Post » entitled :

« Bruckner celebration with the Cathedral choir in St. Florian »

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**Saturday, 21 November 1931** (7:45 pm) : Broadcast concert produced by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Vienna », 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

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**Wednesday, 25 November 1931** :

**4:00 to 4:30 pm** : Professor Doctor Robert Haas speaks on the radio about the music archives of the Austrian

National Library. At the end of the talk, he screams into the microphone, in a fawning way, the name « Ho-bo-ken » . He punctiliously splits the name in three, as well as exaggerating the emotion when he speaks of Vienna's deep obligation to van Hoboken. Haas curates the « Archiv für Photogramme musikalischer Meisterhandschriften » , which was conceived by Heinrich Schenker and realised by Antony von Hoboken.

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**7:35 pm** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Concert partially broadcast by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

### *Intermission*

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 35. Soloist : Váňa Přihoda.

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**Tuesday, 8 December 1931 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

Carl Maria von Weber : Concert piece in F minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 79, adapted by Franz Liszt. Soloist : Karl Pembaur.

### *Intermission*

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major Opus 60.

Franz Liszt : « Hungarian Fantasy » for piano and orchestra (S. 123) . Soloist : Karl Pembaur.

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**Wednesday, 9 December 1931 (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.**

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , Ferdinand Löwe's retouched version of 1903 (**WAB 109**) .

Carl Maria von Weber : Concert piece in F minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 79, adapted by Franz Liszt. Soloist : Karl Pembaur.

### *Intermission*

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major Opus 60.

Franz Liszt : « Hungarian Fantasy » for piano and orchestra (S. 123) . Soloist : Karl Pembaur.

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**1931-1932** : Provost Vinzenz Hartl initiates the restoration of the « Bruckner Organ » at the monastery of St. Florian.

The firms Dreher and Flamm from Salzburg, and Gebrüder Mauracher from Linz, exchange the slider-chest for Cone chests, and supply the organ with an electro-pneumatic key-action. At the same time, the instrument is again expanded and counted after the completion of the work (92 registers) . Also, the smaller choir organs of the Collegiate Church are connected as a so-called « Augustinian organ » to the « Bruckner Organ » .

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A new electric console was built by Dreher and Flamm of Salzburg, new conical-valve wind chests and mechanical implements were built by Gebrüder Mauracher of Linz. During this renovation, six 1,774 stops and ten 1,873 stops were removed and, in their place, 30 new stops were added. Now, the organ had 14 stops and 1,166 pipes more and possessed 92 stops.

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**1932** : The broadcasting career of Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg begins to emerge with the creation of the Chamber Orchestra and Chamber Choir at the « Deutschland-Sender » (German Broadcaster) in Berlin. But the National-Socialists will give new impetus when they will seize power in 1933.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed, at the age of 22, music-director of the city of Münster, Westfalia, performing at the « Städtischen-Lortzing-Theater » and directing the « Sinfonie-Orchester Münster » . This makes him the youngest professional conductor in Germany.



Initially a military musician, Emil Rameis joins the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra as a flute player.

Josephus Calasanctius Fließer is appointed professor at the Faculty of Canon Law of the Diocese of Linz.

The « Bruckner Society of America » elects Martin George Dumler of Cincinnati, Ohio, to succeed Mrs. Harriet Bishop Lanier who had passed away.

During Dumler's tenure, the Society initiates publication of the music journal « Chord and Discord » , which offers news and scholarly essays on the music of Bruckner and Gustav Mahler. The Society also commissions the artist Julio Kilenyi (1885-1959) to produce both a Bruckner and Mahler Medal of Honour to be given to individuals who helped promote the music of these 2 composers.

When Mr. Dumler was elected Chairman of the Bruckner Society, the following was written in « Chord and Discord » :

« On January 31, 1932, Dr. Martin G. Dumler, M. M., of Cincinnati, Ohio, was elected Honorary Chairman of the Bruckner Society of America. For many years a prominent American composer of sacred music and, at present, Vice-President of the College of Music of Cincinnati, Dr. Dumler is deeply devoted to Bruckner's art. His regard for that master's music dates back to 1889 when he first heard some of Bruckner's works performed in Vienna. Ever since that time, he has left no stone unturned in his efforts to bring about American performances of Bruckner. He not only did much to bring about the first American performance of Bruckner's F minor Mass, which took place in St. Francis de Sales Church, Cincinnati, on July 15, 1900, but actually took part as one of the singers. In 1907, he became personally acquainted with Gustav Mahler, in whose genius he has been a firm believer ever since. As a member of the Board of Directors of the Cincinnati May Festival Association, he made the suggestion last year which led to the inclusion of Mahler's " Symphony of a Thousand " on the Festival program. »

## Biography

Finding that he also had a talent and an interest in music, he attended the Cincinnati College of Music between 1895 and 1901. The College also awarded him honorary degrees in 1924 and 1934.

Martin George Dumler's long and distinguished life embraced the cultural community of Cincinnati and the nation. He combined success in business with the artistic pursuits of painting and composing. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 22, 1868. Music captured his interest early and, as a boy, he sang in the church choir. His first musical instruction came from Professor H. Steinfeld, the organist at St. Joseph's Church. This instruction included violin and piano. In 1883, Dumler became a four-dollar-a-week office boy for Chatfield and Woods Sack Company. By 1929, he was President of the company. While making his way to the top of Chatfield and Woods, Dumler found time in 1888 to visit the musical centres of Europe and, in 1890, to begin his studies at the Cincinnati College of Music. He studied voice with Tecla Vigna and Lino Mattioli, and composition with Almon W. Vincent and Doctor Nicholas J. Elsenheimer. Dumler graduated in 1901. He arranged and sang in the first American performance of Bruckner's F minor Mass which

was performed at St. Francis de Sales Church, Cincinnati, on July 15, 1900. In 1924, the Cincinnati College of Music presented him with its first honorary Master of Music degree. 10 years later, the College bestowed upon him with an honorary Doctor of Music. Dumler's compositions were primarily settings of sacred texts. In 1927, the Society of St. Gregory of America recommended his « Missa Latreutica », Opus 10, as a model of Catholic liturgical music. That same year, Xavier University presented him with an honorary Doctor of Laws. In 1932, Dumler became President of the « Bruckner Society of America ». His orchestral work « Four Ballet Scenes » received the 1944 Sachs Prize from the Institute of Fine Arts in Cincinnati. Dumler's association with the University of Cincinnati was an active one. He served on UC's board-of-directors for 30 years, 12 as Chairman. He was also Vice-President of the merged College - Conservatory of Music. Dumler wrote orchestral and chamber music, but his sacred music brought him the most recognition. Several of his masses and motets have become part of the permanent repertoire of leading choirs in this country and in Europe. His devotion to sacred music went beyond the act of composition. He was a choir member of St. Francis de Sales Church for more than 40 years. Dumler, initially a student of Martin Rettig and Richard Busebaum in Cincinnati before going on to study in New York City with Edward Potthast, was also widely known for his landscape and still-life oil paintings, which have been exhibited in many American art museums. The artist maintained numerous artistic affiliations, being a member of the Salmagundi Club in New York and the American Federation of Arts. He was an honorary life member of both the Cincinnati Art Club and the Cincinnati Art Museum. In 1946, he was named to the advisory board of the International Fine Arts Council in New York. Dumler died in Cincinnati on October 19, 1958, at the age of 90.

### Sacred works

3 « Ave Maria », for various forces, Opus 8.

« Ave Maria », for 2 sopranos, 2 altos, strings and organ, Opus 12.

« Ave Maria », for pianoforte or organ, Opus 24/1.

« Bonum est », for mixed solo quartet (SATB) and organ, Opus 21/1.

« Cantate Domino », for mixed solo quartet (SATB) and organ, Opus 21/2.

« Christus factus est », for male-choir, Opus 32/2 (1932) .

« Ecce sacerdos », for male-choir, strings, timpani and organ, Opus 31.

« Laudate Dominum », for soprano, tenor, bass and organ, Opus 44 (1939) .

3 Motets (« Ave verum », « O salutaris Hostia », « Tantum ergo Sacramentum ») , for children's and men's voices, and organ, Opus 7 (1913) .

6 Motets (« O salutaris » , « Tantum ergo » , « Jesu dulcis memoria » , « Adoramus te » , « Asperges me » , « Laudate Dominum ») , for male-choir and organ, Opus 14.

4 Motets (« Ecce sacerdos magnus » , « Suscipe » , « Ave maris stella » , « Ecce quam bonum ») , for women's voices and organ, Opus 34.

Mass in C major, Opus 3.

Mass in D major, Opus 4.

« Missa de Beata Virgine » , for soprano, alto and organ, Opus 49 (1942) .

« Missa Cantate pueri » , for unison choir and organ, Opus 33 (1932) .

« Missa Christi regis gentium » , for male voice quartet (TTBB ?) , Opus 46 (1940) .

« Missa Cœlestis » , for mixed solo quartet (SATB) and organ, Opus 43 (1938) .

« Missa Crux triumphans » , for soli, choir, orchestra and organ, Opus 20.

« Missa Dei Amoris » , for soprano, tenor, bass and organ (1933) .

« Missa devota » , for 2 sopranos and 2 altos, Opus 17 (1927) .

« Missa Eucharistica » , Opus 27 (1930) .

« Missa Gaudens » , for soprano, tenor, bass, Opus 22 (1928) .

« Missa gloriæ Dei » , Opus 52.

« Missa Latreutica » , for mixed solo quartet (SATB) , organ or orchestra, Opus 10 (1925) .

« Missa Laudis » , for 2 tenors and 2 basses, Opus 19 (1928) .

« Missa Petens » , for 2 tenors and 2 basses, Opus 15.

« Missa satutis » , for mixed solo quartet (SATB) and organ, Opus 41 (1936) .

« O salutaris hostia » , for soprano and male-choir, Opus 9.

« O salutaris hostia » , for pianoforte or organ, Opus 24/2.

« Panis angelicus » , for bass solo, male-choir and organ, Opus 11.

« Parce Domine » , for male-choir, Opus 32/1 (1932) .

Propers for Easter Sunday, Opus 13.

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In spite of his young age, Johannes Hollnsteiner is a recognized theologian.

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**1932-1934** : Eugen Jochum is the chief-conductor of the Berlin Radio Orchestra (« Rundfunk-Orchester Berlin ») .

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**Monday, 1 February 1932** : The aristocratic archivist Heinrich Glasmeier joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 891.960) . Conservative by nature, Glasmeier recognizes the path to social advancement by joining the Nazi Party. He is appointed managing-director of the Party in Münster and Westfalia's cultural advisor.

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**Tuesday, 1 March 1932** : Proving to be an extremely active protagonist for the Nazi cause, Professor Leopold Reichwein joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 1.009.765) . He then becomes the Viennese chieftain of Alfred Rosenberg's « völkisch » minded, anti-Semitic culture league : the « Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » . Reichwein publishes an article entitled « Die Juden in der deutschen Musik » (which is based on Richard Wagner's anti-Semitic pamphlet, « Das Judentum in der Musik ») in the « Völkischer Beobachter » , the party newspaper of the N.S.D.A.P. Reichwein draws the wrath of the citizens of Bochum, who are still willing to resist.

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**April 1932** : After the death of the Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Friedrich Gustav Piffl, Johannes Hollnsteiner is short-listed as his successor (in fact, the ambitious clergyman admits that he aspires to become the new archbishop) . Theodor Innitzer, who is 20 years older than Hollnsteiner, is named Prince of the Church. Hollnsteiner, who favoured Innitzer, takes over his previous function as director of the Thomas College (1932-1938) , a cadre training-school for gifted clerics. Consequently, Hollnsteiner moves into the former official residence of his predecessor located at « Habsburger-Gasse » Number 7 in Vienna's inner-city.

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**Wednesday, 13 April 1932 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 8 in F major, Opus 93.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) .

## Bruckner festival, Linz and St. Florian (1932)

**Sunday, 1 to Sunday, 8 May 1932** : Upper-Austrian Bruckner festival held in Linz and St. Florian.

Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian :

Recitals on the « Bruckner Organ » given by Professor Ludwig Daxsperger (from Salzburg) , Karl Haybäck (from St. Florian) , Friedrich Högner (from Leipzig) , Doctor Helmut Müllner (from Linz) and Franz Illenberger (from Wels) .

Recital on the « Bruckner Organ » (which is not part of the official program) by Professor Karl Walter, organist at St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.

The program of the festival includes, on page 25, an article entitled « First performance of the original version of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony in Munich » .

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**Sunday, 1 May 1932** : Day one of the Upper-Austrian Bruckner festival held in St. Florian.

High-Mass at the city parish-church of Linz celebrated by Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

Georg Wolfsgruber conducts the Christian-German Choral Society and the orchestra of the Musicians' Association.

Soloists : Steffi Zelenka (soprano) , Marianne Bauer (alto) , Adalbert Schwarz (tenor) , Josef Pfund (bass-baritone) , Professor Ludwig Daxsperger (organist from Salzburg) .

## Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

« Tota pulchra es » for solo tenor, choir and organ (**WAB 46**) .

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for soprano, alto, mixed-choir (SATB) , cello and organ (**WAB 5**) .

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**Wednesday, 4 May 1932** : Day four of the Upper-Austrian Bruckner festival held in Linz and St. Florian.

**10:00 am** : Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery.

Franz Ploberger conducts the choir of the monastery.

Some musicians are also part of the choir : O. K. (oboe) , Mauser (bassoon 1) , Scheit (bassoon 2) , G. Misof (bass trombone) , Rudolf Riedlbauer (trumpet or horn 1) , Andreas Viertelmeister (trumpet or horn 2) , Willi Tietz (timpani) .

### Programme

« Os justi meditabitur sapientiam » (The mouth of the righteous) , sacred motet in F major (Lydian mode) for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 30**) .

« Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor, for mixed-choir, soloists, orchestra and organ (**WAB 29**) .

Soloists : Steffi Zelenka (soprano) , Josl Prachowny (alto) , Anton Raidl (tenor) , Josef Pfund (bass-baritone) .

**8:00 pm** : Gala-concert given at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located at « Landstraße » Number 49 (« Bismarck-Straße » Numbers 1-3) in the inner-city of Linz.

(The building - designed by the architect Hermann Krackowizer - was constructed in 1898 ; it is often referred to by the people of Linz as the small « Hofburg » .)

Opening speech by dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold in the presence of the Federal President Wilhelm Miklas.

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the unified orchestras of the city of Linz.

### Programme

Symphony in D minor, « Die Nullte » (**WAB 100**) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. I in C minor, « Linz » , edited by Ludwig Doblinger in 1893 (**WAB 101**) .

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**Thursday, 5 May 1932** (Ascension Day) : Day five of the Upper-Austrian Bruckner festival held in Linz and St. Florian.

**10:00 am** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated by the Canon Karl Schöfecker at the Old Cathedral. Many prominent guests attend the service.

Franz-Xaver Müller conducts the choir of the Old Cathedral.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .  
Soloists : Steffi Zelenka (soprano) , Marie Erhard (alto) , Anton Raidl (tenor) , Max Ebermann (bass) .

Franz-Xaver Müller : Graduals and Offertory.

**2:30 pm** : Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments based on Anton Bruckner's « Psalm 112 » (**WAB 35**) , composed by Vinzenz Goller, conducted by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger (or Franz-Xaver Müller) .

**2:55 pm** : Radio broadcast of the consecration ceremony of the restored « Bruckner Organ » at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Address by Provost Vinzenz Hartl in the presence of the Federal President Wilhelm Miklas, the Minister of Education Emmerich Czermak, the Governor of Upper-Austria Josef Schlegel from the Christian Social Party (« Christlich-Soziale Partei ») , and many guests of honour.

Josef Pfund, the Chairman of the Upper-Austrian Bruckner Association, is cited for rendering outstanding services to the festival.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Perger Prelude in C major (extended by Franz Neuhofer) (**WAB 129**) . Karl Haybäck (organ) .

Anton Bruckner : Prelude and Fugue in C minor (**WAB 131**) . Karl Haybäck (organ) .

Franz-Xaver Müller : « Anton Bruckners Dankgebet » (Anton Bruckner's Thanksgiving Prayer) , cantata based on a text by Provost Vinzenz Hartl, for choir, baritone solo, organ and wind instruments (world-premiere) conducted by the composer. Performers : Josef Pfund (bass-baritone) , choir of the Old Cathedral of Linz, Professor Ludwig Daxspurger (organ) .

Johann Nepomuk David : Introitus, Choral and Fugue on a theme by Anton Bruckner, for organ and 9 wind instruments (2 trumpets, 4 horns and 3 trombones) - world-premiere - conducted by the composer. Friedrich Högner (organ) .

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

Robert Keldorfer conducts the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » . Soloists : Maria Dusel (soprano) , Frida Wazinger (alto) , Hans

Auer (tenor) , Josef Pfund (bass-baritone) , Vinzenz Goller (organ) .

**4:00 pm** : The composer and church musician Vinzenz Goller gives a radio lecture entitled « Restoring the “ Bruckner Organ ” in St. Florian » . The restoration (under his supervision) is carried out by the organ-builders Gebrüder Mauracher (from Linz) and Dreher and Flamm (from Salzburg) , according to plans by Ernst Schieß.

(Goller lived for the most part in Klosterneuburg near Vienna, where he was relieved of his mayoralty in 1938 by the Nazis. Two of his children then joined the Resistance.)

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**Sunday, 8 May 1932** : Day eight of the Upper-Austrian Bruckner festival held in St. Florian.

**9:30 am** : Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery.

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Choir of the Cathedral of Munich.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

Friedrich Klose : « In faithful memory of master Anton Bruckner » , prelude and double fugue on a theme by Bruckner for organ and wind instruments (1907) . Doctor Helmut Müllner (organist from Linz) .

Johann Nepomuk David : Toccata and Fugue in F minor. Franz Illenberger (organist from Wels) .

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**2:30 pm** : Closing ceremony at the Imperial Marble Hall (« Marmor-Saal ») of the monastery.

#### Programme

« On the death of Anton Bruckner » , poem by Wolfgang Madjera. Narrator : Otto Löwe, a son of conductor Ferdinand Löwe.

Anton Bruckner : String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) . Performers : Ensemble Pálma von Pászthory-Erdmann. Pálma von Pászthory-Erdmann (first violin) , Eva Gahl (second violin) , Paul Seyboth (first viola) , Ernst Brüchle (violoncello) , with the participation of Professor Karl Stummvoll (second viola, from Salzburg) .

Final concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery.

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the choir of the Cathedral of Munich.



## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Sacred motets, including « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 52) .

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**Thursday, 12 May 1932** : Letter from Professor Peter Raabe to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Raabe talks about his election to the Conducting Committee of the « International Bruckner Society » .

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**July 1932** : Creation of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation under the Minister of the Interior, Erich Scholz. Advertising is banned and an emphasis is placed on political programmes under government guide-lines drawn up for the Corporation.

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**September 1932** : Hans Fritzsche begins his broadcasting career as director of the Wireless News Service (« Drahtloser Dienst ») , an agency of the « Reich » Government under Chancellor Franz von Papen. His first daily broadcast is a radio program called « Hans Fritzsche speaks » (« Es spricht Hans Fritzsche ») .

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**Autumn 1932** : Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer is appointed coordinator of radio-play production at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») in Berlin - the House of Broadcasting (« Haus des Rundfunks ») on « Masuren-Allee » .

Public concerts organized jointly by the Vienna « Konzerthaus » Society and the « Musikverein » start to be broadcast by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) . During this period, the « Konzerthaus » is experiencing difficulties because of Professor Leopold Reichwein's National-Socialist activities.

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**1932-1933 concert season** : The idea of programming a thematic orchestral cycle (which has proven very successful with the « Beethoven cycle » during the previous year) is taken up again : at the suggestion of music-director Professor Leopold Reichwein, 4 major works by Johannes Brahms and 4 symphonies by Anton Bruckner are included in the 7 concerts.

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**Saturday, 8 October 1932** : Letter from Martin G. Dumler, honorary Chairman of the « Bruckner Society of America » , to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Festive greetings for the up-coming Bruckner celebration in Vienna (from 19 to 23 October 1932) . Dumler will do everything in his power to support the « Bruckner Society of America » .

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**Sunday, 16 October 1932** : Theodor Innitzer is consecrated Catholic Bishop of Vienna (replacing Friedrich Gustav Piffl) by Cardinal Enrico Sibilio, the Apostolic Nuncio to Austria representing Pope Pius XI. He is assisted by the Auxiliary Bishops Ernst Karl Jakob Seydl and Franz Kamprath.

For the occasion, the 50 year old Alma Mahler offers at the palatial Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) a festive banquet for several ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the 37 year old professor of Theology at the University of Vienna, Father Johannes Hollnsteiner, who has taught at the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Saturday, 22 October 1932** : Bruckner Commemoration at the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

Opening speech by Provost Josef Kluger.

Performance of the Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments, composed by Vinzenz Goller, based on Anton Bruckner's « Psalm 112 » for 8 part double mixed-choir and full-orchestra (**WAB 35**) .

Organ pieces played by Vinzenz Goller and Professor Karl Walter, the organist at St. Stephen.

Evening reception at the wine cellar tavern of the monastery featuring the premiere of the March in E-flat major (**WAB 116**) by Anton Bruckner performed by the local military band under the direction of Gustav Fischer.

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**Sunday, 1 January 1933** : The Fund's shortfall to restore the « Bruckner Organ » in the Collegiate Church of St. Florian monastery amounts to 31,100 Shillings. Subsequently, the Bruckner Association for Upper-Austria calls for further donations.

The Association announces the erection of a bust of Anton Bruckner in the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich, and the construction of a Bruckner festival hall including a monument honouring the composer.

The « Deutsche Welle » company is renamed « Deutschland-Sender GmbH » . Within a few weeks, the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda will take-over direct control of all broadcasting in Germany in the course of the « Gleichschaltung » process.

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**Friday, 6 January 1933** : Heinrich Glasmeier becomes a member of the « Waffen-SS » (membership card-number :

53.406) with the support of Adolf Hitler and the « Reichs-Führer SS » Heinrich Himmler.

Glasmeyer is characterized by opportunism and naïve piety and, as a convinced National-Socialist, believes blindly in the « Führer » .

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**January 1933** : Eugen Hadamovsky serves as the National Programming Director for the German Broadcaster « Deutschland-Sender » . A few months later, he is appointed « Reich » production director and head of the nationalized « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » , whereby he plays a vital role in the Nazi « Gleichschaltung » of the incorporated regional broadcasters.

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**Monday, 30 January 1933** (« Machtergreifung » , seizure of power) : On the very evening Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany, 2 emissaries from Doctor Josef Goebbels visit Hans Fritzsche. One of them is Horst Dreßler-Andreß, head of the Radio Division of the N.S.D.A.P. ; the other is an assistant of Dreßler-Andreß named Hans Heinz Sadila-Mantau. These 2 emissaries notify Fritzsche that although Goebbels is angry with him for writing a critical article concerning Hitler, Goebbels still recognizes Fritzsche's public success on the radio since the previous fall.

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**Early-1933** : Heinrich Glasmeyer, the managing-director of the Nazi Party in North-Westphalia, plays a significant role in the organization of the election campaign in the « Land » of Lippe - regional elections that are politically insignificant but symbolically very important.

Glasmeyer has the opportunity to meet Adolf Hitler and Doctor Josef Goebbels in person. He introduces them to the circles of the Westphalian aristocracy. His involvement lays the foundation for his subsequent career in the N.S.D.A.P.

Despite his political activities, the involvement of Professor Leopold Reichwein in the management of the Vienna « Konzertverein » Society is still considered. The precarious financial situation makes it impossible to foresee how many concerts can be scheduled in the 1933-1934 season. Since Reichwein's contract is automatically extended unless it is terminated before March 1, the confidential discussion about his future is still ongoing.

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**1933** : Vinzenz Goller becomes city councilor of the town of Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

At the request of Hermann Göring, who has also been a fighter pilot in the First World War, Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg founds the Orchestra of the German Air Sports Association, which will become in 1934 the « Reich » Orchestra of the German Aviation (« Luftwaffe ») . This wind ensemble, consisting of young, excellent but initially inexperienced musicians, performs with the conductor in a kind of fancy uniform. The well-known Schulz-Dornburg is referred to in the media as the « flying musician » or « flying captain » . The orchestra, which is used for Nazi propaganda purposes, performs throughout the country, sometimes several times a day.

Schulz-Dornburg is considered to be the father of German Aviation music by establishing new concert programmes, new wind music repertoire, even promoting the commission of new works to living composers.

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A strong German nationalist but surely not a true National-Socialist, Hausegger faces constant accusations and threats due to his refusal to join the N.S.D.A.P. As early as 1933, he is torn down from the podium by S.A. militants after his refusal to conduct the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » during a concert. This will be followed by warnings of arrest from the « Gestapo ». These unfortunate events prompts Hausegger to resign as President of the Academy of Music in 1934.

50th anniversary of Richard Wagner : Hausegger is one of the chief-signatories to the city of Munich's protest against Thomas Mann's controversial essay, entitled « Richard Wagner's suffering and greatness » (« Leiden und Crossen Richard Wagners ») , which he began to write in mid-December 1932 and completed at the end of January 1933.

**Friday, 10 February 1933** : Thomas Mann gives a lecture at the Auditorium Maximum of the Technical University of Munich (he also receives an invitation to speak at the Gœthe Society) .

**Saturday, 11 February 1933** : Lecture-tour outside Germany (Mann is accompanied by his wife) : Amsterdam (Monday, February 13, at the « Concertgebouw » - placed under the sponsorship of the local Wagner Society) , Brussels, Paris.

In response to the lectures, the Easter edition (**16 and 17 April 1933**) of the Munich « Neuesten Nachrichten » publishes a small double-column with the head-line, « Protest from Munich, the city of Richard Wagner » , initiated and written by Hans Knappertsbusch, the music-director of the Bavarian State Opera (who adores the composer) , and signed by 45 personalities, not to mention 3 great local musicians : Richard Strauß, Siegmund von Hausegger and Hans Pfitzner - as well as the famous Norwegian artist, painter and designer, Olaf Gulbransson.

While in the south of France, Mann hears from his eldest children Klaus and Erika in Munich, that it would not be safe for him to return to Germany. The family (except these 2 children) emigrated to Küsnacht, near Zürich.

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**Tuesday, 14 February 1933** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna « Schubertbund » men's choir, the Vienna « Bruckner Choir » and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Soloist : Alfred Jerger, bass.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Bridal chorus (« Treulich geführt ») from « Lohengrin » .

Richard Wagner : Entry of the guests from « Tannhäuser » .

Richard Wagner : « Wach' auf ! Es nahet gen dem Tag » from « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

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**Wednesday, 15 February 1933** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna « Schubertbund » men's choir, the Vienna « Bruckner Choir » and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Soloist : Josef Manowarda, bass.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Bridal chorus (« Treulich geführt ») from « Lohengrin » .

Richard Wagner : Entry of the guests from « Tannhäuser » .

Richard Wagner : « Wach' auf ! Es nahet gen dem Tag » from « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

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**March 1933** : Adolf Hitler appoints Doctor Josef Goebbels to be the « Reich » Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

The 18th Century Palace of Prince Friedrich Leopold (« Ordens-Palais ») located on the northern corner of « Wilhelmplatz » (at Numbers 8, 9 on « Wilhelmstraße ») becomes the headquarters of the newly-formed Ministry. Goebbels decides to re-model the interior according to his own plans. The role of the Ministry is to centralise Nazi control of all aspects of German cultural and intellectual life. He understands the importance of quality radio programming for propaganda purposes. He quickly nationalizes all the stations under the « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » (or RRG) , and establishes its headquarters in Berlin.

In a nationally broadcast speech to the German people, he declares :

« These are times for the people. Individualism will be replaced by the will of society as a whole. Radio will be cleansed, just like the administration of Prussia and Germany will be cleansed. »

Karl Hanke (1937-1940) and Leopold Gutterer (1940-1944) will be Goebbels's Second State Secretary.

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**Monday, 13 March 1933** : Theodor Innitzer, the Archbishop of Vienna, is elevated to the rank of Cardinal by Pope Pius

XI.

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**Tuesday, 14 March 1933** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna Teachers' « a cappella » men's choir, the Vienna « Bruckner Choir » and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Johannes Brahms : « Schicksalslied » (Song of Destiny) for mixed-choir and orchestra, based on a text by Friedrich Hölderlin, Opus 54.

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Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna Teachers' « a cappella » men's choir, the Vienna « Bruckner Choir » and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

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...

The German Government assigns all broadcasting rights to the newly-formed Ministry for Education and Propaganda under Josef Gœbbels, who views radio as « the 8th wonder of the world » .

He triumphantly declares :

« We will create the first modern broadcasting system in the world has ever seen (...) and so, take our National-Socialist demands to the people (...) »

Gœbbels places the day-to-day running of radio broadcasts in the hands of Eugen Hadamowsky who becomes head of the « Reich » Chamber of Radio. Hadamowsky is charged with ensuring that German radio fits into the National-Socialist mould and that anyone who is against this stand has to be removed from their position.

On August 16, 1933, Hadamowsky reported to Gœbbels about the progress he had made :

« We, National-Socialists, must show enough dynamism and enthusiasm coupled with lightning speed to impress Germany and the whole world. Party comrade Doctor Goebbels ordered me on July 13th to purge German radio of influence opposed to our cause. I can now report that the work has been thoroughly done. »

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**Saturday, 1 April 1933** : Götz Otto Stoffregen is appointed director of « Deutschland-Sender » in Berlin.

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**Tuesday, 4 April 1933 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Hans Pfitzner : « Hoffest » and « Liebesmelodie » from the music-drama « Das Herz » (The Heart) , Opus 39.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1890 version (**WAB 108**) .

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**Wednesday, 5 April 1933 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Hans Pfitzner : « Hoffest » and « Liebesmelodie » from the music-drama « Das Herz » (The Heart) , Opus 39.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1890 version (**WAB 108**) .

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**Saturday, 8 April 1933** : To further his career as a conductor, the ambitious Herbert von Karajan becomes a member of the Nazi Party in Salzburg (membership card-number : I.607.525) , one day after enactment of a new civil service law that removed Jews from State organizations.

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The purge of Weimar radio personnel is now getting under way, targeting leading broadcast officials. Among them, the

Intendants of almost all local stations of the former nation-wide « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (RRG) . Several of them, after losing their positions, are put on trial. Some even commit suicide.

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**April 1933** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels summons Hans Fritzsche to him for a personal audience. He informs Fritzsche of his decision to place the Wireless News Service within the Propaganda Ministry as of **1 May 1933**. He suggests that Fritzsche make certain re-arrangements in the personnel which would remove Jews and other persons who did not support the N.S.D.A.P. Fritzsche debates with Gœbbels concerning some of these steps. (During this period, Fritzsche made some effort to place Jews in other jobs.) In a second conference with Gœbbels, shortly thereafter, Fritzsche will inform Gœbbels about the steps he has taken in re-organizing the Wireless News Service. Gœbbels, thereupon, informs Fritzsche that he would like to have him re-organize and modernize the entire news services of Germany within the control of the Propaganda Ministry.

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**Tuesday, 18 and Wednesday, 19 April 1933 (8:00 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Gala-concert « in celebration of the birthday of our “ Führer ”, the German “ Reich ” Chancellor » placed under the sponsorship of the N.S.D.A.P.

**Ensembles** : The Brownshirts' Choir (« Braunhemd-Chor ») , the German Men's Choir Society, the re-inforced Symphony Orchestra of the « Gau » of Vienna.

**Performers :**

Annie Knoll, pianist.

K. F. Schwarz, pianist.

Robert Ernst, conductor.

Rudolf Hanke, conductor.

Richard Plötzeneder, conductor.

**Leopold Reichwein, conductor.**

Hans Winslöv, conductor.

**Ellen Reichwein, spokeswoman.**



Alfred (Eduard) Frauenfeld, speaker.

Rudolf Murauer, speaker.

## Programme

Johann Gottfried Piefke : « Preußens Gloria » (Prussia's Glory) , German military march (1871) .

Richard Wagner : Overture from the Opera-seria « Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen » (WWV 49) .

K. F. Schwarz : « Des Führers Sendung » (The « Führer's » Mission) , melodrama.

Eduard Kremser : « Wir treten zum Beten » (We come to Pray) , Old Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer for men's choir, orchestra and organ.

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

## Intermission

Ernst Julius Otto, senior : « Das treue, deutsche Herz » (The faithful German heart) , song for male-choir.

Gustav Wohlgemuth : « Wie's daheim war » (As it was at Home) , Opus 49, arranged for male-choir by Hans Heinrich.

Political speech by « Gauleiter » Alfred (Eduard) Frauenfeld, the local leader of the Vienna Nazi Party.

Leopold Reichwein : « 3 Melodramas in the spirit of Adolf Hitler » (« Drei Melodramen im Geiste Adolf Hitlers ») for female voice and orchestra, based on texts by Heinrich Anacker and Heinz W. Leuchter (world-premiere) .

Spokeswoman : Ellen Reichwein.

I) Wir trommeln.

(Third and fourth verses ...)

« Wir trommeln, wir trommeln

landauf und - ab :

Wollt ihr noch länger winseln und klagen ?

Höret der Jugend Empörungsschrei :

Keine Ketten wollen wir tragen -

Reißt sie entzwei !

Wir trommeln, wir trommeln landauf und - ab :  
Schaffende Hände aller Klassen und Stände,  
Trennen euch künstliche Schranken noch ?  
Reicht euch im Heer Adolf Hitlers die Hände -  
Fort mit dem Joch ! »

2) Mütter der Toten : Kennst du die Mütter unserer toten Streiter ?

3) Wir schmieden.

« Wir schmieden ein neues Jungengeschlecht,  
Wir schmieden Kämpfergestalten !  
Wir schmieden den Sinn für Freiheit und Recht,  
Wir schmieden harte Gestalten !  
Wir schmieden der Jugend die Herzen heiß,  
Wir schmieden sie zähe und gut !  
Wir schmieden rastlos, wir schmieden mit Fleiß.  
Wir schmieden ein trotziges Blut !  
Wir schmieden der Jugend die Kämpferfaust,  
Wir schmieden hinein die Rache !  
Wir schmieden bis alle der Ruf durchbraust :  
Auf, Deutsche Jugend, erwache ! »

Friedrich Bayer : « Deutschland » , symphonic poem for large orchestra (1933) - world-premiere. (The work will be later renamed « Die Fahne hoch ! » - Raise the flag !)

Friedrich Bayer studied music theory at the Vienna Music Academy with Joseph Marx. He appeared in 1932 at the « Konzerthaus » as piano accompanist of the Vienna « Bruckner Choir » . On September 27, he joined the N.S.D.A.P. After the dissolution of the Association of Austrian Composers in October 1938, he was appointed acting head of the Association of German Composers. Music-critic for the Vienna edition of the « Völkischer Beobachter » until March 1945. As a musicologist, Bayer dealt with the symphonies of Anton Bruckner.

The son of a privy councillor, Alfred (Eduard) Frauenfeld, an engineer by occupation, was associated with the Austrian wing of the N.S.D.A.P. He served during the First World War on the Italian front as an officer candidate in the rank of a sergeant, with the pay-grade of a lance corporal, with the Imperial and Royal Aircraft Squadron (« Flieger-Kompanie ») Number 48. Working variously as a mason and a bank clerk, Frauenfeld was initially a member of the Christian-Social Party. However, he first came to prominence on the Viennese political scene in Hermann Hiltl's movement, before becoming a highly-influential figure amongst the city's National-Socialists during the late-1920's. He seems to have joined the Austrian Nazi Party in August 1929 and, very quickly, took on the role of district leader (« bezirks-leiter »)

of his community. In 1930, he was confirmed by Adolf Hitler as Nazi « Gauleiter » in Vienna. In this role, he became hugely active, organizing over 1,000 propaganda meetings in 3 years and founding in 1930 (with his own money) a Party newspaper, « Der Kampf » , before ultimately running 8 party publications : 4 dailies and 4 weeklies. Under his command, the National-Socialists became an important force in Vienna, winning almost 10 times as many votes in the 1932 elections as they did in 1930. From a few hundred members when he took over, Frauenfeld had expanded the Viennese Nazi Party by 1934 to 40,000 members. Frauenfeld's success saw him considered for the post of leader of the Austrian Nazi Party in 1931 although, ultimately, Theodor Habicht was chosen for the role (on Adolf Hitler's advice) by Gregor Straßer. Despite his success as an organiser, Frauenfeld also had a reputation for a domineering and impolite temperament, something which ensured a frosty relationship with the leading Austrian Nazis Josef Leopold and Alfred Proksch. Frauenfeld became associated with the terrorist activities of the Nazis within Austria and, in June 1933, he was held at the Wöllersdorf internment-camp. He was also closely involved with Theodor Habicht in the abortive « Putsch » of 1934. Engelbert Dollfuß had actually offered Frauenfeld a cabinet post in May 1934 in an attempt to avoid rebellion, but he refused the offer and went to Germany to become involved in the plot. He would remain in Germany after the failed « coup » attempt and, in 1936, was appointed to the « Reichstag » as a member for Düsseldorf East. Following the « Anschluß » of which Frauenfeld had long been an advocate, the popular local figure was a leading choice for the role of « Gauleiter » of Vienna. However, in what proved to be a fraught selection process, Frauenfeld lost out to Odilo Globočnik, an old rival from Carinthia. He was not sidelined completely however and found a number of positions within the Nazi administration. He was something of a « patron of the arts » and enjoyed a close relationship with conductor Clemens Krauß and had also been an actor. Consequently, Frauenfeld served as managing director of the « Reich » Chamber of Theatre within the « Reich » Chamber of Culture.

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**Wednesday, 19 April 1933** : Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer is appointed broadcasting director at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne.

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**Monday, 24 April 1933** : On Adolf Hitler's advice, archivist Heinrich Glasmeier is appointed without any opposition as the new general manager of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne. Doctor Josef Gæbbels, the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, even takes the opportunity to attend the inauguration ceremony which takes place at the « Funkhaus » on « Dagobertstraße » (Number 38) in the Kunibertsviertel district.

Photo : « Reich » Minister Gæbbels (third from the left) , Broadcasting Commissioner Gustav Krukenberg (first from the left) , Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper, the head of Propaganda (fourth from the right) .

Glasmeier immediately arranges for the dismissal of politically and « racially » unpopular employees. The substantial purge of left-wing staff includes Intendant Doctor Ernst Hardt, Hans Stein and Walter Stern.

Hardt had prior experience as Intendant of the National Theatre in Weimar and, like many of the others, is a staunch Social-Democrat. Although his Cologne imprisonment lasts only a few days, he emerges from it impoverished, seeking refuge with his married daughter in Berlin.

Glasmeier is especially tolerant of those who are centrist Catholics, but many of them take the step of joining the Nazi Party during an official ceremony inside the « Funkhaus » , for reasons of livelihood or openly opportunistic reasons, since the first day the « swastika » flag has been flying on « Dagobertstraße » (March 8) .

Just as unfamiliar as Glasmeier with the function are a small group of Nazi Party comrades who also inherit leading positions on the recommendation of the North-Westphalian authorities, a process that leads to a corruption affair in 1933-1934, which Glasmeier survives thanks to the support of Adolf Hitler and the Cologne regional authorities - despite a 10 month suspension in 1934-1935. Hitler as a soft spot for his dear archivist, a fanatical follower who even attends High-Mass at the Cologne Cathedral in his « SS Ober-Sturm-Führer » uniform. Hitler will make sure that Glasmeier be appointed « Reichs-Rundfunk-Intendant » in Berlin.

In Cologne, Glasmeier names Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer (who shows some reservations about the Nazi regime) deputy director and acting head of broadcasting. From 1934 at the latest, Fischer only picks radio people as editors : he appoints Doctor Adolf Raskin (music) , Robert Götz (youth and children) , Carl Hösterey (press and propaganda) and Wilfrid Schreiber (nature and spirituality) heads of the newly-structured departments.

Glasmeier names Friedrich Castelle Chairman of the « Reich » Association for National Identity and Homeland (« Reichs-Bund Volkstum und Heimat ») for the District of Burgsteinfurt. A position he will hold until 1937. Castelle also owes Glasmeier his professional commitment at the « Reichs-Sender » in Münster.

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**May 1933** : Franz Kinzl joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : I.619.526) .

In collaboration with Robert Ernst and assistant-conductor Josef Friedrich Gröger, music-director Leopold Reichwein founds in Vienna the Orchestra of the National-Socialist Workers' Organisation (« Orchester der National-Sozialistischen Betriebszellen-Organisation » , or « NSBO-Orchester ») .

Reichwein, who is very committed to the promotion of the music of Richard Wagner and Anton Bruckner, also performs the compositions of Austrian modern composers (i.e. , Rudolf Kattnigg) .

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**Monday, 1 May 1933** :

Roll-call of the employees of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in front of the Cologne « Funkhaus » at « Dagobertstraße » Number 38 in the Kunibertsviertel district. Address by Heinrich Glasmeier in « Waffen-SS » uniform. On the left, personnel manager Doctor Otto Barlage (the adjutant of Doctor Alfred Meyer, « Gauleiter » of North Westphalia) . On the right, Paul Korte.

Hans Fritzsche joins the N.S.D.A.P. after the Wireless News Service is incorporated into the Propaganda Ministry of

Doctor Josef Gæbbels. Fritzsche will continue as its head until 1938. He will later join the S.A. forces.

Friedrich Castelle joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 2.468.358) .

Gustav Bosse joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 2.530.992) .

Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 1.450.844) in Linz, and organizes Nazi rallies.

To further his career as a conductor, the ambitious Herbert von Karajan becomes a member of the N.S.D.A.P. in Ulm (membership card-number : 3.430.914) , the very day before a freeze on new Party members.

Through his support for National-Socialism (he not only glorifies Adolf Hitler, but also the ideologist Alfred Rosenberg from the Office of Foreign Affairs who, unlike Josef Gæbbels, closely follows the « blood and soil » and « völkisch » theories) and his close relationship with top-officials of the Party, Castelle makes several career leaps in public service. He will occupy a leading position in the « Reich » Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (« Reichs-Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung ») , the « Reich » Chamber of Literature and, at times, the Chamber of Radio Broadcasting.

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**Thursday, 4 May 1933** : As part of the nazification process, Götz Otto Stoffregen takes over the presidency of the Association for the protection of German writers.

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**Friday, 5 May 1933** : From the « Zeitschrift für Musik » , page 461 :

« As a Metropolis in the West, Cologne also had to comply with the new political situation. At the Opera House, the 2 “ Kapellmeisters ” Eugen Szenkar and Heinrich Jalowetz were given a leave of absence as Jewish foreigners, likewise for Intendant Professor (Max) Hofmüller, in whose place (Alexander) Spring, known from his work in Bayreuth, was appointed, while “ Kapellmeister ” Werner Gößling, who had been on forced leave of absence for some time, was allowed to return to his position as conductor. At the University of Music, Professor Walter Braunfels was forced to resign, and the pianists Mihail Wittels and Heinz Jolles were placed on leave of absence. (Hermann) Abendroth took over the direction of the University, and Professor Richard Trunk became the permanent director of the School of Music. Intendant Doctor Ernst Hardt resigned from his position at the radio station, as did the concert-masters (Bronisław) Mittmann and (Dodja) Feldin and the composer in residence Hans Ebert, and finally Fritz Worm, who became famous for his terrible “ entertaining hours ”. The provisional management of the radio station has been entrusted to opera-director Doctor (Siegfried) Anheißer, and the last management position to Doctor (Heinrich) Glasmeier from Münster. »

(« Köln hat als Metropole des Westens auch am nachhaltigsten die Auswirkungen der neuen innerpolitischen Lage aufzuzeigen gehabt. Am Opernhause wurden die beiden Kapellmeister Eugen Szenkar und Heinrich Jalowetz als jüdische

Ausländer beurlaubt, desgleichen nach ihnen der Intendant Professor Hofmüller, an dessen Stelle der aus seiner Bayreuther Tätigkeit bekannte Spring-Weimar berufen wurde, während als Kapellmeister Werner Gößling, s. Zeit zwangsbeurlaubt, in seine Stellung wieder einrücken durfte. An der Hochschule für Musik wurde Professor Walter Braunfels zum Rücktritt veranlaßt, sowie die Pianisten Mihail Wittels und Heinz Jolles beurlaubt. Abendroth übernahm die Leitung der Hochschule, Professor Richard Trunk die hauptamtliche Leitung der Musikschule. Im Rundfunk schied Intendant Doktor Ernst Hardt aus seinem Amt, desgleichen die Konzertmeister Mittmann und Feldin und der Hauskomponist Hans Ebert, endlich der durch seine schlimmen “ Kurzweilstunden ” bekannt gewordene Fritz Worm. Die vorläufige Leitung des Rundfunks ist Doktor Anheißer, dem Opernregisseur, übertragen worden und die endgültige Leitung Doktor Glasmeier aus Münster. »)

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**Tuesday, 9 May 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Furreg is anticipating a request from the Germans (now governed by Adolf Hitler) to renamed the « International Bruckner Society » the « Anton Bruckner Society » . He tries to keep the initiative in his hands.

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**Tuesday, 16 May 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Yesterday, Furreg met one the secretaries of the Society : the Government Councillor Professor Franz Moißl (from Vienna-Klosterneuburg) , who had moved away from his point-of-view on Nazism. He now strongly condemns the practical impact of this ideology on artistic life.

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**Friday, 19 May 1933** : The « Horst-Wessel-Lied » is recognized by law as a national symbol, after having been adopted as the Party song of the N.S.D.A.P. Therefore, it has an equal status with the « Deutschland-Lied » . In fact, Nazi Germany has a double-anthem consisting of the first verse of the « Lied der Deutschen » followed by the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » . This combined version is known as the « Lieder der Nation » (Song of the Nation) . A regulation attached to a printed version of the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » in 1934 requires the right-arm to be raised in a « Hitler salute » when the first and fourth verses are sung.

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**Wednesday, 24 May 1933** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Inaugural concert of the Orchestra of the National-Socialist Workers' Organisation under music-director Leopold Reichwein.

The programme includes ...

Josef Reiter : « Gœthe Symphony » , Opus 152, dedicated to Adolf Hitler in 1931.

Reiter is especially proud of having been born in the same town as Hitler : Braunau-am-Inn.

The orchestra subsequently appears under a different guise, as the Orchestra of the Fighting League for German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , or KfdK) of Vienna, in a concert which is interspersed with political speeches from Alfred (Eduard) Frauenfeld, the local leader of the Vienna Nazi Party.

Reiter composed a number of operas in a neo-Wagnerian style, though none achieved any lasting success. « Der Bundschuh » (1897) was conducted in 1901 at the Vienna Court Opera by Gustav Mahler, and was withdrawn after only 5 performances. In 1904, Reiter submitted his next opera, « Der Totentanz » , for performance in Vienna, but it was rejected by director Mahler. « Der Tell » fared little better and was never revived.

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**1933** : According to August Eigruber, serious tensions exist between the National-Socialists who remained in Austria and those who fled to Germany. The courageous ones feel they have been abandoned by their cowardly compatriots.

In compliance with the new Austrian laws, the National-Socialist conductor Professor Leopold Reichwein reconstitutes his « Kampfbund » Orchestra for German Culture (co-founded with Wilhelm Jerger) as the « Richard Wagner Orchestra » . Despite its Nazi patronage, the ensemble will not play a central role in Viennese concert life. It gives a further performance of Josef Reiter's « Gœthe Symphony » , Opus 152, with the name of the composition's dedicatee - Adolf Hitler - judiciously absent from the concert-programme.

Radio broadcasting underwent a process of coordination (« Gleichschaltung ») and centralization in both its staffing and its content. Already in that year, the regional broadcasting companies had to make-over their shares to the « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » and, in **1934**, they were amalgamated in the « Reichs-Sender » . At the same time, a radio department was formed in the Propaganda Ministry, and the « Reichs-Rundfunk-Kammer » (« Reich » Chamber of Broadcasting) was set-up for « Aryan » and politically impeccable broadcasting personnel, and remained in existence until **October 1939**. It was designed to bring the whole of broadcasting under the control of the State : the radio industry, manufacturers of radio-sets, broadcasting periodicals - anyone having anything to do with radio had to join the « Reich » Chamber of Broadcasting. As early as **March 1933**, in his first speech to the broadcasting managers, Doctor Josef Gœbbels had explained that he saw radio broadcasting as « the most modern and all-important instrument for influencing the masses » . With it, he wanted to « imbue people so profoundly with the spiritual content of our times that no one can break free of it » .

Transmission using physics and technology was to become a transmission of ideas. The direct, shared experience on the radio would, the Nazi authorities hoped, make possible, as no other medium could, a persuasive closeness between the people and their leaders. As a consequence, « all forms of radio irrespective of their content (were) carriers of the National-Socialist ideology. The political aspect (was) not what the content of a programme happens to be, but the

starting point for the whole business of radio broadcasting » .

Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer works as a broadcasting director in Berlin, Cologne, and Saarbrücken.

The important role that Anton Bruckner played in the musical life of the Third « Reich » is undeniable. His works were perceived as unproblematically and unapologetically German. His music preceded speeches at the infamous Nuremberg rallies, was performed in government-sponsored music festivals, was routinely played on radio broadcasts, and was the subject of frequent articles in the popular press, and in scholarly publications. Bruckner was one of the most performed composers during the years of Nazi rule.

Ultimately, the Nazis planned a major international music Festival, intended to compete with Bayreuth's Wagner Festival, in size and glory. For the leader of the « Reich » , Anton Bruckner's music was instilled with the power to cleanse and rebuild the weakened Germanic race.

While the idea of a « Bruckner-Festspielhaus » in St. Florian was by no means new, Adolf Hitler's ideas went further, as Josef Gœbbels remarked :

« Drive to St. Florian. To the monastery where Bruckner used to compose. What a beautiful Baroque building. We intend to turn the priests out of here and found a Music College and a home for the Bruckner Society. A marvellous plan Hitler intends to establish a centre of culture here. As a counter-weight to Vienna, which will have to be gradually phased out of the picture. He intends to make alterations to St. Florian, at his own expense. »

Hitler had taken a special interest in Bruckner ever since, as a young man, he had attended August Göllerich's « Bruckner-Fest-Konzerte » , in Linz. Hitler and Bruckner had both spent their early years in the Linz region, they both idolized Richard Wagner, and the composer of patriotic male-voice choruses and stately Symphonies could be pressed into service to support some of the more simplistic ideas propounded by Nazi ideologues as to what German music should be : steady, serious and spiritual, but not overly chromatic or excitable.

The « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » links with the Nazi regime predated the 1938 « Anschluß » , when Adolf Hitler had assisted the « Bruckner-Gesellschaft » in a project of great symbolic if no practical importance.

The publication of the « original versions » of the Bruckner Symphonies - which Hitler financed in part with his own money and which were to be « cleansed » of outside influences - was deemed a cultural-political goal.

After 1933, « bitter times » began. Many leading figures of musical life left Germany : Otto Klemperer, Leopold Ullstein, Gotthold Ludwig Richter, Fuchs, etc. By recommendation of Paul Hindemith, Emil Seiler had given lessons to Ullstein's daughter and to the son of Klemperer, Victor.

After the National-Socialists take power in 1933, Robert Hohlbaum joins the N.S.D.A.P. and exposes himself more and more as a national-ethnic author, hindered liberal and democratic writers through his political relations. This makes his



position in Austria, as state librarian at the University of Vienna library, untenable.

Götz Otto Stoffregen is named Secretary of the « Reich » Chamber of Literature.

An internationally renowned virtuoso organist, Professor Günther Ramin gives in 1933 and 1934 recitals in Europe and the United States (making light of Jewish émigrés' laments) . He accepts National-Socialist homage and support for his international tours where he becomes a successful visiting card for the regime. In turn, he promotes German culture by only playing the German organ repertoire when abroad.

Thanks to the first subsidies from the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the Regensburg Cathedral Boys' Choir (nicknamed the « Cathedral Sparrows ») goes on a concert-tour in Italy.

The large, central broadcasting room of the « Haus des Rundfunks » is completed. Hans Poelzig had very few designs to emulate, yet, he was still able to develop ideas that are still used, namely placing the office and editorial rooms on the outer-areas of the building and the 3 large studios at the inner. Poelzig put a huge amount of thought into the acoustics of the rooms, even the chairs were specially designed so that they had the same sound-absorbing qualities, and the smaller recording room had 100 wall panels which could be flipped : one side of the panels absorbed sound ; the other reflected it. In this way, very different reverberation effects could be created. The area for radio-dramas also possessed a diversity of acoustic characteristics.

Poelzig serves as the interim director of the « Vereinigte Staats-Schulen für freie und angewandete Kunst » (United State School for Fine and Applied Art) after the expulsion of founding director Bruno Paul by the National-Socialists.

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**Sunday, 28 May 1933** : The large radio transmitter in Bisamberg near Vienna begins to operate with 100 kilowatts of power.

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**Wednesday, 31 May 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

« (...) If the Presidency (of the International Bruckner Society) is transferred to the (Third) “ Reich ”, we will immediately be “ brought into line ”, and then, may God have mercy on us ! »

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**June 1933** : The Austrian Nazi Party is banned after a hand grenade attack in the city of Krems. August Eigruber continues to work underground. He is arrested for the first time immediately after the ban, and is imprisoned for a week.

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**Friday, 9 June 1933** : Götz Otto Stoffregen merges the Association for the protection of German writers into the Association of German writers of the « Reich » , and is elected « Reichs-Führer » .

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**Saturday, 10 June 1933** : Letter from the German pianist, composer and music-critic Wolfgang von Bartels to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Adolf Rothenburger is planning to create a marble bust of Anton Bruckner (Iconography : IKO 176) , which is to be acquired by the State of Bavaria and placed in the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich. If approved by the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, the local branch of the Society in Munich will second the initiative.

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**Monday, 12 June 1933** : Letter from Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , to the German pianist, composer and music-critic Wolfgang von Bartels :

The « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna supports Adolf Rothenburger's plan to create a marble bust of Anton Bruckner (Iconography : IKO 176) for the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich.

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**Tuesday, 13 June 1933** : Letter from the German pianist, composer and music-critic Wolfgang von Bartels to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Wolfgang von Bartels thanks Professor Auer for his letter of June 12. Bartels immediately informs Siegmund von Hausegger of the backing by the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna regarding the « Walhalla » project in Regensburg (see : 24 November 1935) .

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**Saturday, 17 June 1933** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Gala-concert placed under the sponsorship of the local branch of the Fighting League for German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , or KfdK) .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Richard Wagner Orchestra » .

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**Saturday, 1 July 1933** : Götz Otto Stoffregen becomes a member of the S.A. - and later, also a member of their culture circle.

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**July 1933** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels appoints Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper as head of the Rhineland regional office of

the « Reich » Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda.

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**Saturday, 22 July 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Furreg fears that they will not get an exit permit to attend the up-coming week long Bruckner festival which will be held in Munich, from October 23 to 30.

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**Wednesday, 9 August 1933** : Memorial concert honouring the German conductor, composer and theatre director Max von Schillings.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the re-inforced Orchestra of the German Broadcaster (« Deutschland-Sender ») .

From 1918 to 1925, Max von Schillings succeeded Richard Strauß as intendant of the State Opera in Berlin. Having returned to Germany, he took over the job of President of the Prussian Academy of the Arts in 1932, succeeding Max Liebermann. From March 1933 until his death, Schillings was also the artistic director of the « Städtische Oper Berlin » (with the Nazi seizure of power, the opera house was placed under the control of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda ; Minister Doctor Josef Goebbels had the name changed back to « Deutsches Opernhaus ») . Schillings died in Berlin on July 24, 1933, from a pulmonary embolism. His ashes were entombed at Frankfurt-am-Main.

### Festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » in Salzburg

**Tuesday, 15 to Monday, 21 August 1933** : A festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » is held in the city of Salzburg after the annual Festival.

The event, which is organized by the local branch of the Society, is headed by Professor Alfred Haslinger.

Adolf Hitler's accession to power in Germany harboured further dangers for the Festival. The so-called « Thousand Mark Tariff » forced every German entering Austria to pay a sum of 1,000 Marks, effectively sealing the borders. There were only 796 visitors from Germany in 1933 as compared to 12,983 in 1932, and many artists were forced to cancel their engagements. The Festival struck out on new paths and presented its first Wagner opera : « Tristan und Isolde » , in a new production marking the 50th anniversary of the composer's death.

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**Tuesday, 15 August 1933** : Day one of the festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » which is held in Salzburg.

Robert Heger conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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**Wednesday, 16 August 1933** : Day two of the festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » which is held in Salzburg.

Planned meeting of the entire board-of-directors of the Society.

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**Thursday, 17 August 1933** : Day three of the festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » which is held in Salzburg.

Concert given by the (Franz) Mayrecker String Quartet - with Alfons Grünberg as second viola - at the « Residenz » building (a domicile of the Austrian Imperial dynasty) located in the historic centre (« Altstadt ») .

### Programme

String Quintet in F major (WAB 112) .

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**Friday, 18 August 1933** : Day four of the festive conference of the « International Bruckner Society » which is held in Salzburg.

**10:00 am** : Planned general assembly of the Society at the « Mozarteum » .

Sacred concert given at the church of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter.

Music-director Bernhard Paumgartner conducts the « Dom-Chor » and the « Dom-Musikverein » Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

*Intermission*

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

**Friday, 18 August 1933** : Ordered by Doctor Josef Gœbbels, the « Volks-Empfänger » (People's Receiver) model VE301, a readily affordable radio-set designed by Otto Griessing to be capable, as far as possible, of picking-up only the transmissions of government-controlled stations, is officially presented at the 10th International Radio Show in Berlin.

Under the supervision of the Office of Radio Technology, 100,000 of these sets bearing an Imperial eagle and a « swastika » stamped on the front (essentially produced by the leading manufacturers « Siemens » and « Telefunken ») , are sold on the first day at the low-price of 76 « Reich » Marks (roughly, 2 weeks pay) , almost half the cost of its nearest rival ! which enable the broad masses to become instant radio consumers, and finally listen to the Nuremberg rallies.

« The radio will be to the 20th Century what the press was to the 19th. »

(Josef Gœbbels, 1933)

Instead of regulating music on the local level in concert-halls, the « Reich » Chamber of Culture now has a centralized control of the mass-media outlet of radio.

« What does Furtwängler think he's achieving with his 2,000 listeners in the concert-hall ? »

« What we need are the millions and, with the radio, we have them. »

The « Volks-Empfänger » was designed to be produced as cheaply as possible, as a consequence they generally lacked short-wave bands and did not follow the practice, common at the time, of marking the approximate dial positions of major European stations on its tuning scale. Only German and Austrian stations were marked and cheaper models only listed arbitrary numbers. Sensitivity was limited to reduce production costs further, so long as the set could receive « Deutschlands-Sender » and the local « Reichs-Sender » , it was considered sensitive enough, although foreign stations could be easily received after dark with an external antenna.

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The question of the number of subscription-concerts is still not fully-resolved. After the exceptional board meeting of the « Konzerthaus » Society (with one vote against, and one abstention) , Professor Leopold Reichwein is forced to conduct all the concerts of the 1933-1934 season - but at one condition ...

« “ Herr ” Reichwein should only declare that he will refrain from any political activity that is incompatible with his position. »

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**Friday, 22 September 1933** : Adolf Hitler signs a decree creating the « Reich » Chamber of Culture (« Reichs-Kultur-Kammer ») , with the « Reich » Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Gœbbels, as President.

The Chamber is established by law in the course of the process of coordination (« Gleichschaltung ») at the instigation of Doctor Gœbbels, as a professional organization of all German creative artists. The Chamber is affiliated with the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda with its seat on « Wilhelmplatz » in Berlin.

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**Wednesday, 27 September 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Professor Franz Moißl (from Vienna-Klosterneuburg) , one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » , had just brought a letter from pianist, composer and music-critic Wolfgang von Bartels (who is linked to the Munich branch) according to which the term « International » is considered offensive. For this reason, the Society should not officially appear at the up-coming Bruckner festival in Munich which will take place for one week, from October 23 to 30.

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**October 1933** : The Regensburg Cathedral Boys' Choir (nicknamed the « Cathedral Sparrows ») falls completely under the spell of the Nazi state when Adolf Hitler visits the medieval town for the first time as « Reich » Chancellor. Bishop Michael Buchberger offers his ensemble to participate at the official reception which takes place at the city's historical Imperial Hall. The « Führer » is so enthusiastic that he will give an annual grant of 12,000 « Reich » Marks to the choir until 1945. The money comes from Hitler's private fortune.

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**Monday, 9 October 1933** : Letter (?) from university professor Doctor Ernst Kurth to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Ernst Kurth declares his resignation from the board-of-directors of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna.

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**Thursday, 12 October 1933** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

According to Robert Haas, who is not allowed to travel to Munich to attend the up-coming Bruckner festival (October 23 to 30) , the term « International » must be removed from the full-title « International Bruckner Society » or the Bruckner Associations in Germany will leave the Society.

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**Friday, 13 October 1933** : The police departmen of Vienna dissolves the local branch of the Fighting League for

German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , or KfdK) .

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**Saturday, 14 October 1933** : The scheduled gala-concert featuring Professor Leopold Reichwein and the « Richard Wagner Orchestra » , which was placed under the sponsorship of the local branch of the Fighting League for German Culture (KfdK) , is cancelled.

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**Wednesday, 18 October 1933 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 2 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72a.

Johann Sebastian Bach : Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G major (BWV 1048) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

### Bruckner festival, Munich (1933)

**Monday, 23 to Monday, 30 October 1933** : Second Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » in Munich.

The event is placed under the double patronage of Lord Mayor Karl Fiehler and the « Reich » governor of Munich, Franz Xaver Ritter von Epp.

Opening address by Lord Mayor Fiehler.

Letter from university professor Doctor Ernst Kurth to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The resignation of Professor Kurth from the board-of-directors of the « International Bruckner Society » will be irrevocably maintained under all circumstances.

(Undated) sacred concerts

Sacred concert held at St. Michael's Jesuit church in Munich.

Alfons Singer, conductor.

### Programme

Friedrich Klose : Mass in D minor for solo voices (SATB) , mixed-choir (SATBB) , orchestra and organ, Opus 6 (1889) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

...

Sacred concert held at the Cathedral of Our Dear Lady (« Frauenkirche ») .

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Cathedral Choir.

### Programme

Mass No. 1 in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .

...

Siegmond von Hausegger conducts the Choir of the Cathedral and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programmed works

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

### (Undated) symphonic concerts

Adolf Mennerich conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (**WAB 103**) .



...

Hans Knappertsbusch conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**) .

...

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programmed works

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , edited by Ludwig Doblinger in 1893 (**WAB 101**) .

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) .

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**Saturday, 28 October 1933** : Day six of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

**10:00 am** : General assembly of the « International Bruckner Society » , which is followed by a festive reunion held at the « Odeon » .

The keynote address is given by the Munich art-historian and music-writer, Oskar Lang.

Paul Günzel from the « Linzer Tagespost » is in attendance.

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**Sunday, 29 October 1933** : Day seven of the Bruckner festival in Munich.

Sacred concert held at the Cathedral of Our Dear Lady (« Frauenkirche ») .

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Cathedral Choir.

#### Programme of motets, including

Anton Bruckner : « Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , gradual in D minor for 8-part mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 2 violins, viola, cello and double bass (**WAB 10**) - in an arrangement by Berberich (the unique viola taking

over the violins' part) .

Anton Bruckner : « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 52) .

**Tuesday, 24 October 1933** : Letter from State Commissioner Hans Hinkel to Richard Strauß, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music :

Commissioner Hinkel asks President Strauß, who is currently still in Vienna, to take-over, if possible, a concert featuring the « Richard Wagner Orchestra » , an ensemble placed under the sponsorship of the Fighting League for German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , or KfdK) .

...

Hans Hinkel joined the N.S.D.A.P. in 1921. He was the editor of the « Völkischer Beobachter » in Berlin from 1930 to 1932. After the National-Socialists seized power, he was appointed « Reich » Organization Leader of the Fighting League for German Culture, and manager (« Reichs-Kultur-Walter ») of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture. From 1935, he was responsible as a special State Commissioner for « cultural particulars » at the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. In this function, Hinkel, an SS-officer and member of the Blood Order, was responsible for anti-Semitic issues and particularly for the removal of Jews (« Entjudung ») from cultural undertakings.

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**Wednesday, 25 October 1933** : Article by the Viennese music-critic Paul Stefan entitled « Bruckner's Heaven of Rest in St. Florian » published in the « Musical America » Number 53, page 7.

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**Friday, 10 November 1933** : The newly-appointed Chancellor Adolf Hitler gives a fiery speech to 3,000 Siemens machine workers in Berlin. His harangue is designed to solidify support for the National-Socialists in parliamentary elections, which are held 2 days later. A team of audio-engineers from AEG are on hand, not so much to chronicle the speech, but to test-out a nascent recording technology : the magnetic tape. The original recording has been lost, but the reverberations from that initial test will have a decisive impact on broadcasting.

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**November 1933** : Because of Richard Strauß's international eminence, he is appointed to the post of President of the newly-founded « Reich » Chamber of Music. Strauß, who has lived through numerous political regimes and has no interest in politics, decides to accept the position but to remain apolitical, a decision which will eventually become untenable.

He writes to his family :

« I made music under the “ Kaiser ”, and under (Friedrich) Ebert. I'll survive under this one as well. »

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**Wednesday, 15 November 1933** : Richard Strauß hires Gerd Kärbach as manager of the composers' section, then Hermann Stange, who eventually will be appointed vice-President. Strauß practices favoritism here : Stange had featured his works as general music-director in Sofia, Bulgaria, before the political change-over.

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**Saturday, 2 December 1933** : Death in Linz at the age of 78 of Josef Gruber, the former organist at the monastery of St. Florian.

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**December 1933** : Professor Günther Ramin advertises his repertoire as one of « purely German » (as opposed to French) organ music, asking in false modesty whether a concert-tour would be « desirable, in the interest of German cultural propaganda » . He is clearly playing on the fact that Jewish émigrés are creating a bad name for Nazi Germany abroad and that he, with his art, can correct this. Thus, he solicits special official support. The « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin replies that Ramin's planned mission will be « warmly welcomed » and promised logistical assistance. Doctor Josef Goebbels personally intervenes with the city of Leipzig to effect the organist's temporary release. Predictably, Ramin's American concerts are a rousing success. One German Nazi living in California, with ties to the Foreign Office, who follows the tour, reports that the virtuoso has indeed performed « German organ music. This is the kind of propaganda for Germany that cannot be contested. »

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**In 1933 and 1934, respectively** : The Upper-Austrian Provincial School Council initiates 2 disciplinary proceedings against Franz Kinzl. While the first ends with a simple warning, his Nazi activities go so far that, in the second trial as a teacher, he is transferred from the town of Atzbach near Schwanenstadt to Hirschbach near Freistadt in the Mühlviertel region. There, he mainly gathers young people around him and establishes an illegal local branch of the N.S.D.A.P.

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**1933-1934** : Conductor Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is the senior director and artistic director of the Plaza Theatre in Berlin.

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**1934** : Expansion of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (old Palace of Prince Friedrich Leopold) located on the northern corner of « Wilhelmplatz » , at Numbers 8, 9 on « Wilhelmstraße » . A first new office building is built in a north-south direction.

The Ministry is organized into 7 departments :

Division I : Administration and legal.

Division II : Mass-rallies, public health, youth, race.

Division III : Broadcasting.

Division IV : National and foreign press.

Division V : Films and film censorship.

Division VI : Art, music, and theatre.

Division VII : Protection against counter-propaganda, both foreign and domestic.

The high-degree of organization indicates that the Chamber of Culture is not free to set its own course in the arts. Presidents and vice-Presidents of prestige will be appointed only for public relations reasons.

- The « Reich » Chamber of Fine-Arts (« Reichs-Kammer der bildenden Künste ») .

- The « Reich » Chamber of Theatre (« Reichs-Theater-Kammer ») .

- The « Reich » Chamber of Literature (« Reichs-Schrifttums-Kammer ») .

- The « Reich » Chamber of the Press (« Reichs-Pressen-Kammer ») .

- The « Reich » Chamber of (Radio and Television) Broadcasting (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Kammer ») . Its tasks will be re-assigned to the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » , or RRG) in 1939.

The « Reich » Chamber of Music (« Reichs-Musik-Kammer ») - located at « Bernburger-Straße » Number 10 - is originally headed by composer Richard Strauß. For political reasons, he will be replaced in 1935 by Professor Peter Raabe, a specialist of Franz Liszt ; composer Paul Graener will become his Deputy.

Raabe already called for the creation of a « chamber of music » before 1933, in order to achieve social security for the musicians. He only worshiped Adolf Hitler in his role as a « patron of the arts » . Raabe is particularly interested in Anton Bruckner. He is the author of a biography on the composer : « Wege zu Bruckner » , Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1944) . As general music-director in Weimar, he performed the German premiere of Arnold Schönberg's Orchestral pieces, Opus 16, and repeatedly conducted symphonies by Gustav Mahler.

The Chamber and German musical life are to become a single entity : composers, performing musicians, concert-managers and publicists, choral and folk-singers, music-publishers, music-dealers, and music instrument manufacturers are all subject to the rules of this department.

German music should culturally legitimize the supremacy claimed by Germany in the world. For this purpose, works by famous composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven and Richard Wagner were re-interpreted in terms of Nazi ideology. In addition to Beethoven and Wagner, Johann Sebastian Bach, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Franz-Josef Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart were among the most popular composers.

The « Reich » Chamber of Music is divided into a central administration consisting of 6 departments :

The « Organisation » department, which is directly subordinate to the managing director.

The « Personnel » (Pers.) department, which is headed by assessor Helmuth Kriebel.

The « Household and Treasury » department, which is headed by Willy Haußmann.

The « Culture » (Kult.) department, which is headed by Alfred Morgenroth.

The « Economy » department, which is headed by Willy Haußmann.

The « Law » department, which is headed by assessor Karl-Heinz Wachenfeld.

In addition, a specialist administration is divided into 3 sections :

« Professional musician » , consisting of 5 student councils.

« Lay music »

« Music industry » , consisting of 10 student councils and the affiliated office for concerts, which is first headed by Hans Sellschopp - then by Friedrich Krebs from 1935.

...

The « German Singer Association » is headed by Albert Meister.

The « Reich » Association of German mixed-choirs is headed by Reinhard Limbach.

The « Reich » Association of popular music is headed by Georg Mantze.

Regional administrations are also part of the structure of the « Reich » Chamber of Music : state management in the individual districts ; district and local music associations ; branches ; municipal music-officers ; district music-officers.

Music publications under the control of the « Reich » Chamber of Music :

« Die Musik » , edited by Max Hesse (Berlin) .

The « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (New Music Magazine) , edited by Gustav Bosse (Regensburg) .

The « Allgemeine Musikzeitung » (General Music Journal) , edited by Paul Schwer (Leipzig) .

The « Neues Musikblatt » (New Music Pages) , edited by Ernst Laaff and Fritz Bouquet (Mainz) .

Due to the worsening war situation, they will merge into a single publication :

« Musik im Kriege » (Music in time of War) , 1943-1944.

Professor Leopold Reichwein becomes a member of the « Reich » Chamber of Music.

Siegfried von Hausegger becomes a member of the Presidial Council of German composers within the « Reich » Chamber of Music.

...

During the « Aryanization » process (« Gleichschaltung ») , the Central German Broadcasting Corporation (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » , or MIRAG) is transferred to the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig.

By 1934, Doctor Josef Goebbels has disposed of « non-Aryan » employees at all radio stations. 40 % of workers at the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin are either laid off or replaced. All remaining employees, musicians, singers, narrators, hand-workers, librarians, and secretaries, are required to sign a pledge, declaring their allegiance to the Nazi State.

The radio initiative is two-fold :

1) Program a daily regimen composed of works by important German writers and musicians in prime time, consistent with National-Socialist propaganda.

Music is a powerful antidote for instilling German pride and cultural superiority. Featured are some of the greatest musicians in the world, who live and work in Berlin, either as part of smaller chamber ensembles or as members of the city's many first rate symphonic orchestras : the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » , the « Rundfunk-Orchester » , and the quintessential jewel, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

2) Bring wireless technology into every German household through the manufacture of small, affordable units.

Radio broadcasting in Germany has certainly come of age. An incredible 5 million German radio listeners are registered and though home ownership of the new radio receivers is growing rapidly, Goebbels is anxious that all Germans have access to radio broadcasts. He, therefore, orders that radio loudspeakers be immediately installed in all factories and on street-corners across the « Reich » to ensure that the political speeches of the nation's leaders can reach the widest audience possible.

The « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG : the predecessor of the WDR) becomes part of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») .

Foundation of the Bruckner Association of Leipzig by Max Ludwig, Justus Brandstetter, Doctor Emil Theodor Anton Armbruster and others.

Eugen Jochum succeeds Karl Böhm as musical director of the Hamburg State Opera and the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra.

Herbert von Karajan conducts in Salzburg the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra for the first time.

Relay transmitters established across the country ensure that all Austrians can listen to « Radio Wien » at a monthly fee of 2 Schillings.

2 publications in 1934 by the young and gifted theologian Johannes Hollnsteiner :

« Das Konkordat in seiner kirchen- wie staats-rechtlichen Bedeutung » (The Concordat in its ecclesiastical and constitutional significance with special consideration of the provisions of matrimonial law) , Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Leipzig.

« Die Spruchpraxis der Sacra Romana Rota in Ehenichtigkeits-Prozessen seit Geltung des C.J.C. » (The practice of the Sacred Roman Rota in nullity proceedings since the validity of the Body of Canon Law) , Herder & Co. Editors, Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

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**February 1934** : In order to improve the overall quality of radio programming, Doctor Josef Goebbels cuts down on the political crudities and embarks on a campaign of promoting « serious music » , beginning with a Beethoven cycle, which is followed by rich programs of music by Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Anton Bruckner.

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**Monday, 12 February 1934** : The up-rising of Social-Democracy against the authoritarian path taken by the Austrian government begins in Linz (ending in a national civil war) .

The civil war between the Social-Democratic republican « Schutzbund » and the forces of the executive, the army and the defence forces breaks out in the Social-Democratic Party headquarters « Hotel Schiff » , which is located at « Landstraße » Number 36. The city later becomes a centre for the growing number of Nazi activists.

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**April 1934** : General music-director Hermann Stange finds himself looking for a job in Germany, with Richard Strauß, the first President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, honouring the principle of « quid pro quo » .

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**Wednesday, 11 April 1934 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

Bruckner festival, Mannheim (1934)

**Wednesday, 25 April to Monday, 30 April 1934** : Third Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » . This time, it takes place in the city of Mannheim in Baden.

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**Wednesday, 25 April 1934** : Day one of the Bruckner festival held in Mannheim, Baden.

Opening day evening event :

Fritz Grüninger gives a visual presentation about the personality of Anton Bruckner, the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) and the Seventh Symphony (**WAB 107**) . Excerpts of the symphony are played by Klara and Elisabeth Ernst in the arrangement for 2 pianos (4 hands) by Karl Grunsky.

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**Friday, 27 April 1934** : Day three of the Bruckner festival held in Mannheim, Baden.



Second evening event :

Presentation by Fritz Grüninger on the Eighth Symphony in C minor (**WAB 108**) . Klara and Elisabeth Ernst play the arrangement for 2 pianos (4 hands) by Karl Grunsky.

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**Saturday, 28 April 1934** : Day four of the Bruckner festival held in Mannheim, Baden.

**Afternoon** : Ceremonial general assembly of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Opening speech given by the Nazi Lord Mayor of Mannheim, Carl Renninger (1933-1945) .

Greetings from Fritz Grüninger, the President of the Bruckner Association of Baden, and Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

A report on the activities of the Society is given by Professor Franz Moißl (from Vienna-Klosterneuburg) and the German publisher and writer Hermann Meister.

Ceremonial speech given by the Munich art-historian and music-writer Oskar Lang entitled « Bruckner's position in the history of ideas » .

Professor Moißl gives a lecture entitled « Our tasks for Bruckner » .

President Auer presents Professor Moißl with the Medal of Honour from the « Bruckner Society of America » .

At the suggestion of the elementary school teacher and music writer Fritz Grüninger (one of the original founders of the « Bruckner Society ») , who had previously visited Friedrich Klose in the canton of Ticino (southern part of Switzerland) , compositions by Klose are also performed during the ceremonial assembly.

...

**Evening** : Sacred choral concert given at the Hall of the Muses (« Musen-Saal » , 1,390 seats) , which is part of the « Rosengarten » cultural complex located in the city-centre of Mannheim.

Fritz Schmidt conducts the « Beethoven-Choir » of the town of Ludwigshafen-on-the-Rhine (opposite Mannheim) .

Programmed sacred motets, among others

Anton Bruckner : « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (**WAB**

6) .

(?) Anton Bruckner : « Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , gradual in D minor for 8-part mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 2 violins, viola, cello and double bass (WAB 10) .

The Mannheim « Rosengarten » is a concert-hall and congress centre designed in a neo-Baroque variety of « Art nouveau » style by the German architect Bruno Schmitz. It was constructed between 1899 and 1903 by the firm Josef Hoffmann & Sons.

The complex comprises 2 buildings :

The **Ceremonial Hall** (« Festhalle ») , which is located on the north-side of « Friedrichs-Platz » , including the Hall of the Muses (« Musen-Saal ») . The Ceremonial Hall is also used as the « Neues Theater » by the National Theatre of Mannheim.

The **Hall of the Muses**, with its elegant columns and a ceiling height of 11 metres, is equipped with an Eberhard Friedrich Walcker & Sons pipe-organ consisting of 48 stops, and a 1,000 square metre « foyer » area.

...

**Evening** : Symphonic concert given at the « Neues Theater » (« Festhalle ») on the north-side of « Friedrichs-Platz » .

Ernst (Richard) Cremer conducts the National Theatre Orchestra of Mannheim.

### Programme

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

The Theatre will be destroyed by Allied air-strikes on Friday, 24 September 1943.

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**Sunday, 29 April 1934** : Day five of the Bruckner festival held in Mannheim, Baden.

**Morning** : Festive event held at the « Harmonie-Saal » in Mannheim.

Speech given by Professor Franz Moißl, one of the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » .

### Programme

String Quintet in F major (WAB 112) performed by the Kergl String Quartet (Max Kergl, first violin ; Karl Korn, second

violin ; Franz Neumeier, first viola ; Karl Müller, cello) . Josef Imhof is the second viola.

...

**Evening** : Sacred concert given at the large « Nibelungen-Saal » (3,600 seats, and 1,400 standing places) of the « Rosengarten » cultural complex located in the city-centre of Mannheim.

Philipp Wüst conducts the Teachers' Choral Society of the cities of Mannheim and Ludwigshafen.

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) . Soloists : Erika Müller (soprano) , Irene Ziegler (mezzo-soprano) , Heinrich Kuppinger (tenor) , Heinrich Hölzlin (bass) .

The « Nibelungen » Hall is located behind the Ceremonial Hall. It will be destroyed by Allied air-strikes on Friday, 24 September 1943.

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**Monday, 30 April 1934** : Symphonic concert given at the Hall of the Muses (« Musen-Saal » : 1,390 seats) , which is part of the « Rosengarten » cultural complex located in the city-centre of Mannheim.

Siegfried von Hausegger conducts the National Theatre Orchestra of Mannheim.

### Programme

Overture in G minor for orchestra (**WAB 98**) .

Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) .

**Tuesday, 1 May 1934** : The new Austrian constitution proposed by Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß comes into effect. Cardinal Theodor Innitzer welcomes the elimination of parliament and the establishment of an authoritarian dictatorship. Innitzer stays in close contact with Dollfuß.

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**Friday, 8 June 1934** : Photo published in the Westfalian « Landes-Zeitung » .

From left to right :

(1) Literary advisor Doctor Friedrich Castelle, (2) Münster City Councilor L. Klug (the director of the local « Reichs-Sender ») , (3) Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier (the general manager of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » in Cologne) , (4) Doctor Alfred Meyer (the « Gauleiter » of North Westphalia) , (5) who is accompanied by his adjutant, the personnel manager Doctor Otto Barlage.

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**Summer 1934** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation offers a special Wagner cycle, his music interwoven with prose by Wagner's acolyte and son-in-law Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The music of the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, the 68 year old Richard Strauß, features along with the next 2 most eminent contemporary composers : Hans Pfitzner and, at quite a distance, Paul Graener.

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**Saturday, 30 June 1934** : A time-bomb smuggled in by National-Socialists explodes at the Vienna broadcasting centre on the « Ringstraße » . The building previously housed the Imperial and Royal Ministry of War (« Kaiserlich und Königlich Kriegsminister ») .

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**Monday, 9 July 1934** : After marrying Ida Bertele, Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed principal (assistant) conductor in Frankfurt-am-Main, leading the orchestra in opera performances and the Museum concerts.

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**Sunday, 29 July 1934** : Kurt von Schuschnigg is appointed as new Chancellor of Austria.

### Bruckner festival, Aachen (1934)

**Sunday, 2 to Wednesday, 5 September 1934** : Fourth Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » . This time, it takes place in the city of Aachen in Westphalia.

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**Sunday, 2 September 1934** : Day one of the Bruckner festival held in Aachen, Westphalia.

**9:30 am** : A High Mass is celebrated at the Aachen Cathedral (which was completed at the end of the 8th Century at the request of Emperor Charlemagne) .

Priest and « Dom-Kapellmeister » Theodor Bernhard Rehmann conducts the Cathedral Choir and wind players of the Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Theodor Bernhard Rehmann : « Introitus » based on motifs from Bruckner's Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-

choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

Anton Bruckner : « Asperges me » (Thou wilt sprinkle me) , sacred motet for mixed-choir (SATB) and organ (WAB 3) .  
Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Anton Bruckner : « Afferentur regi » (Led to the King) , sacred motet in F major for mixed-choir (SATB) and 3 trombones « ad libitum » (WAB 1) .

During the Second World War, the Cathedral was badly damaged by several Allied air-strikes. During a heavy bomb attack on Aachen's city-centre on the night of 9 to 10 July 1941, an explosive bomb destroyed the neo-Gothic sanctuary chapel that crowned the southern Carolingian spiral staircase tower, severely damaging the Hungarian chapel with rubble. Father Rehmann will become in 1944 honorary canon at the High Cathedral, and a real clergyman.

...

11:30 am : 2-part commemoration event held at the Municipal Concert Hall (« Städtischen Konzerthaus ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » (Old Cure House) , which is located on « Komphausbad-Straße » Number 19.

### Ceremony

The honorary committee includes : Doctor (Heinrich Joseph) Peter Vogt (the Bishop of the Diocese of Aachen) , « Reich » Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier (the general manager of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne) , Lord Mayor Quirin Jansen (from 1933 to 1944) , Deputy « Gauleiter » Rudolf Schmeer (« Gau » of Cologne-Aachen) , Eggert Reeder (District President of the « Gau » of Aachen) , Arnold Bischoff, Diplomat Doctor Hugo Cadenbach, Intendant Doctor Edgar Groß (Director of the Aachen Theatre) , District Court President Hermanns, City Councilor Kremer, Josefine Meessen, Magistrate Wirtz, Doctor Talbot, Hubert Wiener-Haßbacher (President of the machine manufacturer « Laurensberger Rennvereins e.V. ») .

Introductory lectures by Professor Franz Moißl (one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society ») and music writer Fritz Grüninger (one of the original founders of the « Bruckner Society ») . Klara and Elisabeth Ernst play piano arrangements to illustrate their points.

### Concert

Willy Weinberg conducts the mixed-choir of the Aachen Teachers' Choral Society.

### Programme

« Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 23) .

« Vexilla regis » (The royal banner) , sacred hymn for mixed-choir (SATB) (**WAB 51**) .

(?) « Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , gradual in D minor for 8-part mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 2 violins, viola, cello and double bass (**WAB 10**) .

« Abendzauber » (Evening magic) , secular cantata in G-flat major, based on a short poem by Heinrich von der Mattig, for tenor or baritone, 3 distant female voices (Alpine « yodlers » , SSA) , « a cappella » double men's choir (TTBB) and horn quartet (**WAB 57**) . Performers : Josef Stecken (baritone) ; Richard Kuchenmeister, Richard Kuntze, Kurt Schneider, Franz Siedler (horn players) .

String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) . Performers : the Peter String Quartet, from Krefeld (Fritz Peter, first violin ; Robert Haas, second violin ; Gustav Peter, first viola ; Karl Drebert, cello) . Otto Petermann is the second viola.

...

**7:30 pm** : Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Concert Hall (« Städtischen Konzerthaus ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » (Old Cure House) , which is located on « Komphausbad-Straße » Number 19.

### Programme

Vinzenz Goller : Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments, based on themes of the « Psalm 112 » in B-flat major (**WAB 35**) and the Finale of the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) by Anton Bruckner.

Franz Moißl conducts the Aachen Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

Symphony in D minor, « Die Nullte » (**WAB 100**) .

### *Intermission*

General music-director Peter Raabe conducts the Aachen Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) .

The large concert-hall (« Großer Konzertsaal ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » will burn down on Wednesday, 14 July 1943, after an Allied air-strike.

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**Monday, 3 September 1934** : Day two of the Bruckner festival held in Aachen, Westphalia.

**7:30 pm** : Choral concert given at the Municipal Concert Hall (« Städtischen Konzerthaus ») in the « Alte Kurhaus »

(Old Cure House) , which is located on « Komphausbad-Straße » Number 19.

General music-director Peter Raabe conducts the Aachen Choral Society and the Aachen Municipal Symphony Orchestra.  
Soloists : Resi Miséré (soprano) , Käte Hoeter (alto) , Fritz Dreher (tenor) , Winand Asser (bass) .

### Programme

Friedrich Klose : « In faithful memory of master Anton Bruckner » , prelude and double fugue on a theme by Bruckner for organ and wind instruments (1907) . Doctor Hans Klotz (organ) .

Anton Bruckner : « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor, for mixed-choir, soloists, orchestra and organ (**WAB 29**) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 112 » in B-flat major for mixed double-choir and orchestra (**WAB 35**) .

The large concert-hall (« Großer Konzertsaal ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » will burn down on Wednesday, 14 July 1943, after an Allied air-strike.

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**Tuesday, 4 September 1934** (Day of Anton Bruckner's birth) : Day three of the Bruckner festival held in Aachen, Westphalia.

**10:00 am** : Festive assembly of the « International Bruckner Society » .

The Lord Mayor of Aachen, Quirin Jansen, is attending.

Speech given by Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

The board members agree on the foundation of an Aachen branch.

Fritz Grüninger, the President of the Bruckner Association of Baden, gives a lecture entitled « Romanticism and Mysticism in Bruckner's Works » .

Martin G. Dumler (from Cincinnati) and Robert G. Grey (from New York) of the « Bruckner Society of America » , Professor Peter Raabe and music-publisher Gustav Bosse (from Regensburg) are made honorary members of the « International Bruckner Society » .

...

**7:30 pm** : Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Concert Hall (« Städtischen Konzerthaus ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » (Old Cure House) , which is located on « Komphausbad-Straße » Number 19.

General music-director Peter Raabe conducts the Aachen Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas (**WAB 101**) - first German performance.

### Intermission

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

The large concert-hall (« Großer Konzertsaal ») in the « Alte Kurhaus » will burn down on Wednesday, 14 July 1943, after an Allied air-strike.

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**Wednesday, 5 September 1934** : Day four of the Bruckner festival held in Aachen, Westphalia.

**7:30 pm** : Sacred concert given at the Cathedral.

Priest and « Dom-Kapellmeister » Theodor Bernhard Rehmann conducts the Cathedral Choir.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Fugue in D minor for organ, edited by Josef Venantius von Wöb (**WAB 125**) . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Anton Bruckner : Prelude and fugue in C minor, completed by Franz Philip in 1929 (**WAB 131**) . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Anton Bruckner : Perger Prelude in C major (**WAB 129**) . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Anton Bruckner : « Tota pulchra es » for solo tenor, choir and organ (**WAB 46**) . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Anton Bruckner : « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 52**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major (**WAB 7**) .



Franz-Xaver Müller (Canon Regular at St. Florian monastery) : Organ solo piece based on the Phrygian mode hymn « Tantum ergo » . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

Franz-Xaver Müller (Canon Regular at St. Florian monastery) : Organ solo piece entitled « Präludium Passion In memoriam Anton Bruckner » . Ludwig Pütz, « Dom » organist.

A festive closing reception is organized right after the concert.

**Wednesday, 17 October 1934** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Frédéric Chopin : Piano Concerto No. 1 in E minor, Opus 11. Soloist : Josef Hofmann.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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**Wednesday, 24 October 1934** : First general meeting of the Aachen branch of the « International Bruckner Society » , called by lawyer Doctor Claus Springsfeld.

Retired government vice-President and Officer Arnold Bischoff, an outstanding connoisseur of music and music history, is elected Chairman.

Speech entitled « The Tasks of the Bruckner Society » given by Peter Raabe, the general music-director of the Aachen Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

Priest and « Dom-Kapellmeister » Theodor Bernhard Rehmann gives an overview of the current literature on Anton Bruckner.

### Works performed during the meeting

« Benedictus » from the « Windhaager Messe » , « Missa brevis » in C major for alto solo, 2 horns and organ (WAB 25) .

(?) « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major (WAB 7) .

« Stille Betrachtung an einem Herbstabend » (Quiet meditation on an autumn evening) , piano piece in F-sharp minor (WAB 123) - paraphrase of Felix Mendelssohn's « Lied ohne Worte » , Opus 30, No. 6.

« Fantasie » , 2 part piano piece in G major (WAB 118) . Soloists : Friedel Maisch (piano) , Margot Klarmeyer (alto) .

Arnold Bischoff, Regierungs-Vizepräsident, Offizier (Lütherisch) : geboren 6. Mai 1868 in Aachen ; gestorben 3. September 1939 in Aachen.

(Ignaz Maria Hubert Joseph) Arnold Bischoff, Sohn von Heinrich Ignaz Bischoff und Josephina Kuetgens, war verheiratet mit Helène David, Tochter des Grubenbesitzers Victor David und der Helene Deden. 1888 Abiturient des Gymnasiums Düren, studierte in Bonn, München und Berlin. 1891 war er als Referendar in Monschau und Eupen, dann als Regierungs-Referendar in Aachen tätig. Ab 1898 war er Regierungs-Assessor, später Regierungs-Rat in Hannover, Wiesbaden, Gumbinnen, Lüneburg, Merseburg, Köln und Aachen, in Aachen 1924-1933 als Regierungs-Vizepräsident. Er war Kriegs-Teilnehmer 1914-1918 als Rittmeister der Reserve des Dragoner-Regiments Nummer 6 und erhielt das Eisernes Kreuz 2. Klasse. 1933 trat er in den Ruhestand und lebte seitdem seinen vielen wissenschaftlichen Interessen als hervorragender Kenner der Musik und Musik-Geschichte. Bis 1937 war er auch Vorsitzender der Aachen Bruckner Gesellschaft. Er starb am 3. September 1939 in Aachen.

Zum christlichen Andenken an Herrn Regierungs-Präsidenten im Ruhestand Arnold Bischoff, Rittmeister der Reserve beim ehemals Magd. Dragoner-Regiments Nummer 6, Inhaber des Eisernes Kreuz 2. Klasse und andere Kriegs-Auszeichnungen. Geboren zu Aachen am 6. Mai 1868, lebte er seit dem 15. Oktober 1904 in glücklichster Ehe mit Helene David. Er verschied nach langem, schwerem, mit größter Ergebung in Gottes Willen getragenen Leiden, in Aachen am 3. September 1939, gestärkt durch den wiederholten Empfang der heiligen Sakramente. Sein ganzes Sinnen und Trachten galt dem Wohl seiner heißgeliebten Gattin, seiner beiden Töchter sowie des Enkel-Kindes. Diese empfehlen mit den Schwieger-Söhnen und den übrigen Verwandten, denen er in vorbildlichen Familiens-Inn Mittelpunkt war, seine treue Seele dem Gebete, (...)

Die zweitjüngste Tochter der Eheleute Kuetgens-Fincken, Josephine, heiratete 1855 den Tuch-Fabrikanten Ignaz Bischoff. Von den zahlreichen Nachkommen dieses Ehepaars wurden nur wenige in der großen Gruft begraben, unter ihnen auch der einzige Sohn Arnold Bischoff mit seiner Frau Hélène David.

Eltern : Heinrich Ignatz Bischoff und Josefine Kuetgens.

...

7:30 pm : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Christoph Willibald Gluck : Overture from « Iphigénie en Aulide » (« Iphigeneia in Aulis ») , Tragic Opera in 3 Acts. Libretto written by François-Louis Gand Le Bland Du Roullet based on Jean Racine's tragedy « Iphigénie » . With a Finale for concert-performance by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Richard Wagner, respectively.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 5 in A major for violin and orchestra (KV 219) . Soloist : Wolfgang Schneiderhan.

## Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Vienna » , 1890-1891 version (**WAB 101**) .

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**Saturday, 27 October 1934** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg shares the concerns of the « International Bruckner Society » .

« You can count on a willing ear, if necessary » (Schuschnigg)

Perhaps with the help of Schuschnigg, the planned concert in the presence of the Ambassador of Germany in Vienna, Franz von Papen, could be carried out after all.

(Papen served as Ambassador in Vienna from 1934 to 1938.)

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**October 1934** : The Dutch-born conductor Paul van Kempen is appointed music-director of the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra.

Leader of the « Concertgebouw » Orchestra in Amsterdam, he secured an outstanding reputation as an orchestral trainer. His arrival in Dresden comes at an opportune moment since the orchestra's financial problems had finally been stabilized through the intervention of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. Van Kempen works with considerable energy to effect a drastic improvement in working conditions, and the orchestra soon attains a very high-standard of execution. The local authorities will respond by increasing their annual subsidies.

These changes to the Philharmonic's status are achieved without compromising on the nature of the orchestra's repertoire, for van Kempen initiates many novel ideas in programme planning.

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**October** issue of « Chord & Discord » : Report on Felix M. Gatz and his commitment to Anton Bruckner.

The reasons for his departure from Berlin are explained as follows :

« Consequently, the advent of the new regime, universally styled the Third “ Reich ”, left the organization without the official financial support that had become necessary for its continuation, with the result that Professor Gatz began to seek a new, more promising field in which to carry the Bruckner banner on to a complete and permanent triumph. Naturally, he turned his attention to the New World where he knew that a Bruckner “ renaissance ” was in process, and happily accepted the post of Professor of Musical Esthetics at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh. »

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**Thursday, 8 November 1934** : Letter from Martin G. Dumler of the « Bruckner Society of America » to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Dumler thanks President Auer for being appointed an honorary member of the « International Bruckner Society » .

### Bruckner festival, Pforzheim (1934)

**Thursday, 8 to Tuesday 13 November 1934** : Bruckner festival held in the town of Pforzheim, Baden. The Municipal Orchestra was founded in 1929.

The printed program offers the (biased) welcoming words by Doctor Bezler, the district chairman of the National-Socialist cultural community, a tribute to the « Führer » by Lord Mayor Hermann Kürz (the city planning director and chairman of the electricity works who was appointed Lord Mayor by « Gauleiter » Robert Wagner on June 19, 1933) and an anonymous poem entitled « The genius Anton Bruckner » .

(Kürz contributes to the establishment of the Berlin radio factory « Schaub » (later : SEL) by providing the site and the financial support.)

Opening speeches given by Franz Moißl and Fritz Grüninger, the President of the Bruckner Association of Baden.

Fritz Grüninger gives a lecture entitled « The personality of Anton Bruckner and the spirituality of his work » , which includes musical excerpts played on the piano by Klara and Elisabeth Ernst.

Karl Grunsky gives a lecture entitled « Bruckner as a German Symphonist » , with excerpts taken from his own piano arrangements performed by Klara and Elisabeth Ernst.

Sacred concerts are held at local churches. Organ pieces, choral works and the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) are

performed. Karl Gresser improvises on the organ.

### First symphonic concert

Franz Moißl conducts the « Städtisches Orchester » .

### Programme

3 Pieces for orchestra in : E-flat major, E minor, and F major (WAB 97) .

March in D minor for orchestra (WAB 96) .

March in E-flat major for military band (WAB 116) .

Overture in G minor for orchestra (WAB 98) .

Intermezzo in D minor for String Quintet (WAB 113) (arrangement for string orchestra ?) .

Symphony in D minor, « Die Nullte » (WAB 100) .

### Second symphonic concert

Kapellmeister Hans Leger conducts the « Städtisches Orchester » .

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

Choir director Oskar Baumann conducts the « Städtisches Orchester » (and the « St Franziskus » parish church choir ?) .

« Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (WAB 38) .

**Mid-November 1934** : Special symphonic concert organized by the « Waffen-SS » (« Schutzstaffel ») :

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

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**December 1934** : Review by Oskar von Pander in « Die Musik » , pages 205-206, of the mid-November special symphonic concert organized by the « Waffen-SS » featuring Siegmund von Hausegger and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

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**1934-1935 concert-season** of the Vienna « Konzertverein » Society : The administration hands over to Professor Leopold Reichwein the direction of the 8 symphonic concerts which make the « Wednesday cycle » . 5 symphonies by Anton Bruckner are programmed.

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**1934-1941** : Herbert von Karajan is engaged to conduct operas and symphonic concerts at the Aachen Theatre.

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**Early-1935** : After the resignation of Wilhelm Furtwängler as vice-President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, Heinz Ihler, himself, with Gustav Havemann's help, aspires to the position, a post that Richard Strauß defiantly handed to his ally, Hermann Stange. It is Stange who now bears the brunt of further attacks, with Strauß himself simply staying put in Garmisch.

It is now the turn of the new vice-President to grant a favour.

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**1935** : Richard Strauß writes in his journal :

« In November 1933, the Minister Gœbbels nominated me President of the “ Reich ” Chamber of Music without obtaining my prior agreement. I was not consulted. I accepted this honorary office because I hoped that I would be able to do some good and prevent worse misfortunes, if, from now onwards, German musical life were going to be, as it was said, “ reorganized ” by amateurs and ignorant place-seekers. »

(Strauß privately scorned Gœbbels, and called him « a pipsqueak » .)

Complete cycle of the Bruckner Symphonies relayed by « Reichs-Sender » in Berlin.

From now on, entertainment programs are to be regarded as the « carrier of the radio schedule » .

(« Reich » Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier)

The « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » records both live-performances and studio sessions at the « Haus des Rundfunks » on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin - usually for later airing. This allows the best possible programming from select

edited performances. Such a strategy demands the best possible recording technology, which accelerates the demise of the typical lacquer disc recording and advances the development of the magnetic tape-recorder.

Eugen Hadamovsky - previously « Gau » radio supervisor in the Berlin « Gau » office - heads the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation and serves as vice-president of the broadcasting department in the « Reich » Chamber of Culture. He also initiates the launch of the « Fernseh-Sender Paul Nipkow » television station.

Convinced as ever that music has as political a function as any other medium, Doctor Josef Gœbbels broadly orders more light-music content at the expense of serious fare, at the same time, reducing the proportion of word content in broadcasting.

Construction between 1935 and 1938 of the new « Radio-Kultur-Haus », now called « Funkhaus », near the « Theresianum » Academy begins on « Argentinier-Straße » in Vienna's 4th District. It will be completed by the Nazis right after the « Anschluß » .

The « Funkhaus » has a very open architecture with spacious areas and cubicles. All bigger studios are trapeze-shaped in order to provide an acoustic space as uncomfortable as possible for the sound. Its rational and naked structure is about as timeless as modern architecture has ever gotten.

The « Funkhaus » will be erected according to plans by architects Heinrich Schmid & Hermann Aichinger, who have designed social housing projects in « Red Vienna » . The prominent Austrian architect of the « Ständestaat » (Corporate State) , Clemens Holzmeister, takes over the planning and gives the functionalist street wing a monumental façade that is representative of the Austro-Fascist regime.

Also a stage-designer, Holzmeister has collaborated with Max Reinhardt and created stage productions for the Salzburg Festival, the Vienna State Opera and the « Burgtheater » .

The Association of German writers of the « Reich » is incorporated into the « Reich » Chamber of Literature. Götz Otto Stoffregen becomes a member of the Presidial Council of the « Reich » Chamber of Broadcasting, until its dissolution in 1939.

Increasing his fame, Professor Günther Ramín becomes the director of the Berlin Philharmonic Choir - at a time when it is in an extremely threatening situation. The National-Socialists are forcing the choir to exclude the Jewish singers, who are in majority and largely contributed to the financing of the institution. Weakened by the racial laws, Ramín is forced to completely restructure the Philharmonic Choir : only 17 singers (male and female) show-up at the first rehearsal. Nonetheless, the talented director - who is committed to continue the legacy of his predecessors Siegfried Ochs and Otto Klemperer - quickly re-establishes the choir as one of the leading musical ensembles. During his 6 year tenure in Berlin (until 1943) , Ramín will continue the tradition of performing the great works of Johann Sebastian Bach.

Herbert von Karajan's career is given a significant boost when he is appointed Germany's youngest « Reichs-Musik-Direktor » and performs as a guest-conductor in Bucharest, Brussels, Stockholm, Amsterdam and Paris.

In his 1935 publication entitled « Die Kirche Österreichs. Ihre Eigenart und ihre Sendung. » (The Austrian Church. Its Character and Mission.) edited by Tyrolia Publishing-House (Vienna and Innsbruck) , Johannes Hollnsteiner regards the concept of « State of the Estates » as a thoroughly positive phenomenon and praises the merit of Austria in being « the first modern state to carry-out the construction of such a Christian state » . The Austro-Fascist rulers are also able to honour this loyalty when they entrust Hollnsteiner (together with August Maria Knoll) with the Austro-Fascist compulsory lecture « On ideological and state-bourgeois education » which is held at the University of Vienna during the summer-semester of 1936.

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**Wednesday, 9 January 1935 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Richard Wagner : Prelude and « Liebestod » (Love Death) from the Opera « Tristan und Isolde » (WV 90) .

Hugo Wolf : « Penthesilea » , based on the 1808 play by Heinrich von Kleist, Symphonic-poem for large orchestra.

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) .

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**Around February 1935 ? :** Choir director Oskar Baumann suggests the establishment in Pforzheim of a local branch of the Bruckner Association of Baden.

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**Wednesday, 13 February 1935 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Franz Liszt : « Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo » , Symphonic-poem No. 2 (S. 96) .



Rudolf Kattnig : « Partita giocosa » for piano and orchestra. Soloist : Rudolf Kattnig.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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**Wednesday, 27 February 1935** : After the resignation of Erich Kleiber in 1934 in protest against the oppressive policies of the Third « Reich » , Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the fifth of his 6 concerts with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Kleiber, who was not Jewish, politically active, or otherwise « persona non grata » with the National-Socialists, could have continued his career under their regime, but he would not accept their racial policies or their stifling of artistic freedom. He left the country, basing himself and his family in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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**March 1935** : His earlier membership in Salzburg having lapsed, Herbert von Karajan re-applies for membership of the N.S.D.A.P.

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**Wednesday, 10 April 1935** : Pompous wedding of « Reich » Marshal Hermann Göring and the well-known actress from Hamburg Emmy Köstlin (born Sonnemann) at the Berlin Cathedral. The couple first married at city-hall (« Rotes Rathaus ») .

A large reception was held the night before at the State Opera House with fighter aircrafts flying overhead.

The event is celebrated like the marriage of an Emperor, bringing tens of thousands of German citizens into the streets near the « Dom » . Professor Günther Ramin is at the famous « Sauer » organ. Although some may speculate that Fritz Heitmann, a pupil of Max Reger and Karl Straube, refused to play for the wedding on the count of ideological grounds, his official stance is one of cooperation with the ruling regime, which is not surprising, since he certainly would not have retained his position as cathedral organist had he openly opposed the Nazis.

His best-man is, of course, the Chancellor and « Führer » Adolf Hitler. The Pastor who marries them is the « Reich » Bishop Ludwig Müller who is famous, in his own right, as a theologian who helped to found the « German Christians » faith movement. He supports a revisionist view of « Christ, the Aryan » or a heroic Jesus, as well as a plan of purifying Christianity of what he deems Jewish corruption, which includes purging large parts of the Old Testament.

At its inauguration in 1905, the organ was considered to be the largest in Germany with 7,269 pipes and 113 registers, which were spread across 4 manuals and pedals. Organ designer to the court, Wilhelm Sauer, from Frankfurt on the Oder, created an instrument that, at the time, embodied the latest in technological and musical innovation to

be found in German organ design.

The organ thus met the high-standards set by the awarding authorities and the organ designer : at the Evangelical Cathedral in the capital city of Berlin, it was envisaged that a prestigious, modern and exceptionally high-quality instrument should deliver a beautiful sound.

The Berlin Cathedral organ embodies the pinnacle of design efforts by Sauer, and also signals the end of the long-term development of Romantic orchestral organs, whose tonal characteristics were a perfect fit with the Symphony Orchestras of the time.

Johann Sebastian Bach stands in the line of ancestor worship as it is institutionalized by the Nazi regime. His main instrument has been the organ, which is being hailed as the « king of instruments » by National-Socialists - and played royally well by Professor Ramin for the « Führer » and for « Reich » Marshal Göring, **who himself acquired a house organ !**

...

**7:30 pm** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (**WAB 108**) .

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**Friday, 12 April 1935** : Presentation of a Bruckner cycle in Leipzig.

Music-director Hans Weisbach conducts the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Tuesday, 23 April 1935** : Hermann Stange, vice-President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, duly directs a « Richard Strauß Evening » in Berlin, conducting Strauß's symphonic fantasy « Aus Italien » (From Italy) , among other compositions.

Strauß uses his position to recommend to Stange Charlotte Dahmen, a singer his father had still known from Vienna. As

if he has no other worries at that time, Strauß also lectures Stange on the ideal qualities of an opera « Kapellmeister », among them a feeling for the « dramatic line of a Wagnerian and Straussian opera act » .

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**May 1935** : August Eigruber is appointed « Gau » Director (« Gau-Geschäfts-Führer ») for the banned Nazi Party in the « Gau » of Upper-Austria.

### Bruckner festival, Freiburg-im-Breisgau (1935)

**Saturday, 25 May to Sunday, 2 June 1935** : Fifth Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » . This time, it takes place in the city of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, Germany.

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**Saturday, 25 May 1935** : Day one of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

**Evening** : The general meeting of the Bruckner Association of Baden is held at the « Kaufhaus-Saal » on « Münsterplatz » .

Lighting of the tower of the Cathedral (« Minster of Our Lady ») which is followed by a performance from the tower of Vinzenz Goller's Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments, based on themes of the « Psalm 112 » in B-flat major (**WAB 35**) , the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) , and the Finale of the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) by Anton Bruckner. The tower has 16 bells, the oldest being the « Hosanna » bell from 1258, which weighs 3,290 kilograms.

President Fritz Grüninger reports on the activities of the Bruckner Association of Baden.

Speech given by Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Professor Franz Moißl reports on the « International Bruckner Society » .

Paul Barchet (from Stuttgart) gives a visual presentation about the historical sites linked to Anton Bruckner and the Bruckner festivals.

Performance of 2 movements from the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) .

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**Sunday, 26 May 1935** : Day two of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

Symphonic concert given at the « Art and Festival Hall » (« Kunst und Festhalle ») , which is located in front of the beautiful city-garden on « Karlsplatz » .

Hans Rosbaud conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (WAB 103) .

*Intermission*

Franz Konwitschny conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

The monumental hall was built from 1846 to 1854 on the edge of what was then a military parade ground. It will be completely destroyed in 1944 during an Allied bombing raid.

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**Tuesday, 28 May 1935** : Day four of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

Symphonic concert given at the « Art and Festival Hall » (« Kunst und Festhalle ») , which is located in front of the beautiful city-garden on « Karlsplatz » .

### Programme

Franz Moisl conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

Symphony in D minor, « Die Nullte » (WAB 100) .

*Intermission*

Franz Konwitschny conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

The monumental hall was built from 1846 to 1854 on the edge of what was then a military parade ground. It will be completely destroyed in 1944 during an Allied bombing raid.

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**Wednesday, 29 May 1935** : Day five of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Theatre, which is located on « Bertoldstraße » , on the edge of the city-

centre.

Carl Leonhardt conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

Symphony No. 2 in C minor (WAB 102) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

A composer and music teacher, Carl Leonhardt became general music-director in Stuttgart in 1922. During the Nazi era, he was appointed full-professor in 1937 and director of the department of musicology at the University of Tübingen. In 1940, he was supposed to succeed Professor Peter Raabe as President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, but Doctor Josef Goebbels thought he was « a little too scientific » ... Leonhardt conducted various concerts in the « occupied » French capital (Paris) from 1942 to 1944. He also taught at the Stuttgart Academy of Music until 1945.

In the summer of 1939, Joseph Schlippe, the head of Freiburg's building department, completely re-designed the auditorium of the Municipal Theatre in the neo-Classical style typical of the Nazi era. Most of the « Art nouveau » stucco was removed so that the whole room appeared in a starkly stripped-down style. On September 1, 1944, the Freiburg Theatre, like all German theatres, was shut down. A few months later, in November 1944, the city of Freiburg was bombed and the theatre was badly damaged. Performances were resumed in October 1945.

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**Thursday, 30 May 1935** (Feast of the Ascension of Christ) : Day six of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

**10:00 am ?** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated by the Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, Doctor Conrad Gröber, at the Cathedral (« Minster of Our Lady ») .

Music-director Ernst Ketterer conducts the Choir of St. Martin's Church and wind players of the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

Also performed during the mass :

« Ecce sacerdos magnus » (Behold a great priest) , Antiphon in A minor for 8 voice mixed-choir, 3 trombones and organ (WAB 13) . Doctor Carl Winter, « Dom » organist.

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (WAB 6) .

...

**Evening** : Symphonic concert given at the « Art and Festival Hall » (« Kunst und Festhalle ») , which is located in front of the beautiful city-garden on « Karlsplatz » .

Opening speech given by Jan Goverts.

Franz Konwitschny conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

The monumental hall was built from 1846 to 1854 on the edge of what was then a military parade ground. It will be completely destroyed in 1944 during an Allied bombing raid.

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**Saturday, 1 June 1935** : Day eight of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

Symphonic concert given at the « Art and Festival Hall » (« Kunst und Festhalle ») , which is located in front of the beautiful city-garden on « Karlsplatz » .

Hermann Abendroth (the new « Kapellmeister » of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra of Leipzig) conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 101) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Sunday, 2 June 1935** : Day nine of the Bruckner festival held in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden.

Closing symphonic concert given at the « Art and Festival Hall » (« Kunst und Festhalle ») , which is located in front of the beautiful city-garden on « Karlsplatz » .

Franz Konwitschny conducts the Freiburg Municipal Orchestra and a mixed-choir composed of 800 singers !

### Programme

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

**Tuesday, 4 June 1935** : The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » » performs (in Linz ?) the patriotic Cantata « Germanenzug » , based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (WAB 70) .

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**(7, 14, 21, 28 ?) June 1935** : Friday concert performed by Georg-Ludwig Jochum at the Museum Society of Frankfurt.

### Programme

Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**June 1935** : For a short period of time, Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer is appointed by the « Reich » Chamber of Broadcasting director of the art-and-entertainment evening programs on the German short-wave band at the « Haus des Rundfunks » . He will then return to Cologne.

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**Thursday, 20 June 1935** : Richard Strauß cynically remarks to vice-President Hermann Stange that, as far as he was concerned, the Presidial Council of the « Reich » Chamber of Music might have 100 members, yet even they will not be able to cope with all the work.

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**Saturday, 29 June 1935** : Herbert von Karajan takes part in a huge open-air orchestral and choral concert that celebrates the Nazi Party Day. At a similar ceremony in 1939, Karajan will conduct the closing moments from Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

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**Tuesday, 23 July 1935** : Letter from Alfred (Eduard) Frauenfeld, the local leader of the Vienna Nazi Party, to State

Secretary Walther Funk, the vice-President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture (1933-1938) :

(Frauenfeld was something of a « patron of the arts » in Vienna. He enjoyed a close relationship with conductor Clemens Krauß.)

« (...) General music-director Leopold Reichwein, who was the first important conductor to declare his support for National-Socialism and who already advocated the N.S.D.A.P. with his essays published in the “ Völkischer Beobachter ” during the movement’s fiercest period of struggle in the “ Reich ”, conducted every year 10 major symphonic concerts in the capital, which, thanks to the support I gave him through the “ Gau ” of Vienna, turned into large National-Socialist cultural rallies. These concerts then became the only and last gathering points of National-Socialist art enthusiasts during the anti-Nazi period. The government tried relentlessly to take action against Reichwein, but, in the end, could not decide to do so because a ban on his concerts, which were constantly sold-out, would have led to the collapse of the Vienna “ Konzerthaus ”. Now, a solution has been found : the number of concerts conducted by Reichwein was reduced from 10 to 4, because it was possible to hire “ Herr ” (Hans) Knappertsbusch (from Munich) for the remaining 6 evenings (...) »

(« (...) General-Musik-Direktor Leopold Reichwein, der sich als erster bedeutender Dirigent zum National-Sozialismus bekannt hatte und schon in der schärfsten Kampfzeit der Bewegung im Reiche durch Aufsätze im “ Völkischen Beobachter ” für die N.S.D.A.P. eingetreten war, leitete jährlich zehn große Symphonie-Konzerte in Wien, die sich durch die Unterstützung, die ich ihm durch den Gau Wien angedeihen ließ, zu großen national-sozialistischen Kultur-Kundgebungen gestalteten. Diese Konzerte wurden dann in der Verbotszeit die einzigen und letzten Sammelpunkte national-sozialistischer Kunst-Begeisterter. Von Regierungs-Seite versuchte man unablässig gegen Reichwein vorzugehen, konnte sich aber letzten Endes dazu nicht entschließen, weil ein Verbot seiner ständig ausverkauften Konzerte den Zusammenbruch des Wiener Konzerthauses nach sich gezogen hätte. Jetzt hat man einen Ausweg gefunden : Man setzte die Zahl der Reichwein-Konzerte von 10 auf 4 herab, weil es gelungen war, für die übrigen 6 Abende Herrn (Hans) Knappertsbusch (München) zu verpflichten (...) »)

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**Wednesday, 24 July 1935 to Monday, 30 September 1935** : An exhibition on the composer Anton Bruckner is held at the Upper-Austrian State Museum in Linz.

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**July 1935** : State Secretary Walther Funk, the vice-President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture (1933-1938) , invites Professor Leopold Reichwein to Berlin for an interview to determine whether he can be a suitable successor to Hans Knappertsbusch.

**Bruckner festival, Linz, St. Florian, Steyr (1935)**

**Friday, 26 to Sunday 28 July 1935** : A Bruckner festival is organized in Linz, St. Florian and Steyr. It is intended as a supplement and prelude to the Salzburg Festival.



The guests-of-honour are the State Secretary Doctor Hans Pernter, the Governor of Upper-Austria Doctor Heinrich Gleißner, and the Bishop of the Diocese of Linz Johannes Maria Gföllner.

For the occasion, a commemorative medal is designed by Josef Tautenhayn junior (Iconography : IKO 265) .

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**Friday, 26 July 1935** : Day one of the Bruckner festival in Linz, St. Florian and Steyr.

**9:00 am** : A High-Mass (which is broadcast live on the radio) is celebrated at the old Cathedral of Linz by Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

« Kapellmeister » Franz-Xaver Müller conducts a re-inforced Cathedral Choir and the Orchestra of the Musicians' Union.

Soloists : Steffi Zelenka (soprano) , Maria Hausner (alto) , Anton Raidl (tenor) , Max Ebermann (bass) .

### Programme

Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .

Other works are included :

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (**WAB 6**) .

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 11**) .

...

**3:00 pm** : Festive meeting of the Bruckner Association of Upper-Austria in the presence of the Federal President Wilhelm Miklas.

Welcome speech given by Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Speech given by Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

...

**8:00 pm** : Live radio broadcast of the symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Bruno Walter conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

...

**Late-evening** : A gala takes place at the restaurant of the city-park pavilion (« Volksgarten ») in Linz.

Doctor Heinrich Gleißner, the Governor of Upper-Austria, presents conductor Bruno Walter with an original music sheet from Anton Bruckner dedicated by the monastery of St. Florian and an original letter addressed to a music-publisher.

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**Saturday, 27 July 1935** : Day two of the Bruckner festival in Linz, St. Florian and Steyr.

A Bruckner concert is given at the Imperial Marble Hall (« Marmor-Saal ») of the monastery of St. Florian.

Conductor : Collegiate organist Professor Adolf Trittinger.

## Programme

Sacred motets.

Adagio from Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) - in the arrangement by Hermann Rameis.

« Germanenzug » , patriotic cantata based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) - in the arrangement by Hans Straßer.

Intermezzo from the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) in the arrangement by « Kapellmeister » Anton Josef Dewanger. Performers : the Mairecker Quartet (Franz Mairecker, first violin ; Max Weißgärber, second violin ; Ernst Morawec, first viola ; Richard Krotschak, cello) . Second viola : unknown.

...

Open-air concert which takes place on Franz-Josef's square in Linz (as part of the festival) :

Performers :

The military band of the Infantry Regiment Number 14 of Linz under « Kapellmeister » Anton Josef Dewanger.

The military band of the Infantry Regiment of Wels under « Kapellmeister » Handl.

## Programme

March in E-flat major for military band (WAB 116) .

Anton Dewanger is also teaching at the Linz Bruckner Conservatory and the Vienna Academy for Music and Performing Arts. He will move to Paris in 1937. Under the Nazi occupation, he is appointed music-director at « Radio-Paris » in 1940.

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**Sunday, 28 July 1935** : Day three of the Bruckner festival in Linz, St. Florian and Steyr.

All the participants of the festival are invited to the exhibition on the composer Anton Bruckner at the Upper-Austrian State Museum in Linz.

**Wednesday, 31 July 1935** : Wilhelm Karl Keppler from department « T » of the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry informs the State Secretary Walther Funk, vice-President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture (1933-1938) , that he has proposed the « old Party comrade » Professor Leopold Reichwein to conduct the opening day gala-performance at the Nuremberg Opera House of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » as part of the up-coming 7th Party Congress entitled « Congress of Freedom » (« Parteitag der Freiheit ») , which takes place from Tuesday, 10 to Monday, 16 September. But Keppler is told that Adolf Hitler had already appointed Wilhelm Furtwängler.

« Die Meistersinger » features a high-caliber star cast selected by the « Führer » himself. He gives the Party leaders, who are not very fond of theatre, the express order to attend the gala-performance. They will come, be bored, and many of them overcome by sleep. The rather meager applause also will not reflect, in Hitler's opinion, the brilliance of the evening. This production will also be performed on Sunday, November 17, for the re-opening of the German Opera House (« Deutsches Opernhaus ») in Berlin.

The linkage between opera and Nazi rally is emphasized when Hitler orders that « Meistersinger » be performed at every Nuremberg Party Congress ... forever !

It is not clear how the multiple use of the « Hitler - von Arent » sets was conceived.

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At the time of the infamous Party rally of **September 1935**, which ushered in the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Race Laws, Adolf Hitler decided to construct Europe's largest pipe-organ at « Luitpold Halle » (Congress Hall) on the Nuremberg rally-grounds for the next year's celebrations. This turned out to be an Walcker/Sauer organ (Opus 2550) with 5 manuals, 220 ranks and 16,013 pipes. (...) Professor Günther Ramin, Germany's best organist and once a pioneer of the German Organ Reform Movement (« Orgel-Bewegung »), was then chosen to demonstrate the instrument in a private sitting for the « Führer ».

Ramin never was a member of the Nazi Party. He played frequently at the Party Conventions in Nuremberg and on similar occasions, and he seems to have mingled with leading Nazis.

Although one of his students recalls :

« As his student, (...) I never heard a positive word concerning Hitler. »

Moreover, his widow declared that he « strongly abhorred » National-Socialism.

All the more strange, therefore, at least at a superficial level, is Ramin's calculated resolve to accommodate himself politically to the rulers in order to advance his own career. Yet, after appreciating the function, for Church and State, of the organ and Protestant music movements, in both of which Ramin was firmly anchored, the private distaste for Nazism might have appeared to him as something to be subordinated both to the arcane æsthetics of those movements, which were sacrosanct, and to his own, very personal goals.

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**Friday, 4 October 1935** : Symphonic concert.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : ?

6 Orchestral songs based on the love life and death of Flick-Steger (American journalist Carl (Charles) Flick) . Soloist : Aline Sanden, coloratura soprano.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 101**) .

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**Wednesday, 16 October 1935** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Overture from the Opera « Tannhäuser » (WV 70) .

Friedrich Bayer : Concerto in B-flat minor for piano and orchestra. Soloist : Isolde Ahlgrim.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1877 version (**WAB 102**) .

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**Sunday, 24 November 1935** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The Bavarian prime minister Ludwig Siebert favourably supports the « Walhalla » project in Regensburg.

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**Wednesday, 4 December 1935** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Max Trapp : « Divertimento » for chamber orchestra, Opus 27.

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 35. Soloist : Eduard von Zathureczky.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**1935-1938** : Franz Kinzl is consultant for the Linz radio station, for which he designs various programs.

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**1935-1943** : The musicologist, pedagogue, composer and conductor Emil Seiler teaches at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory (« Klindworth-Scharwenka-Konservatorium ») .

He also performs as co-principal violist in the recently founded orchestra of the « Deutschlands-Sender » in Berlin.

During the first 3 years, Walter Trampler played with Seiler as the second co-principal viola.

Outstanding conductors in Seiler's time included Richard Strauß, Karl Böhm, Herbert von Karajan, Hans Rosbaud, Carl Schuricht, Willem Mengelberg, Clemens Krauß, Oswald Kabasta, Robert Steger, and Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg.

Schulz-Dornburg conducts in Berlin, again and again : as chief-conductor of the Orchestra of the « Reichs-Sender » or as guest-conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic. For this reason, he is given leave of absence from the authorities of the « Reich » Orchestra of the German Air Sports Association.

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**Wednesday, 1 January 1936** : Traditional New Year's Concert in Berlin :

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Special programme

Works by Ludwig van Beethoven.

...

Cessation of all commercial radio broadcasting in Germany.

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**Wednesday, 15 January 1936** : Special evening concert entirely devoted to the works of the Austrian contemporary composer Rudolf Kattnigg.

A first !!

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Rudolf Kattnigg : Orchestral works.

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**Tuesday, 28 January 1936** : Mounting antagonism surrounding the political sympathies of Professor Leopold Reichwein brings his career in Austria to a temporary halt. The Vienna police issues an order which prevents him from rehearsing with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra for a concert that is scheduled to take place the following evening, on the grounds that his presence on the podium may provoke a breakdown in law and order.

This action, reminiscent of the treatment the Nazis meted out to Bruno Walter in Berlin 3 years earlier, was eagerly seized upon by the German musical press and used as a convenient excuse for declaring open hostility to the cultural policies of the Austrian regime. Eager to leave behind the aggressively nationalistic climate of clerico-fascist Austria, which was becoming increasingly anti-Nazi, Reichwein sought permanent posts in several German cities. The fact that he was rejected each time may have had much to do with his insider's reputation : the Viennese music-critic Victor Junk, himself an ardent National-Socialist, thought him insufficiently flexible as an orchestra leader.

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**Friday, 21 February 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The installation of the bust of Anton Bruckner created by Adolf Rothenburger (Iconography : IKO 273) in the « Walhalla » Temple of Regensburg near Munich has now been officially approved (by the Bavarian prime minister Ludwig Siebert ?) .

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**March 1936** : Josef Gœbbels instructs directors to reserve the best evening broadcasting slot for entertainment programs. He admonishes the « Reich » director of radio programming, Eugen Hadamovsky, for the « pedagogical » content of broadcasting :

« General tendency everywhere : Loosen up ! »

---

**Friday, 6 March 1936** : Symphonic concert.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Rudolf Kattnigg : ?

Carl Nielsen : ?

Emil Sjögren : ?

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : ?

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky : ?

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**Friday, 13 March 1936** : Letter from music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Gustav Bosse has commissioned the Bruckner Medal of Honour of the « International Bruckner Society » (Iconography : IKO 268) from the Breslau artist Hans Wildermann.

...

**8:05 pm** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Oswald Kabasta conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) . Soloist : Luise Helletsgruber.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**) - including a second brass choir in the Finale. (Vienna premiere.)

The new Haas edition served as a prototype of the « pure » Bruckner score. By extension, according to Christa Brüstle, it became a musical symbol of uncontaminated « innate (German) artistic genius » perfectly suited for National-Socialist propaganda. It will be performed after the consecration ceremony in Regensburg near Munich in 1937, and again, that same year, at the closing of the Nazi Party convention.

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**Friday, 24 April 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Von Hausegger would like to use the « original version » of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) for the planned performance at the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich, but the House of the « Musicological Publishers » informs him of the difficulties encountered regarding the publication.

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**Saturday, 23 May 1936** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the lawyer and financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, to President Max Auer :

Doctor Werner suggests honouring conductor and musicologist Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, for his efforts to make the « Walhalla » project in the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich a reality.

(Professor Raabe is particularly interested in Anton Bruckner, who is so much loved by Adolf Hitler.)

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**Friday, 29 May 1936** : Letter from music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Gustav Bosse would have liked to award Adolf Hitler the Bruckner Medal of Honour from the « International Bruckner Society » to thank him for having personally taken charge of the « Walhalla » project.

Bosse also thinks that Professor Auer should ask the « Führer » to legally protect the Bruckner festival of Regensburg, by signing a State act.

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**Wednesday, 3 June 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Volkmar Andreae :

Von Hausegger talks about the newly-edited scores by Robert Haas (1935) of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies (WAB 105, 106) .

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**Thursday, 4 June 1936** : Karl Grunsky gives a lecture entitled « Questions about Bruckner's conception » (« Fragen der Bruckner-Auffassung ») in the small hall of the « Tonhalle » in Zürich.

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**Sunday, 14 June 1936** : Hans Poelzig, the architect of the « Haus des Rundfunks » , dies in Berlin, shortly before his planned emigration to Turkey (Istanbul) .

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**1936** : Start-up of the large radio transmitter on the Freinberg mountain near Linz.

Technical and programme production development continues apace. A new and improved version of the « Volks-Empfänger » (People's Receiver) VE301 radio-set is introduced at a lower-cost of 65 « Reich » Marks.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg becomes the music-director of the Dietrich Eckart open-air theatre (« Dietrich-Eckart-

Freilichtbühne ») in Berlin, located near the new Olympic stadium. Then immediately after, he is appointed director of the music department at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) .

Accused of the « cultural Bolshevism » of the avant-garde, Hans Poelzig sees no professional future for himself in the Third « Reich » , and has no desire to work with the Nazis. He makes plans to relocate to Istanbul in Turkey.

Johannes Rietz is named choir-master at the « Reichs-Sender » in Stuttgart, then at the « Reichs-Sender » in Breslau.

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Johannes Hollnsteiner serves as executive-chairman of the Catholic Academic Association from 1936 until the « Anschluß » of 1938. Hollnsteiner has already been in charge of the communications of the Catholic academicians in Austria since 1930. He holds other important functions : from 2 March 1932, as a judge of the Vienna Diocesan Court ; and, from 1 November 1934 to 1938, as a deputy official of the Metropolitan Court, together with Alois Illek.

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**1936-1938** : Vinzenz Goller is Lord Mayor of Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

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The « Reich » Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin is asking for more space : 100 offices, rooms for archives and meetings, as well as a canteen.

**Summer 1936** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels plans to expand the Palace of Prince Friedrich Leopold (« Ordens-Palais ») located on the northern corner of « Wilhelmplatz » and « Wilhelmstraße ») in the style of National-Socialist architecture according to designs by architect Karl Reichle. The historical palace has been the headquarters of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda since March 1933.

Whilst the palace could not be changed to conform to Nazi architecture, such consideration is deemed unnecessary for the supplementary building which will extend to « Mauerstraße » .

In the planning, Reichle moved the building-line on « Mauerstraße » opposite the « Kleisthaus » 5 metres back, in accordance with the monumental design which Adolf Hitler preferred, both inside and outside (a façade with 3 massive arches on « Wilhelm-Platz » and a new garden wing) , in order to highlight the headquarters of a supreme « Reich » authority.

The plot of land at « Wilhelmstraße » Number 62, the old Colonial Ministry, is also included in the construction project. This plot reaches from « Wilhelmstraße » (Number 62) to « Mauerstraße » (Number 45) . This makes it possible to plan a wing with office space along the boundary of the plot in an east-west direction. A long 2 storey façade is created on « Wilhelmstraße » in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's architectural style. The core of the interior rooms on the « Wilhelmstraße » side is formed by the new theatre and film projection room.

## Propaganda Ministry : 1934-1938 - « Wilhelmstraße » Number 49, « Mauerstraße » 45-52

Josef Goebbels's « Reich » Ministry of Enlightenment and Propaganda in many ways mirrors the story of Hermann Göring's Ministry of Aviation building : a very centralized office in search of a monumental expression of its acclaimed new power. The difference is that, instead of a green plot, Goebbels received a stately palace (the « Ordens-Palais ») designed by the most skilled classicist architect of the 19th Century : Friedrich Schinkel. Several additions were made to this palace, some of them shadowing it in scale, none though in quality. The craftsmanship in which the stone façades are created, the overwhelming rhythm of the windows, the subtle and mystifying cornices create a somewhat interesting whole. Architect Karl Reiche first carried out a smaller extension somewhat bluntly decorated with pilasters and arches. In the second extension, he gave up all such expressive elements, except those of detail, like window framing, entrances, etc. Schinkel's classicist palace had been destroyed during the War, but all the additions are still standing. The former Propaganda Ministry is now ironically the seat of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and is open to visitors as long as they book a tour in advance.

## Bruckner festival, Zürich (1936)

**Saturday, 20 to Sunday, 28 June 1936** : Sixth Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » in association with the « Tonhalle » Society of Zürich.

The Apostolic Nuncio Cesare Orsenigo, from Berlin, will stay for the entire festival.

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**Saturday, 20 June 1936** : Day one of the Bruckner festival in Zürich. Inaugural concert at the « Tonhalle » .

Music-director Volkmar Andreae conducts the « Gemischte Chor » (mixed-choir) of Zürich and the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

Soloists : Elsa Scherz-Meister (soprano) , Nina Nüesch (mezzo-soprano) , Ernest Bauer (tenor) , Felix Numa Loeffel (bass-baritone) . Karl Matthaei (organ) .

## Programme

« Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) .

## *Intermission*

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

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**Sunday, 21 June 1936** : Day two of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

**Morning** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated at the « Church of Our Lady » (« Liebfrauen-Kirche ») by Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, in the presence of Cesare Orsenigo, the Apostolic Nuncio for Germany. The preacher for the occasion is Doctor Father Häne.

Hermann Odermatt conducts the Zürich Radio Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .

...

**Evening** : Festive reunion held at the « Tonhalle » for the board-members of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Welcoming words by President Max Auer, which is followed by a speech from board-member Councillor Rudolf Holzer.

Hans Lavater conducts the « Sängerverein Harmonie » of Zürich and the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

### Programme

Friedrich Klose : « In faithful memory of master Anton Bruckner » , prelude and double fugue on a theme by Bruckner for organ and wind instruments (1907) . Karl Matthaei (organ) .

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .  
Soloists : Elsa Scherz-Meister (soprano) , Nina Nüesch (mezzo-soprano) , Ernest Bauer (tenor) , Felix Numa Loeffel (bass-baritone) . Karl Matthaei (organ) .

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**Monday, 22 June 1936** : Day three of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

**Morning** : Board meeting of the « International Bruckner Society » at the « Tonhalle » in Zürich. Karl Grunsky, an opponent of the « original versions » , calls for the « Millenkovich-Morold case » to be discussed.

It is said in Zürich that Professor Max Auer claimed that Max Morold was an enemy of the new « Critical Edition » . His conclusions are based on false premises. Morold has announced his resignation from the board-of-directors, but he did not yet finalized it.

Norbert Furreg says that his attitude is not identical with that of chief-editor Robert Haas, whose lecture on March 13

was not even suggested by the House of the « Musicological Publishers » .

After consulting Professor Auer, Haas does not mention the problem of versions in his speech, but he would surely have appreciated the collaboration of Franz Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe and August Göllerich junior.

Karl Grunsky warns against premature and exaggerated condemnations of Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe.

...

**Evening** : Repeat performance of the opening day concert at the « Tonhalle » .

Music-director Volkmar Andreæ conducts the « Gemischte Chor » (mixed-choir) of Zürich and the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

Soloists : Elsa Scherz-Meister (soprano) , Nina Nüesch (mezzo-soprano) , Ernest Bauer (tenor) , Felix Numa Loeffel (bass-baritone) . Karl Matthaei (organ) .

### Programme

« Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (WAB 38) .

### *Intermission*

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28)

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**Tuesday, 23 June 1936** : Day four of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

**Morning** : Annual general meeting of the « International Bruckner Society » in the Great Hall of the Conservatory of Zürich.

...

**Evening** : « Tonhalle » Concert Hall.

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

Also during the evening : the Swiss music-critic and author, Doctor Willi Schuh, gives a lecture entitled « Bruckner, the Symphonist » , which is broadcast on a local radio station.

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**Thursday, 25 June 1936** : Day six of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

« Tonhalle » Concert Hall.

### Programme

Hermann Dubs conducts the Hans Häusermann Private Choir.

Perger Prelude in C major (extended by Franz Neuhofer) (WAB 129) . Karl Matthaer (organ) .

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 11) .

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (WAB 6) .

« Libera me » (Deliver me) , sacred motet in F minor for mixed-choir (SSATB) , 3 trombones and figured bass (organ, cello and double bass) (WAB 22) .

*Intermission*

Music-director Volkmar Andreae conducts the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

...

**Evening** : Professor Franz Moibl, one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » , gives a lecture entitled « The meaning and tasks of the Bruckner movement » , which is broadcast on a local radio station.

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**Friday, 26 June 1936** : Day seven of the Bruckner festival in Zürich. « Tonhalle » Concert Hall.

Professor Peter Raabe conducts the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 101**) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

...

The radio transmitter on the Rosenhügel (Vienna) is used to re-inforce the transmission capacity in Linz.

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**Sunday, 28 June 1936** : Day nine of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

**Morning** : A High Mass is celebrated at the Cathedral church of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary and St. Mauritius, which is part of the Benedictine monastery located in the village of Einsiedeln in the canton of Schwyz, Switzerland.

(After the celebration, Cesare Orsenigo, the Apostolic Nuncio for Germany, takes part in the mid-day meal.)

Professor Ludwig Berberich conducts the Munich Cathedral Choir and the « Tonhalle » Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

...

**Afternoon** : Choral concert at the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln.

Pater Otto Rehm conducts the choir of the Benedictine monks.

### Programme

« Pange lingua » (Tell, my tongue) , sacred hymn for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 33**) .

« Inveni David » (I have found David) , offertorium in F minor for male-choir (TTBB) and 4 trombones (WAB 19) .

« Vexilla regis » (The royal banner) , sacred hymn for mixed-choir (SATB) (WAB 51) .

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 11) .

« Psalm 114 » in G major for mixed-choir (SAATB) and 3 trombones (WAB 36) .

Prelude and fugue in C minor, completed by Franz Philip in 1929 (WAB 131) . Pater Stephan Koller, organ.

...

Letter from Professor Peter Raabe to Volkmar Andreae :

« Your excellent orchestra made a great impression on me. You can make music with it out of abundance. And that's good ; especially with Bruckner ! »

**Monday, 6 July 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Conductor von Hausegger considers suitable to perform at the « Walhalla » ceremony in Regensburg the « Locus iste » in C major (WAB 23) with the boys' choir of St. Peter's Cathedral (nicknamed the « Cathedral Sparrows ») under choir-master Professor Theobald Schrems.

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**Sunday, 19 July 1936** : 2 concerts held at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

### Programmes

**10:00 am** : Viktor Keldorfer conducts the Collegiate Church mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

...

**3:00 pm** : Viktor Keldorfer conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (D. 485) .



Anton Bruckner : Symphony in F minor, « Study Symphony » (WAB 99) .

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**Monday, 20 July 1936** (8:00 pm) : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Viktor Keldorfer conducts the mixed-choir of the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (WAB 38) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (WAB 107) .

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**Tuesday, 21 July 1936** : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Volkmar Andreæ and Robert Keldorfer conduct the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Overture in G minor for orchestra, Opus posthumous (WAB 98) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (WAB 108) .

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**Wednesday, 22 July 1936** (11:00 am) : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Viktor Keldorfer conducts the mixed-choir of the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Franz Schubert : « Rosamunde » Overture from the melodrama « Die Zauberharfe » (The Magic Harp) (D. 644) .

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 3 in D major (D. 200) .

## *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

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**Wednesday, 29 July 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« When the veil falls off Bruckner's bust, triumphal Bruckner sounds must be played. The “ non confundar ” from the Seventh would be appropriate, but it would not work musically. What would also work is the grandiose entry of the final theme of the Eighth in the recapitulation, up to the C major chord with the cymbal crash, and, from there, jumping to the C major intensification near the end with the climax unifying all the themes, as a true “ Walhalla ” sound. »

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**1936** : August Eigruber takes over the complete leadership of the « Gau » of Upper-Austria.

Michael Schneider is appointed head of the department of Protestant church-music at the College of Music in Cologne (a post he will keep until 1941) . He also teaches organ and directs the Bach Society.

Due to the scale of National-Socialist activities in Vienna, Professor Leopold Reichwein resigns from his post of director at the « Konzertverein » Society. Eager to leave behind the aggressively nationalistic climate of clerico-fascist Austria, which is becoming increasingly anti-Nazi, Reichwein seeks permanent posts in several German cities. The fact that he will be rejected each time may have much to do with his insider's reputation.

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**August 1936** : Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is named District chief of the Cologne area.

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**Saturday, 15 August 1936** : Letter from the « International Bruckner Society » to Doctor Willy Meerwald, deputy head of the « Reich » Chancellery :

The Society expresses its gratitude to the « Führer » for honouring the composer Anton Bruckner in the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg near Munich. The Society may only award Adolf Hitler with the Bruckner Bronze Medal of Honour, which was donated by the music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg.

For day one of the Festival, the Third Symphony in D minor (WAB 103) is planned because it was dedicated to Richard Wagner, which « will surely arouse the sympathy of the “ Führer ” » .

The letter is signed by Siegmund von Hausegger, Max Auer and Franz Moißl.

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**Tuesday, 1 September 1936** : Letter from music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Gustav Bosse and Siegmund von Hausegger met on Saturday, August 29th. They agreed that the Bavarian prime minister Ludwig Siebert should receive the Medal of Honour of the « International Bruckner Society » in Munich only if Adolf Hitler receives the first copy at the Regensburg Festival. It was originally planned that the Society would present the Bruckner Bronze Medal of Honour to the « Führer » during a ceremony organized at the « Berghof » in the Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden, at the beginning of October.

The Minorite Church in Regensburg is re-designed as a concert-hall, for which the « Führer » had approved the funds through the mediation of the Benedictine Abbot Albanus Schachleiter.

(Schachleiter admitted privately to a friend that, « a believing Christian can no longer participate (in the N.S.D.A.P.) ; they do not want believing Christians in the Party » . Publicly, the Abbot continued to profess loyalty to the « Führer » and to the Church.)

A more appropriate text, written by Richard Gottschalk, will be used for the performance of the patriotic cantata « Germanenzug » for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) , at the Festival.

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**Wednesday, 2 September 1936** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The State of Austria would be worthily represented at the « Walhalla » celebration in Regensburg near Munich with the participation of Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg.

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**Tuesday, 8 to Monday, 14 September 1936** : The 8th Party Congress known as the « Rally of Honour » (« Reichs-Partei-Tag der Ehre ») takes place at the rally-grounds in Nuremberg. Last March re-militarization of the de-militarized Rhineland constituted the restoration of German honour in the eyes of many Germans.

Professor Günther Ramín is selected to play on the new Walcker/Sauer organ (Opus 2550) installed in « Luitpold Halle » (maximum capacity : 16,000 people) during ceremonies and grandiose open-air events. Despite the size and power of the instrument, organizers thought it was necessary to amplify the sound through the 76 loudspeakers placed around Zeppelin Field.

When Professor Ramín began to play in front of Oscar Walcker, organist Eduard Kissel, conductor Franz Adam, Doctor Robert Ley and other Nazi top-officials in attendance, and touched on the first pedal notes, Ley suddenly roared with

a snort :

« He's playing with de Beene ! » said Ramón, laughing with amusement.

This was followed by a shameful silence in the hall.

There were a few interesting technical stipulations included in the building contract. One of these forbade the organ to impress the listeners with its beauty : it should rather bring-out « the spirit of the Nazi Party » .

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**Tuesday, 15 September 1936** : Letter from music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The Bruckner festival in Regensburg has been postponed to June 1937, due to a decision made yesterday by Adolf Hitler. The festival itself will be presented on a grander scale than previously planned.

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**Academic year of 1936-1937** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is named Senator of the Catholic Theological Faculty.

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**Autumn 1936** : Having assigned conductor Heinz Drewes, then general music-director of Altenburg, the task of « bringing the people to music » , Doctor Josef Gæbbels seeks to strengthen Drewes' position « vis-à-vis » the « Reich » Chamber of Music, which, since 1935, has been chaired by the conductor and musicologist Professor Peter Raabe, one of the most influential person in the German music world. Raabe will appear very often as a speaker, proclaiming the basic lines of National-Socialist music policy.

Drewes first worked at the German National Theatre and « Staatskapelle » Weimar as a « répétiteur » and conductor.

### Bruckner festival, Vienna (1936)

**Wednesday, 7 to Thursday, 15 October 1936** : Seventh Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » . This time, it takes place in the city of Vienna - under the patronage of the Federal President Wilhelm Miklas, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna Theodor Innitzer, the Federal Chancellor of Austria Kurt von Schuschnigg, the Minister of Education Hans Pernter, and the Mayor of Vienna Richard Schmitz.

For the occasion, the music-publisher Gustav Bosse, from Regensburg, donates one Medal of Honour (Iconography : IKO 268) to its designer, Hans Wildermann. (Since 1919, Bosse developed a friendship with Wildermann who illustrated many of his books.)

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**Wednesday, 7 October 1936** : Day one of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**7:00 pm** : « Radio Wien » broadcasts President Max Auer's opening address entitled « Bruckner's " Lamento e trionfo " » .

...

**7:30 pm** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Opening concert of the Society of Friends of Music.

Oswald Kabasta conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (**WAB 104**) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Thursday, 8 October 1936** : Day two of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**5:00 pm** : Reception at the Ministry of Education at the invitation of the « International Bruckner Society » .

...

**7:00 pm** : « Wiener Staatsoper »

Hans Knappertsbusch conducts the Chorus and Orchestra of the Vienna State Opera.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : « Lohengrin » , Romantic opera in 3 acts (WWV 75) .

Singers : Torsten Ralf, tenor (Lohengrin) ; Luise Helletsgruber, soprano (Elsa) ; Ludwig Hofmann, bass (King Heinrich) ; Emil Schipper (Telramund) ; Anny Konezni, soprano (Ortrud) .

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**Friday, 9 October 1936** : Day three of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**11:30 am** : Opening day of the Bruckner exhibition at the music collection of the Austrian National Library. Robert Haas gives a lecture.

...

**8:00 pm** : Chamber music concert organized by the « Konzerthaus » Society of Vienna.

Ignaz Leo Weber conducts the « Bruckner Choir » of Vienna.

### Programme

Prelude and fugue in C minor for organ, completed by Franz Philip in 1929 (**WAB 131**) .

« Salvum fac populum tuum » (O Lord, save thy people) , sacred motet in F major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 40**) .

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , gradual in D minor for 8-part mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 2 violins, viola, cello and double bass (**WAB 10**) .

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (**WAB 6**) .

String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) . Performers : the Vienna « Konzerthaus » Quartet (Anton Kamper, first violin ; Karl Maria Titze, second violin ; Erich Weis, first viola ; Franz Kvarda, cello) . Karl Stumpf is the second viola.

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**Saturday, 10 October 1936** : Day four of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**9:30 am** : A pontifical « Requiem » is celebrated at the Imperial Court Chapel (« Hofburg-Kapelle ») by Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

Ferdinand Großmann conducts the Court Chapel Choir and Orchestra.

### Programme

« Requiem » in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, 3 trombones, 1 horn, strings and organ with figured bass (**WAB 39**) .

...

**12:00** : Commemoration ceremony held in front of the Bruckner Monument in Vienna's City Park (« Stadtpark ») .

Welcoming words by Councillor Rudolf Holzer, board-member of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Speech by Minister Doctor Hans Pernter, Secretary in the Federal Ministry for Education.

Wreath laying ceremony.

Karl Stiegler conducts the brass-section of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in Vinzenz Goller's 2 Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments based on themes by Anton Bruckner (**WAB 35, 45, 105**) .

Are attending : Minister Doctor Hans Pernter, Ministerial Advisor Leodegar Petrin (President of the Federal Monuments Office - Central Office for Monument Protection) , Max Auer (President of the « International Bruckner Society ») , Councillor Rudolf Holzer (« Brucknerbund » of Vienna) , Professor Ernst Meithner and Robert Keldorfer (Vienna Schubert Society) , Councillor Julius Niske (Vienna Men's Choral Association and « Singakademie » mixed-choir) , Secretary-General Friedrich Dlabáč and Office Director Mauriz Krumpholz (Society of Friends of Music, Vienna) Upper-Austrian senior civil servant Oskar Scheuba, Franz Gräfinger, Robert Keldorfer and Doctor Hans Ahorner (Upper-Austrian Vienna Schubert Society) , music-director Hermann Ritter von Schmeidel (from Graz) , Franz Burkhart (Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra) , chief-editor Robert Haas, secretary Professor Franz Moibl (« International Bruckner Society ») , (...)

...

**3:00 pm** : First philharmonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Otto Klemperer conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Adagio from Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

Adagio from Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**) .

...

**8:00 pm** : Major choral concert given at the Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Are attending : the Austrian Federal President Wilhelm Miklas, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna Theodor Innitzer, the vice-Mayor of Vienna Major Lahr, and many high-officials. Professor Franz Schütz, the President of the Society of Friends of Music, is among the performers.

Robert Keldorfer conducts the Vienna Men's Choral Association and the Vienna « Singakademie » mixed-choir.

« Abendzauber » (Evening magic) , secular cantata in G-flat major, based on a short poem by Heinrich von der Mattig, for tenor or baritone, 3 distant female voices (Alpine « yodlers » , SSA) , « a cappella » double men's choir (TTBB) and horn quartet (**WAB 57**) . Soloist : Franz Karl Fuchs, baritone.

« Nachruf » (Obituary) in C minor for male-choir (TTBB) and organ (**WAB 81a**) .

« Um Mitternacht » (At Midnight) , secular song for alto, choir and orchestra (**WAB 89**) .

« Der deutsche Gesang » (The German song) , patriotic song in D minor, based on a text by Erich Fels (pseudonym : Aurelius Polzer) , for double men's choir (TTBB) and brass instruments (4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and contrabass-tuba) (**WAB 63**) .

« Germanenzug » , patriotic cantata based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) .

...

Anton Konrath conducts the Vienna « Singakademie » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

« Helgoland » , secular cantata for male-choir and orchestra (**WAB 71**) .

« Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) . Soloist : Erika Rokyta.

...

Oswald Kabasta conducts the « Singverein » and « Singakademie » mixed-choirs and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) . Soloists : Erika Rokyta, soprano ; Maria Helbling, alto ; Andreas Rösler, tenor ; Deszö Ernster, bass.

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**Sunday, 11 October 1936** : Day five of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**9:00 am** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated at St. Stephen's Cathedral (« Stephansdom ») by the Cardinal Archbishop of



Vienna, Theodor Innitzer.

Ferdinand Habel conducts the Cathedral Choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

...

9:30 am : Mass celebrated at the parish church of Meidlinger located on « Albrechtsberger-Gasse » .

Ignaz Leo Weber conducts the « Bruckner Choir » of Vienna.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

...

11:00 am : High-Mass celebrated at the Imperial Court Chapel (« Hofburg-Kapelle ») .

Ferdinand Großmann conducts the Court Chapel Choir and Orchestra.

...

11:30 am : Second philharmonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Repeat concert of October 10 (commemorating the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra) .

Otto Klemperer, conductor.

### Programme

Adagio from Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

Adagio from Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) .

...

**4:30 pm or 5:00 pm** : Popular symphonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Anton Konrath conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 101**) .

*Intermission*

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , original version with the « Volksfest » Finale of 1878 (**WAB 104**) .

...

**Evening** : Sacred concert given at St. Stephen's Cathedral (« Stephansdom ») .

Ferdinand Habel conducts the Cathedral Choir and the Vienna Chamber Orchestra. Soloists : Erika Rokyta, soprano ; Emilie Rutschka, alto ; Georg Maikl, tenor ; Karl Ettl, bass.

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

*Intermission*

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

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**Monday, 12 October 1936** : Day six of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**11:00 am** : Board meeting of the University of Vienna and the « International Bruckner Society » .

Opening work :

Vinzenz Goller : 2 Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments based on themes by Anton Bruckner (**WAB 35, 45, 105**) .

Ceremonial address by the Austrian musicologist and composer Doctor Robert Lach.

Speeches by Doctor Leopold Arzt, the acting Rector of the University of Vienna (1936-1937) , and Max Auer, the

President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

The « Ghibellines » Singers (« Sängerschaft “ Ghibellinen ” ») of the University of Vienna perform :

Anton Bruckner : « Das hohe Lied » (The song of the heights) , secular song in A-flat major, based on a text by Heinrich von der Mattig, for 2 tenor, baritone and double men's choir (TTBB) (WAB 74) .

The « Akademischer Orchestervereins Wien » (founded in 1904) performs :

Anton Bruckner : Overture in G minor for orchestra (WAB 98) .

...

9:00 pm : Symphonic concert broadcast from the studio of the « Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) on « Johannesgasse » .

Oswald Kabasta conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

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**Tuesday, 13 October 1936** : Day seven of the Bruckner festival in Vienna. Memorial Day.

**Morning** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated by Provost Josef Kluger at the monastery of Klosterneuburg.

Franz Andreas Weißenböck conducts the choir of the Augustinian monks, the Vienna Chamber Choir and Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor, for mixed-choir, soloists, orchestra and organ (WAB 29) .

...

**Afternoon** : Consecration ceremony at the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg.

Are attending : Bella Pernter, the wife of Minister Doctor Hans Pernter (the Secretary in the Federal Ministry for Education) , special envoy August Ritter von Kral (retired Austrian diplomat in Ankara, Turkey) , Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , which is accompanied by members of the Society.

Speech by Provost Josef Kluger on the topic « Bruckner, the mystic » .

Musical accompaniment by Vinzenz Goller and Professor Josef Tölzer.

The choir of the Augustinian monks and the Vienna Chamber Choir perform sacred works, including ...

Anton Bruckner : « Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (WAB 23) .

...

**6:00 pm** : Gala-concert held at the hall of the Collegiate cellar.

Franz Moißl conducts the Vienna Chamber Orchestra.

### Programme

Johann Georg Albrechtsberger : ?

Franz-Josef Haydn : ?

Georg Mathias Monn : Concerto in G minor for cello, strings and basso continuo. Soloist : Walter Kurz.

Simon Sechter : « Fugen-Scherzi »

Anton Bruckner : Intermezzo in D minor for String Quintet (WAB 113) .

Franz Liszt : « Angelus »

Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf : ?

...

**7:30 pm** : Symphonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Karl Böhm conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Prelude and Fugue in E-flat major for organ (BWV 552) . Soloist : Professor Franz Schütz,

President of the Society of Friends of Music.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Wednesday, 14 October 1936** : Day eight of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**7:30 pm** : Symphonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Karl Böhm conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Prelude and Fugue in E-flat major for organ (BWV 552) . Soloist : Professor Franz Schütz, President of the Society of Friends of Music.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Thursday, 15 October 1936** : Day nine of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

**(?? 7:30 pm)** : Sacred concert given at St. Stephen's Cathedral (« Stephansdom ») .

Ferdinand Habel conducts the « Sängerbund “ Dreizehnlinden ” » mixed-choir, the Cathedral Choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Friedrich Klose : « In faithful memory of master Anton Bruckner » , prelude and double fugue on a theme by Bruckner for organ and wind instruments (1907) . Professor Karl Walter, « Dom » organist.

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28)

### *Intermission*

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

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**End of October 1936** : After the closure of the Bruckner festival in Vienna (on October 15) , the (original) date of the unveiling ceremony of the bust of Anton Bruckner in the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg is set.

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**Friday, 20 November 1936** : Chief-editor Robert Haas and co-editor Alfred Orel discuss a way to incorporate the « Berlin » sketches (from the Prussian State Library) of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) into Orel's own publication : as an « addendum » , or just reprint the score.

Orel's further collaboration on the « Complete Critical Edition » remains unclear.

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**Tuesday, 1 December 1936** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

The House of the « Musicological Publishers » is currently working on simplifying the history of the « original versions » so that the highest authorities of the Nazi Party will be able to understand, in order to gain their trust.

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**Friday, 11 December 1936** : The co-editor Alfred Orel accepts to incorporate the « Berlin » sketches (from the Prussian State Library) of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) into his publication. No decision is taken about Orel's withdrawal from the « Complete Critical Edition » .

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**December 1936** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels is attempting to strengthen his position in German musical life by setting-up a separate music department in his Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the Music Examination Office, also called « Division X » : a central censorship authority consisting of the Department for Music Arrangements, the Foreign Office for Music, and the Office for Concert Activities, whose role is to prevent the publication and distribution of « undesirable and dangerous » (foreign) music within the « Reich » . In practice, very few compositions will be actually banned, as the mere existence of the Office has a self-regulatory effect. Much of the banned material comprised what the Nazis call « degenerate music » , such as jazz or « neger-musik » as well as the compositions of Jewish composers like Gustav Mahler.

Gœbbels is appointing conductor Heinz Drewes as director of the new Music Examination Office (a post he will keep until 1944) . Consequently, Raabe is no longer the sole pleni-potentiary in matters of musical culture in the « Reich » .

Drewes and Raabe will struggle on « the leadership in music » - and this will make Gœbbels very happy, as he can use their words as a threat to one or the other. In theory, Drewes's department is to have powers of policy creation while Raabe's agency powers of policy enactment. But, in practice, in those areas that really mattered to him, Gœbbels towers over both men, conveying his wishes in person or using as his conduit a State secretary of his Ministry.

As long as it lasted, this delineation meant that Raabe continued to exercise responsibility in practical matters such as coopting and regulating « Reich » Chamber of Music membership and devising technical rulings. In terms of ideological and content controls, however, Raabe seems to have been comparatively disadvantaged, or to have taken his cue from Drewes's department, if not (as in the case of Paul Hindemith's banning, in 1936) directly from Gœbbels.

Musicologist Robert Haas, chief-editor of the « International Bruckner Society » of Vienna, writes that he is the target of heinous attacks by the local Jewish press. He even insinuates that Anton Bruckner himself received the same unjustified treatment (!!) during his lifetime. His assistant, Alfred Orel, is also very active in the Austrian Nazi Party.

The Nazis saw much to gain by re-enforcing the « cliché » of Bruckner as « Wagner-Symphonist » .

The « International Bruckner Society » needed to wage extensive campaigns to supplant the first editions with their « original versions » . This propaganda had many ramifications. With its text-critical justification of the « original versions » as an ideological basis, the Society's concept of a hypothetical « Urtext » is noteworthy.

By the time scores from the « Complete Edition » (« Gesamt-Ausgabe ») appeared, performances of Bruckner's Symphonies were already established through the first printed editions. Since no one doubted the credibility of these first printed editions, Haas's « original versions » were not immediately accepted by the public. Sometimes, the scores of the « original versions » met with considerable opposition. In order to appeal more to the public, Haas and the « International Bruckner Society » exploited Bruckner's biographical content in favour of their editorial concept. The biographical revision emphasized the image of Bruckner as pious, naive, simple, and provincial (this image is known as the « Völkisch Bruckner-Bild ») . Furthermore, they invented fictitious biographical elements to Bruckner's personality : ill-advised, subject to manipulation, and easy to sway.

...

The official Nazi campaign, which downplays Bruckner's Austrian heritage, begins. The National-Socialists inundate the 2 International Bruckner Festivals of 1936 and 1937, held in Linz and Upper-Austria, with anti-Austrian propaganda.

On these occasions, the principal slogan of this large-scale, organized whispering campaign ran :

« The true Bruckner has never existed in Austria at all, but only a falsified distortion (“ Zerrbild ”) of his music has been heard. The true Bruckner, who was never at home in the former Austria, has been discovered and brought to light only through National-Socialism. »

It is said that, after listening to Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) , Adolf Hitler cried :

« How can anyone say that Austria is not German ! Is there anything more German than our old pure Austrianness ? »

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**Friday, 1 January 1937** : Traditional New Year's Concert in Berlin :

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Soloist : Gertrud Rüniger, alto (later, dramatic soprano) .

### Special programme

Works by Ludwig van Beethoven.

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**Tuesday, 26 January 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Siegmund von Hausegger presents the programming of the up-coming Regensburg Festival placed under the sponsorship of the « International Bruckner Society » . He wonders if Heinrich Gleißner, the acting Governor of Upper-Austria, will be able to express the gratitude of Austria at the « Walhalla » celebration in Regensburg. The « Führer » requests to hear an organ work at the beginning of the inaugural concert (a piece that will not be included in the official program) .

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**Saturday, 30 January 1937** : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » attended by Norbert Furreg, Robert Haas, Franz Moißl and Friedrich Werner.

It is discussed that the co-editor Alfred Orel should take advantage of his privileged relationship with « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen in order to have access to Anton Bruckner's manuscripts.

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The Vienna « Richard Wagner Orchestra » , which was founded in 1933 by Leopold Reichwein, is renamed National-Socialist Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra - a further transmogrification of the original « Kampfbund » Orchestra for German Culture which was co-founded by Professor Reichwein and Wilhelm Jerger.

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**Wednesday, 3 February 1937** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Inaugural concert of a 4 concert cycle which ends in May.

Music-director Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the National-Socialist Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.



## Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 7 in A major, Opus 92.

### *Intermission*

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

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**Wednesday, 17 February 1937** : Meeting between the chief-editor Robert Haas and the co-editor Alfred Orel.

Haas complicates the re-edition of the sketches of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) by refusing to transmit material from the Austrian National Library to the City Library, and by demanding collaboration with Leopold Nowak and Fritz Öser.

The Prussian State Library in Berlin only sends copies of the sketch material to Vienna. The House of the « Musicological Publishers » considers that Alfred Orel's projected trip to Berlin is unacceptable.

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**Friday, 19 February 1937** : Letter from co-editor Alfred Orel to the House of the « Musicological Publishers » :

Alfred Orel points out the difficulties in re-editing the sketches of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) . He is not able to prepare a ready-to-print manuscript without examining the sketches coming from the Prussian State Library in Berlin.

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**Tuesday, 9 March 1937** : Symphonic concert as part of the ongoing Beethoven cycle.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

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**Wednesday, 17 March 1937** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

Hilde Wendler informs Professor Auer about the planned remembrance ceremony in honour of Anton Bruckner which should take place on March 21 at the « Berghof » in the Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden.

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**Friday, 19 March 1937** : Again with Adolf Hitler's blessing, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier is promoted to « Reich » Director of German Broadcasting and General-Director of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») . His successor in Cologne is the Nazi activist Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper.

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**27 March 1937** (Holy Saturday) (?) : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to co-editor Alfred Orel :

« Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen reminds Alfred Orel that her late-husband, conductor Franz Schalk, had repeatedly described the project of the « Complete Critical Edition » as premature and confusing.

Since Lili did not agree with the methods used by the chief-editor Robert Haas and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , she could authorize Orel to examine Anton Bruckner's manuscripts.

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**Thursday, 1 April 1937** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Third symphonic concert.

Music-director Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the National-Socialist Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

### Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from « Oberon » , Romantic Opera in 3 Acts (J. 306) .

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 95 in C minor (Hoboken I:95) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1874/1878 - 1880 version (WAB 104) .

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**Wednesday, 7 April 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The Bruckner festival in Regensburg near Munich should « not have a one-sided Catholic character » .

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**April 1937** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed chief-conductor of the « Reich » Broadcasting Orchestra and Choir in Cologne (« Orchester des Kölner Reichs-Senders ») . He attempts to continue his pedagogical work by excluding new,

atonal music.

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**Friday, 23 April 1937** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary :

« The programs have become very bad. There are too many radio dramas and too many generalities. No relaxation. What nonsense. (...) I pointed it out sharply to Glasmeier. I'm going to have to take strong action. »

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**Saturday, 24 April 1937** : Letter from Professor Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, to Doctor Josef Gœbbels :

Professor Raabe discusses the schedule (approved by the State Secretary Leopold Gutterer) of the up-coming music festival, which will be held from June 5 to June 7 in Regensburg, on the occasion of the consecration of a Bruckner bust in the « Walhalla » Temple.

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**Wednesday, 28 April 1937** : Professor Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, informs Doctor Josef Gœbbels about the scheduled Bruckner concerts at the Regensburg music festival :

Oswald Kabasta will conduct the Symphony No. 9 in D minor (**WAB 109**) .

Raabe will conduct the Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » (**WAB 101**) .

Siegmond von Hausegger will conduct the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) .

Rudolf Kloiber (from Regensburg) will conduct the Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**) .

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**1937** : In order to put Doctor Josef Gœbbels's directive into operation, the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation is re-organized in line with his concept, and new staff are appointed. The new office of « Reich » director is created, to be filled by Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, who concurrently becomes general manager of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation, and thus, Eugen Hadamovsky's superior. With this re-organization, Gœbbels ensures that the « executive control of broadcasting » can be exerted efficiently by his Ministry, while the administrative work is in the hands of Hadamovsky and the various radio directors.

Doctor Glasmeier is named on the executive board of the « Reich » Chamber of Radio. He proudly wears his Hussar uniform during the traditional Cavalry Day Parade in Düsseldorf, alongside Bernhard Ernst at the microphone of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) .

With the support of Doctor Glasmeier and the « Gauleiter » of North Westphalia, Doctor Alfred Meyer, Friedrich Castelle is appointed Director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne. Castelle proudly wears his Party uniform at the inaugural ceremony. He will hold this position until 1940.

Hans Kriegler replaces Horst Dressler-Andress as head of the radio department in the Propaganda Ministry.

Götz Otto Stoffregen is replaced by Martin Wülfig as Secretary of the « Reich » Chamber of Literature. Stoffregen then takes over the leadership of the « Reichs-Sender » in Berlin. He becomes responsible for the « Request Concerts for the German Armed Forces » (« Wunsch-Konzerten für die Wehrmacht ») .

Perhaps because he thinks he needs to ingratiate himself with Adolf Hitler's politicians in the Third « Reich » , less out of conviction as a member of the Confessing Church than crass ambition, Professor Günther Ramin plays at the church-music festival of Sohngen. Apparently, he understands how to serve both « God » and « Cæsar » ... especially « Cæsar » ! Around this time, he also starts to collaborate closely with Alfred Rosenberg's National-Socialist Cultural Community (« NS Kultur Gemeinde » , or NSKG) in local cultural matters at Leipzig.

The German Air Sports Association is dissolved and replaced with the National-Socialist Flyers Corps (« National-Sozialistisches Flieger-Korps ») , a corporation under public law and subordinate to « Reichs-Luftfahrt-Minister » Hermann Göring.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed municipal music-director of the town of Plauen in Saxony, including the Municipal Theatre.

Franz Kinzl joins the National-Socialist Teachers' Association of the « Gau » of Upper-Austria - founded in 1931 by his brother, Friedrich.

Robert Hohlbaum becomes a German citizen and a friend of the Austrian lyric poet, narrative writer and essayist Josef Weinheber (1892-1945) .

Publication of Johannes Hollnsteiner's « Christentum und Abendland » (Christianity and the Occident) , Bermann-Fischer Publishing-House, Vienna.

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**1937-1938** : Headquarters of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda located on the northern corner of « Wilhelmplatz » , at Numbers 8, 9 on « Wilhelmstraße » .

The Ministry continues to grow and, soon, the existing buildings are no longer adequate. Doctor Josef Gœbbels commissions the construction of a large extension based on plans drawn up by architect Karl Reichle : a new building block is erected between « Wilhelm-Platz » and « Mauerstraße » , and on the northern wing.

On « Mauerstraße », the edifice is framed to the right and left by 2 pylons, each of which displays an imposing Imperial eagle with a « swastika » in its claws (created by sculptor Willy Meller) to emphasize the National-Socialist claim to power. The street façade is faced with shelly limestone. The center tract projects forward while the narrow external sections containing the entrances are set-back slightly. The smooth, uniformly structured front accentuates the monumentality of the façade. The severe, axial arrangement of windows, the deep-set window frames, the sharp-edged window roofing on the middle-section and the uniform roof parapet extending over the protruding cornice all contribute to the impression of cold power that radiated from the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry. The extension encloses an inner-courtyard paved with stone plates. Simple corridors lead to the offices with functional metal and glass walls connecting the stairwells to the hallways. To connect the different building levels, between 1936 and 1938, a 3 nave staircase hall is erected behind the 1934 façade of the wing at « Wilhelm-Platz » .

The outbreak of war will delay completion. The final section of the building will not be ready for occupation until 1942. After 1945, the original natural stone panels are removed from the structure of the spacious room with its 2 staircases and from other stairwells and corridors.

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**Saturday, 1 May 1937** : Co-editor Alfred Orel, his lawyer (Leonhardt Groß ?) , Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , Justus Brandstetter, co-head of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and Publishing-House, and Willy Hoffmann, specialist in copyright law representing the musicological publishers, attend an important meeting at the headquarters of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna.

The conditions imposed by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen regarding Anton Bruckner's manuscripts in her possession are accepted.

...

At his request, conductor Georg-Ludwig Jochum joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 5.794.680) .

Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is appointed « Reichs-Sender » Intendant in Cologne, a position he will held until 1941.

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**Thursday, 6 to Tuesday, 11 May 1937** : (Planned) Bruckner festival in Heidelberg, Baden.

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**Around Saturday, 8 May 1937** : Concert held in Brussels, Belgium.

Herbert von Karajan conducts the Choir and Orchestra of the city of Aachen. Wilhelm Pitz, choir-master.

**Programme**

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

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**Friday, 14 May 1937** : Letter from the Viennese conductor Hermann Haböck to Doctor Josef Gœbbels :

Hermann Haböck offers his services to Doctor Gœbbels.

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**Thursday, 20 May 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

2 days ago (Tuesday, 18 May 1937) , the programming of the Bruckner festival in Regensburg has been finalized. The presentation of the Bruckner Medal of Honour to the « Führer » will take place immediately after his speech.

(Doctor Josef Gœbbels will be mentioned in the up-coming letters.)

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**Friday, 21 May 1937** : Professor Peter Raabe retroactively joins the N.S.D.A.P. - effective May 1, 1937 (membership card-number : 3.934.040) .

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**Saturday, 22 May 1937** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Chief-editor Robert Haas has advised the Court Councillor of the Austrian National Library, Rudolf Löw (who is also the President of the State Finance Procurator's Office) , to take legal actions, if necessary, against « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to obtain the right to publish Anton Bruckner's manuscripts, which are presently in her possession.

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**Sunday, 23 May 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

The Bavarian prime minister Ludwig Siebert is expected to invite the state of Austria to the « Walhalla » celebration in Regensburg.

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**Tuesday, 25 May 1937** :

Letter from music-publisher Gustav Bosse (Regensburg) to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International

Bruckner Society » :

The city of Regensburg itself has no great interest in the Bruckner festival. The costs would be borne entirely by the « Reich » Chamber of Culture supervised by Josef Gœbbels.

Doctor Gœbbels will give an important speech at the ceremony of the Act of State.

He makes a disdainful judgement on the bust of Anton Bruckner created by Adolf Rothenburger :

« cold stone ... nothing else. »

...

Letter from Martin G. Dumler of the « Bruckner Society of America » to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« 25 May 1937

To “ Herr ” Professor Max Auer,  
Vocklabruck, Austria

Dear “ Herr ” Professor Auer :

Unfortunately, your letter with the mention of the wreath for the Walhalla celebration arrived too late to reply to you by mail, so I sent you a cable to give you time to inform your Viennese head-office so that everything is well taken care of on behalf of our society. Today, I sent the check for 30 Marks (which I hope is a fair sum) to “ Herr ” Furregg in Vienna.

All the best for the great celebration and warmest greetings to you, Professor, and all the members of your valiant Society.

Your always devoted,

Dr. Martin G. Dumler

President

THE BRUCKNER SOCIETY of AMERICA Inc. »

(Norbert Furregg is the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » .)

...

« 25. Mai 1937

An Herrn Professor Max Auer,  
Vocklabruck, Austria

Lieber Herr Professor Auer :

Leider kam Ihr Brief mit Erwähnung des Kranzes für die Walhalle Feier zu spät um per Post Ihnen den auftrag zu antworten, also habe Ich Ihnen eine Kable gesendet damit Sie Zeit haben Ihrer Wiener Geschaefsstelle bescheidt zu geben damit alles schön im namen unserer Society besorgt ist. Den Scheck für Dreizig Mark (welches summe Ich hoffe gemig ist) habe Ich heute an Herrn Furregg in Wien gesendet.

Alles Gute für die große Feier und herzlichste Grüsse an Sie Herr Professor und alle Mitglieder Ihrer Wertes Gesellschaft

Ihr Stets Ergebener,

Dr. Martin G. Dumler

Praesident

THE BRUCKNER SOCIETY of AMERICA Inc. »

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**Wednesday, 26 May 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Hausegger learned today at the Chancellery that the invitation issued from the capital of the « Reich » (Berlin) to the Austrian state had expired last Saturday (May 22) .

The Bavarian prime minister Ludwig Siebert is outraged that the Pontifical Mass was included in the program of the



festival by the « International Bruckner Society », who prohibited the publication of the Bruckner manuscripts.

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**Friday, 28 May 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Siegmund von Hausegger will send to the State Chancellery the suggestion made by Professor Auer in his letter that Doctor Josef Gæbbels should also be awarded the Bruckner Medal of Honour, as suggested by music-publisher Gustav Bosse on May 25.

Heinrich Gleißner, the acting Governor of Upper-Austria, fell ill and had to be replaced by the Federal Minister of Education, Hans Pernter.

Perhaps Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, could officially express Upper-Austria's gratitude at the « Walhalla » celebration.

New concert programs are printed without mentioning the Pontifical Mass. Ban on sales of Bruckner scores is maintained.

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**Tuesday, 1 June 1937** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

Hilde Wendler wonders if one of the high-ranking personalities that will attend the Bruckner festival in Regensburg could be approached to take a firm stand in order to put an end to the unsolved Bruckner dispute.

...

Robert Hohlbaum finally leaves Vienna in the aftermath of the Dollfuß disputes. With the help of Heinz Kindermann, he is appointed director of the City Library in Duisburg, Westphalia. At this time, he is teaching German literature at the University of Munster, and his Duisburg position enables him to make a very particular contribution to the dissemination of his preferred, « volkisch » and nationalist literature. Hohlbaum will thrive during the Third « Reich ».

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Detailed schedule approved by the State Secretary Leopold Gutterer of the Bruckner celebration at the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg :

Fanfares on themes from Richard Wagner - « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) sung by a massive choir, which will be followed by the presentation of the Bruckner Medal of Honour to the « Führer » - excerpt (« Solemn Music ») from

the Eighth Symphony (WAB 108) performed by the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Siegmund von Hausegger - « a cappella » choir work by Bruckner sung by the « Cathedral Sparrows » of Regensburg - excerpt (« Victory Sounds ») from the Eighth Symphony (WAB 108) - interpretations of the « Deutschland-Lied » on music by Franz-Josef Haydn (\*), the « Horst-Wessel-Lied », and the Austrian national anthem « Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser » (God Save Emperor Francis) also on music by Franz-Josef Haydn - fanfares on themes from the Fifth Symphony (WAB 105) - march of 150,000 people (brought in by 45 special trains) on the private race track of the Princely House of Thurn and Taxis.

(\*) In order to endorse its republican and liberal tradition, the « Deutschland-Lied » was chosen in 1922 as the national anthem of Germany during the Weimar Republic.

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**Thursday, 3 June 1937** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels notes in his diary :

« Dictated the speech for the Bruckner celebration at home. I think it turned out well. »

### Bruckner festival, Regensburg (1937)

**Saturday, 5 to Monday, 7 June 1937** : National-Socialists and members of the « International Bruckner Society » gather in the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich, for the eighth Bruckner festival.

A model pianist and the widow of the late August Göllerich junior (the personal biographer of Anton Bruckner), « Frau » Gisela Göllerich is extensively involved with the Nazis and, most probably, sympathizes with Adolf Hitler. She is invited to the installation ceremony of the Bruckner bust sculpted by Adolf Rothenburger in the « Walhalla » Temple, and signs the letter of thanks with « Sieg Heil ! » .

The event is billed as a veritable « Regensburger Bruckner-Erlebnis », as the title of the glowing report in « Zeitschrift für Musik » had it.

In organizing this 4 day festival of concerts and events relating to Bruckner, Doctor Josef Gæbbels has thought of everything - including hiring the entire Danube fleet, which are seen gliding up and down the river, to add to the overall impression.

Robert Haas also takes part in the festival.

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**Saturday, 5 June 1937** : Day one of the Bruckner festival held in the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich, Bavaria.

**8:00 pm** : First gala-concert given at the « Neuhaus-Saal » of the « Stadt-Theater » on « Bismarck-Platz » .

Professor Doctor Theodor Schrems (from Regensburg) conducts the Choir of St. Peter's Cathedral in Regensburg.

#### Programme

« Os justi meditabitur sapientiam » (The mouth of the righteous) , sacred motet in F major (Lydian mode) for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 30**) .

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 11**) .

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major (**WAB 5, 6, 7 ?**) .

...

Doctor Rudolf Kloiber (from Regensburg) conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Overture in G minor for orchestra (**WAB 98**) .

Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (**WAB 103**) .

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**Sunday, 6 June 1937** : Day two of the Bruckner festival held in the medieval town of Regensburg, Bavaria.

**8:00 am** : A Pontifical Mass is celebrated at St. Peter's Cathedral in the presence of Adolf Hitler and Doctor Josef Gæbbels.

Professor Doctor Theodor Schrems, from Regensburg, conducts the Choir of the Cathedral.

#### Programme

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

Inserted during the mass :

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major (**WAB 5, 6, 7 ?**) .

« Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 52**) .

...

Act of State and consecration ceremony of a Bruckner bust in the « Walhalla » Temple.

The masses, carefully arranged outside the « Walhalla » , become an important ornament of the festivities. In Gæbbels's estimation, well over 3,000 participants and guests are expected (including 400 choral singers and 500 members of the Hitler Youth, 400 politicians, 700 guests of honour, 700 Austrian visitors) .

...

**11:00 am** : The « Führer » arrives and watches a military tattoo.

...

**11:02 am** : The « Führer » passes the colonnade of the « Walhalla » Temple accompanied by Festive fanfares based on themes by Richard Wagner.

...

**11:04 am** : The « Führer » has arrived at the speaker's podium.

A massed choir composed of local ensembles sing for 7 minutes Bruckner's first mature work :

« Germanenzug » , patriotic cantata based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) .

...

**11:11 am** : The Bavarian Prime Minister Ludwig Siebert makes a short speech conferring the « Walhalla » to the care of the Third « Reich » .

Words of thanks from the Austrian ambassador Stefan Tauschitz.

Among those present : the Austrian Consul-General in Munich, Ludwig Jordan, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, Vinzenz Hartl (representing Doctor Heinrich Gleißner, the Governor of Upper-Austria) , and the widow of the late August Göllicher junior, « Frau » Gisela Göllicher (a staunch Nazi) .

The town and Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. is represented by a delegation led by Professor Franz Moißl, one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » , Mayor Vinzenz Goller and Provost Josef Kluger.

...

11:19 am : Doctor Josef Goebbels delivers a key-note address (approximately 15 minutes) on the meaning of Bruckner to the new Nazi order.

A sentence in the official report, much-derided by subsequent commentators :

« Even the decorated ships on the Danube stopped to listen to Goebbels's speech. »

While it is unlikely that these remarkable details bear any relation to the actual events, it strongly suggests that the reporter was briefed about this feature, which otherwise might easily have gone un-noticed.

Speech of Doctor Goebbels : audio document Number 52.12074 from the German Broadcasting Archive (« Deutsche Rundfunk-Archiv » , or DRA) :

« My “ Führer ”,

Today, we have gathered together with you, my “ Führer ”, on a consecrated site to honour one of the greatest Masters of the German music. With us, the German people feels itself called upon in this hour to contemplate with gratitude this genius, who, like Beethoven before him, left us and the world an artistic legacy of 9 mighty symphonies, and who belongs to the proudest treasures of our national musical culture. But it is not only in his musical works that this Master of the symphonic art speaks to us ; along with them appears strong and unmistakably in Anton Bruckner the lineage of our best musical tradition, which experienced its most visible manifestation in his personality in the last Century.

Here, before us, stands the German church musician who, as a teacher and performer, faithfully prepared and nourishes the sacred music tradition without drawing undue attention to his own work, with which he contributed to that tradition of his during this time of humble employment ; but he also carefully paid attention to the indigenous music of his people, which is played such an important part of daily life outside of the church. It is very fortunate for the history of our music that in his time which, in art as in all other areas of intellectual activity, was characterized by an increasing use of specialization that certain aspects of German musical creativity could be combined by Bruckner in such decisive way. A symphonic composer and a church music composer were combined in the genius of Anton Bruckner.

It was not easy for Bruckner's contemporaries to understand the complexities of this man and his personality. His physical appearance and his music seemed peculiar, and almost hard to comprehend. It would take time for Bruckner's musical language, with its originality and inner-logic, to be generally understood in broader circles. It is completely misguided to hope to discover in Bruckner's music nothing more than a symphonic distortion of Wagner's music, as is still often done in certain circles. Like any genius, Bruckner is unique and peculiar unto himself. In order to understand him, one must look to the roots of his existence, the elemental forces of blood and race that propelled his

humanity.

Bruckner comes from a long line of peasants which we can trace back as far as the year 1400. Throughout his life, even after his professional advancement and his move to higher social circles, he never disavowed his peasant roots. His almost mystical connection with nature ; his long standing and genuine love for his native soil and for the Great German fatherland ; his uncomplex and straightforward character, which was matched with true humility and bore a proud self-understanding of his own accomplishments ; his child-like purity of his love of life, which was anchored upon his faith in God uncomplicated by any intellectual uncertainty, demonstrates how strong and secure his peasant roots remained in him.

One must know of the hardships of his early life in order to understand that there could be no choice of profession for him to choose. He was the eldest of 11 children. He grew up with the understanding that he was to become a school master. None of our other great Masters has so willingly and unhesitatingly placed himself in the service of the schools as he did ; and even after, there was little more for him to study in his art, he continually enrolled in examinations to demonstrate in writing to the masters of his day his extraordinary technical ability. One of these examiners was honest enough to admit that, “ He should be testing us ! ”.

Perhaps, this is now the time and the place to object to a misguided statement often directed against the life and works of Anton Bruckner. Saccharine catch-words such as “ God’s street-musician ” or “ Our Dear Lady’s singer ” must be evoked even today as excuses for promoting a religious martyrdom of Bruckner’s difficult artistic struggle. The people who promote such clichés are particularly fond of pointing out that his Franciscan humility was his most pronounced characteristic. All such suggestions do not do justice to the image of this great musical genius. As with his personality, there have been and still are numerous misinterpretations of his life’s work. A hostile, journalistic branch of criticism, with its incessant torments, embittered him to his rich life of work.

During a conversation with Bruckner, Eduard Hanslick once even let slip these words which unmask this guild of “ critical mosquitoes ” :

“ I destroy whoever I wish to destroy ! ”

It is with reluctance and disdain that we turn our attention today to these intellectual carpet-baggers, who, in Bruckner’s day, misused their high-position as judges in order to set-down sentences such as this about his music, whose creativity they simply could not understand :

“ We truly shudder before the scent of mold that assaults our noses from the discords of this putrefactive counterpoint. ”

Or :

“ In the event, a page here and there from one of his scores accords with our understanding of musical logic, then,

we can hardly hold him responsible for it ; Bruckner composes like a drunkard. ”

Or :

“ It is not impossible that the future belongs to this dream-distorted, hung-over style - a future which, for that reason, we do not envy. ”

Given samples of such utterly deplorable public criticism, one can understand the shocking document written by Bruckner's that is held today in the archives of the Vienna Philharmonic. In 1884, the Philharmonic was considering the premiere of his Seventh Symphony.

Bruckner wrote to them :

“ If my request can be approved, the most honoured committee will wish to find a way around the undertaking that gives me so much honour and happiness, for reasons that have to do only with the sad situation arising from the prevailing criticisms. ”

How much bitterness, how much emotional anguish must have consumed this genius to drive him to such a decision ! If the public practice of music-criticism has been restricted by law to official channels in the new Germany, then, we believe we have also resolved a debt of gratitude to the Master who struggled in solitude, and was tortured up to his moment of death by his tormenters.

With regard to this hostile resistance, however, we also cannot fail to mention those misinterpretations of Bruckner's music, those of his true followers and disciples. Here, too, lurks the catch-word of succession, a successor to Wagner. And this is, by no means, always meant disparagingly, but rather, often enough, positively. To the extent that this is meant to say that Bruckner's artistic development would be unthinkable without Wagner, no one can object. For Bruckner's mastery first developed fully and, as a person, he was first able truly to break free from external barriers, only when he was approached the age of 40. This was when he got his first direct impression of the art of the great music-dramatist Richard Wagner. This experience had an almost revolutionary effect on the sonority of his musical language which, only then, assumed the character that we recognize today as the true Brucknerian style. From that moment onwards, the church musician quickly retreats almost entirely, and then, emerges the distinctive symphonist.

This transformation, incomprehensible as it is for such a faithful servant of the church, to an absolute symphonic art, which, by nature, knows no liturgical obligations, was the fateful point in Bruckner's subsequent artistic development. Here, his creative genius frees itself of all ties to the church, and now, awakens in him the spring-like force of the great creative act. He is filled with the victorious intoxication of form-giving, and a boundless feeling of freedom roars through his soul. In the works of this mature period, the warrior-like will to act, without which we can imagine absolutely no true symphony, sweeps us along with it.

A complete misunderstanding of Bruckner's style is revealed when attempts are made to lump his symphonies together

under the rubric of religious art, to characterize them as a kind of church music, to dub them simply, “ Masses without texts ”. It is time to take a stand against these misguided attempts at interpretation. For Anton Bruckner, like every great genius, cannot be forced into the constraints of a artistic stencil. And those of us who, although not making a scholarly examination of his music, let his works affect us so simply and immediately as artistic revelations ; we all sense and know that his deep religious faith has long since been freed of all confessional confines, and that it has its roots in the same heroic feeling for the world from which all truly great and eternal creations of German art blossom. In this sense, Anton Bruckner’s works represent a national legacy.

The “ Führer ” and his government consider it as a cultural debt of honour to do everything in their power to enable the entire German people to share in this sacred heritage, and, with a significant encouragement of interest in Bruckner, to see to it that this interest and its effects penetrate not only deeply but also widely. For these reasons, they have decided to make a considerable annual contribution to the “ International Bruckner Society ” for editions of the original versions of his symphonies, until the complete works of the Master are produced in the form he envisioned. »

Max Auer is known to have disagreed passionately : for him, the gulf that separates the theatre-centred Richard Wagner and the church-trained Anton Bruckner is more important than superficial resemblances. Auer must have « swallowed hard » when he heard Gœbbels’s speech, but, on this occasion at least, he kept his counsel.

Gœbbels will later confide to his diary :

« I do not really like Bruckner, he cannot be considered among the great symphonic composers. »

His only comment on the ceremony itself is a cynical one :

« We should promote him more. »

Gœbbels declares his Party’s financial support (a subsidy of 100,000 « Reich » Marks) to the « International Bruckner Society » for their publication of the « original versions » of Bruckner’s Symphonies. Gœbbels’s intervention seems to have put an end to concerns about the reception of Bruckner’s music, including the copyright dispute. With the « Anschluß » the following year, the Society is increasingly politicized in favour of the Nazi government : the House of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag ») will be transfer to Leipzig.

Then, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , Max Auer, would award the « Führer » the newly-created Bruckner Medal - an award introduced especially for this purpose - and was allotted a speaking time of one minute. (Gœbbels’s timing is less precise from here on, as he had made use of his organizer’s privilege and not timed his own speech.)

Professor Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, delivers the last speech. He emphasizes the merits of the Nazi-affiliated music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg, who is financially supported by Adolf Hitler



and who has been campaigning for a Bruckner bust in the « Walhalla » Temple for years.

« For those to whom the works reveal themselves, listening to Bruckner is not merely an artistic enjoyment : it is a descent to the mothers, to the sources of feeling, to which leads no thinking, no knowledge or searching, but only the will to be small before the infinitude of creation, and to be great in striving for the good.

What he saw in those blissful hours of creation could not be conveyed by words. For it is precisely the tremendous part of absolute music, which places it above all the other arts (including dramatic music, including song, mass, oratorio) that it is their task to pronounce that which can be said neither in words nor in gestures. And if we were to try to pin-down this mysterious power of Symphonic art, it could only be in the words of Gœthe's " chorus mysticus " (from the end of " Faust II ") : " the indescribable, here it is done ". »

Raabe paints here a less overtly political, yet, still tendentious, picture of Bruckner's personality and his historical position. He depicts Bruckner as an artist « out of step » with the negative tendencies of his epoch : a simple man in an era of pretentious and cultured artists, a mystically religious man in an age of secularism - in short, a healthy man in a decadent world.

Raabe stresses Bruckner's « deafness » to the material world :

« Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God ! »

Raabe describes a Symphonist who « talks to God » , yet, who writes church-music of little importance. This paradox cannot be appreciated outside the context of « Gottgläubigkeit » (believing in God) .

The artist-sculptor Hans Wildermann (which was chosen by his Nazi superiors in 1936) unveils the first Medal of Honour (« Ehren-Medaille ») of the « International Bruckner Society » . With Professor Peter Raabe at his side, Max Auer, the President of the Society, officially presents the medal to the « Führer » , describing it as « a small token of our deep gratitude for the admission of the bust of Bruckner to " Walhalla " » .

Adolf Hitler is gaining a considerable amount of cultural credibility at absolutely no cost to himself :

« For us, there was the hard choice : either - or ! Either relinquishing claim to the remnants of a bad past, remnants that had become as ridiculous as they were harmful - or relinquishing claim to the future of Germany. We would rather relinquish claim to the past and fight for a future ! You are standing here in an ancient German city in which a King once erected the " Walhalla " with the bequest to unite in it all great German men of our history and hence lend expression to the German " Volk's " indissoluble bond of blood. We believe that, today, we have practically accomplished our primary task of creating one " Volk " ; before us stands a goal, and this goal has hypnotized us. It is under the spell of this goal that we march on ! Let he who stands in our way not complain if, sooner or later, the march of a nation sweeps over him.

We have not practiced a policy of using cheap popular phrases. We have divested money of its phantom-like traits and assigned to it the role it deserves : neither gold nor foreign exchange funds, but work alone is the foundation for money ! There is no such thing as an increase in wages if it does not go hand in hand with an increase in production. This economic insight has enabled us to decimate 7 million unemployed to approximately 800,000 and to keep prices almost completely stable for all essential vital goods. Today, there is work going-on everywhere. The peasant is tilling his fields, the worker is supplying him with manufactured products, an entire nation is working.

Things are looking-up !

The German “ Volk ” is not a “ Volk ” that suddenly starts a war today or tomorrow. The German is not only peaceful and peace-loving in his entire being, but above all peaceable. He wants to work.

In our country, there are millions of peasants who want to till their fields and harvest their crops ; millions of workers want to pursue their work. This “ Volk ” does not want to quarrel, but it equally does not want others to look for a quarrel with it. It wants only its right to live-though, mind you, it does not stand for insult or attack from just anyone who comes along. And to anyone who believes that, since the German “ Volk ” is so peace-loving, he can drop bombs on German ships underway on international assignments, we will demonstrate that we know how to defend ourselves.

It is for the protection of our liberty and, hence, our honour that we have built-up this grand, new German “ Wehrmacht ”. German man, you no longer need to bow your head ; you, once again, have equal rights and can walk proudly in this world with your head held high. For you know : no one will touch you without the entire “ Volk ” coming to your rescue ! This equality of rights also constitutes the single prerequisite for the effectiveness of our immeasurable economic labour : would anyone work at all for an economy if he could not be certain that the fruits of his labours can neither be stolen from him nor reduced ? Would anyone give thought to the future of financial projects if he lacked the security only liberty can vest in a “ Volk ” ? There would be no financial enterprise were not the steel shield of the nation’s armour held above it ! If anyone tells us we will not be able to wear it in a short time, may he take note : the German shall wear his steel helmet ! In any case as long as the others are able to wear it ! Yet, should ever the time come when the helmets must truly be removed, we will remove ours, too, with honour - but always be prepared, if necessary, to put them back on our heads immediately. I believe this is absolutely the best way to ultimately promote the cause of peace.

Only a few days ago, I was happy to hear from the lips of an English statesman that Great Britain would only be in a position to enforce peace, if a large stock of arms were placed at its disposal. That is also my opinion with respect to Germany.

In scarcely 4 years, we have dismantled piece by piece the Treaty that was thrust upon us and brought the greatest disgrace upon our “ Volk ” ; we have liberated the nation and restored to it all the qualities that characterize a free people and a free nation.

I will never allow anyone to ever again tear this “ Volk ” asunder, to reduce it to a heap of warring religious camps.

We have gone through enough in German history and need not undergo any more such experiences. They have been the sorriest experiences ever. Once our “ Volk ” numbered 18.5 million people ; after a thirty years’ war, a mere 3.6 million were left. It is my belief that some of those who are dissatisfied with the fact that we have finally created one “ Volk ” will attempt to re-establish that situation in Germany, but this attempt, too, will fail : they will never, ever destroy the German “ Volk ” and the German “ Reich ”.

(...)

Generation after generation of our “ Volk ” will march on thus in our history, with this banner always in mind, this banner that places us under an obligation to our “ Volk ”, its honour, its freedom, and our community - to our truly National-Socialist fraternity. They will then consider it only natural that this German “ Volk ” takes but the one path Providence has bade it take by giving these people a common language. We, therefore, go our way into the future with the deepest belief in God (“ Gottgläubigkeit ”) . Would all we have achieved been possible had Providence not helped us ? I know that the fruits of human labour are hard-won and transitory if they are not blessed by the Omnipotent (“ Allmacht ”) . Work such as ours which has received the blessings of the Omnipotent can never again be undone by mere mortals. As long as the pillars of the Movement hold this banner fast in their grip, there is not an enemy alive, no matter how powerful, who will ever be able to wrest it from our grasp. »

After the speeches, the « Führer » enters « Walhalla » . Only few members of the government and the Party, as well as the Austrian guests are admitted into the inner-sanctuary for the actual consecration of the bust.

As for the masses outside, only the musical program tells of the consecration and the emotion inside. The few selected guests and the countless viewers in the movie theatres also witness his transformation into his own sound-track. The choreography of the whole event is marked by a cinematographic æsthetic : the music is chosen to enhance and emotionally underscore the visual aspects of this State Act.

No sooner has the « Führer » as entered the sacred shrine, the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, directed by Honorary Doctor Siegmund von Hausegger, begins to play what Josef Göbbels calls « the festive music » from the slow movement of Bruckner’s Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) for a rather un-monumental 2 minutes.

Fidelity to Bruckner’s music takes a back-seat behind the concision and emotional directness of Hausegger’s arrangement. Even though the score material of Hausegger’s arrangement has been lost, we can catch a glimpse of it in the film material produced, in great haste, for the weekly news program. The short snippet of the music played in the inner sanctum of « Walhalla » is indeed taken from the slow movement. The mysterious, other-worldly Adagio with its slow meandering, sonorous harmonies, provides a rich carpet of sound, and within it, it is particularly the incessant harp arpeggios that guide the listener inco celestial spheres. What we hear is taken from the repeat of the chorale-like part of the opening material (starting at measure 39) . Unlike Bruckner’s own version, however, with its calculated climactic use of 3 harps, Hausegger’s arrangement adds ethereal harp sounds throughout the passage. In this sense, the

reference to the cymbal crash in Hausegger's letter was programmatic : he was certainly aware of the affective power of instrumental timbres.

Then choir-master Professor Theobald Schrems conducts the boys' choir of St. Peter's Cathedral (nicknamed the « Cathedral Sparrows ») in the « Locus iste » in C major (**WAB 23**) . Duration : 3 minutes.

The « Führer » proclaims :

« I ask that the bust of the great German master Anton Bruckner be unveiled. »

(« Ich bitte, die Büste des großen deutschen Meisters Anton Bruckners zu enthüllen. »)

Göbbels casually adds in his notes :

« Or something to that effect. »

He also writes :

« The celebration was very good and dignified. Siebert spoke, as well as myself. (...) The “ Cathedral Sparrows ” sang wonderfully. Bruckner was one of our greats. We now want to cultivate him more. »

Professor Peter Raabe unveils the marble bust of Bruckner (created by Adolf Rothenburger) , which is wrapped in a « swastika » flag.

At the so-called « victory sounds » (4 minutes) from Bruckner's Eighth Symphony, an impressive laurel wreath (« laurea insignis » ; also called triumphal crown or « corona triumphalis ») is solemnly placed at the foot of the pedestal by the « Führer » .

The labels « victory sounds » and « festive sounds » that are used in Göbbels's memo may suggest Wagnerian leitmotivic labels, but, in this case, the assigning of meaning to musical phrases is based on a semantics of emotion. The « festive sounds » lead the masses into the realm of the « Mütter » , even where they had to wait outside the « Walhalla » Temple.

The finale presents rousing fanfares with martial sequences, rising from the heavy low-brass up to the piercing brass register. The sheer volume and brilliance of the brass sounds would surely be evocative all by itself, in the sense of wordlessly conveying victory, as Göbbels's informal label for this passage suggests, but Hausegger's note suggests an added, symbolic level of meaning for this musical choice : the reference to the Wagnerian model - the texture of the « Walhalla » music at the end of « Rheingold » - is wittily related to the place in which the inauguration takes place. In the filmed version of the events, the eye of the camera anticipates and re-duplicates this musical association by panning over a group of indistinct busts, then cutting to Richard Wagner, and, from there, to Anton Bruckner.

Peaked cap in his hand, Adolf Hitler stands still in silence paying his respects to the composer. One observer characterizes Hitler's gesture as « an elevated symbol of the unlimited solidarity of the “ Führer ” and the German people » .

The Guest of Honours standing at a distance are Doctor Josef Gœbbels, « Reichsführer SS » Heinrich Himmler, « Reich » Minister Franz Gürtner, « Reich » Minister Walther Darré, Franz Ritter von Epp, the ambassador of the German « Reich » in Vienna Franz von Papen, the Austrian ambassador in Germany Stephan Tauschitz, and the Bavarian Premier Ludwig Siebert.

Other wreaths are laid down by the Austrian government, the Bavarian state government, the « International Bruckner Society » , and the « Bruckner Society of America » (\*) .

(\*) The Bruckner Society of America did not miss the opportunity to donate a wreath on the occasion of the « Walhalla » celebrations, which was placed at the pedestal of the Bruckner bust inaugurated by Adolf Hitler.

(« Die “ Bruckner Society ” hat es sich nicht nehmen lassen, anlässlich der “ Walhalla ” Feierlichkeiten einen Kranz zu stiften, der am Sockel der von Adolf Hitler “ eingeweihten ” Bruckner-Büste niedergelegt wurde. »)

(Christa Brüstle. « Anton Bruckner und die Nachwelt » , Verlag J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart (1998) , page 281.)

...

As the « Führer » leaves the sanctuary, instrumental renditions of the (obligatory) « Deutschland-Lied » and « Horst-Wessel-Lied » , followed by the Austrian national anthem, are played.

As the « Führer » walks to his Mercedes-Benz W150 « cabriolet » , Vinzenz Goller's Festive fanfares for 11 wind-instruments, based on themes of the Finale of Bruckner's Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) , are played.

...

**6:00 pm** : Second gala-concert given at the concert-hall of the « secularized » Church of the Friars Minor in Regensburg.

Adolf Hitler and Doctor Josef Gœbbels are attending.

Professor Doctor Theodor Schrems (from Regensburg) conducts the « reinforced » Choir of St. Peter's Cathedral.

**Programme**

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

Soloists : Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek (soprano) , Emmi Leisner (contralto) , Walther Ludwig (tenor) , Ernst Osterkamp (bass) .

...

Honorary Doctor Siegmund Hausegger (from Munich) conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Vinzenz Goller : « Festive Prelude for organ in memory of Anton Bruckner » based on a theme of the Fifth Symphony (« Festpräludivium für Orgel “ in memoriam ” Anton Bruckner » , Verlag von Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg und Wien, Platten-Nummer 8716) . Duration : around 4 minutes.

This monumental piece was composed for the consecration ceremony of the Bruckner bust to the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg. With a short, expressive prelude that leads into a free fugue, the composition is a musical gesture of reverence to the great symphonic composer. (Goller is a composer, church musician and the actual mayor of the city of Klosterneuburg near Vienna, 1936-1938.)

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

Professor Auer comments after the concert :

« Everyone who experienced it came to the conclusion that only a mystic ecclesiastical venue is adequate for Symphonies Nos. 5 and 9. The Concert Hall of the future Bruckner House must employ sacral architecture. »

The « original version » of the Fifth Symphony, edited by Robert Haas, obviously left a great impression on Adolf Hitler who attended the concert with Doctor Josef Gœbbels.

3 months later, the « original » Finale of the same Symphony - with the distinctive wind contrasts (« organ-like blocks ») and the « monumental » chorale ending - rang out at Hitler's « cultural address » during the Nuremberg Party Congress. This reveals why Bruckner's music was so highly prized : because of its « absolute religious content » , it was functionally integrated within the pseudo-religious Nazi cult, and under-pinned the Nazis' æsthetic pre-disposition to gigantomania.

...

9:00 pm : Choral concert given at the « Neuhaus-Saal » of the « Stadt-Theater » on « Bismarck-Platz » .

Performance by the « Ghibellines » Singers (« Sängerschaft “ Ghibellinen ” ») of the University of Vienna and the Regensburg Choral Society.

The Liedertafel « Frohsinn » of Linz performs « Um Mitternacht » (At Midnight) , a secular song for alto, choir and orchestra (WAB 89) .

...

In an article in the Festival Programme for the Regensburg « Bruckner-Fest » , pianist and conductor Hans Weisbach identified a flexible interpretative approach with the pattern of unauthorized intervention then being detected in the first published editions, and argued for a broad « sacral » approach that he equated with fidelity to both the text and the composer's intentions :

« In the soul of this man, who did not take the experiences of earthly life as the inspiration for his art but sent his creative spirit to endless distances, for whom the divine miracles of the universe were transformed into sounds and into which he poured the hot blood of a human heart ; in the soul of this man, music has to transform into a solemnly flowing deep river of noble grandeur. He who has not yet understood that this music has no tendency towards dramatic affect or effect can learn it from every page of the original versions ; he will also learn, to his surprise, how little variation of the basic tempo Bruckner wishes. His tempo indications do not mean to tie the interpreter down, as one so often felt, and only reluctantly followed, in those first editions, but to set the interpreter free, because they are in complete harmony with the nature of the music. Intimately related to the tempo (again, clearly evident from the original versions) is the treatment of phrasing indications in the strings. Especially during cantabile moments of the greatest expression, we encounter Bruckner's characteristic of omitting slurs and instead specifying individual bowings for each single note. By adding the comment “ lang gezogen ” (drawn out) , he gives the conductor as well as the players the opportunity to realize the solemn tempo with the greatest sound and deepest expression, rather than restrict both sound and expression by thrifty usage of the bow. »

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**Monday, 7 June 1937** : Day three of the Bruckner festival held in the medieval town of Regensburg, Bavaria.

**12:00** : Board meeting of the « International Bruckner Society » in the « Reichstag » room of the old Town Hall of Regensburg.

The session is inaugurated by a performance of the third movement (Adagio) from the String Quintet in F major (WAB 112) by the Strub String Quartet, from Berlin.

Professor Max Strub (first violin) , Hermann Hubl (second violin) , Hermann Hirschfelder (first viola) , Emil Seiler (second viola) , Professor Hans Münch-Holland (violoncello) .

It is followed by a performance of « Träumen und Wachen » (Dreaming and being awake) , secular song in A-flat

major for tenor and male-choir (**WAB 87**) by the « Ghibellines » Singers (« Sängerschaft “ Ghibellinen ” ») of the University of Vienna.

A speech is given by Doctor Otto Schottenheim, the Lord Mayor of the city of Regensburg, and by Professor Max Auer, President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Address of Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of St. Florian monastery, representing Doctor Heinrich Gleißner, the Governor of Upper-Austria.

Speech by Professor and Honorary Doctor Peter Raabe, President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music.

Part of the conference agenda :

The guide-lines proposed by President Max Auer for the presentation of a Bruckner festival organized by the « International Bruckner Society » each 4 years in the city of Linz and at the monastery of St. Florian are unanimously adopted.

Provost Vinzenz Hartl, the President of the newly-founded « Bruckner Festival Community of Linz » , had previously stated that annual « Festival Weeks » are no longer possible.

...

**(6:00 pm ?)** : Third gala-concert given at the « secularized » Church of the Friars Minor in Regensburg.

The « International Bruckner Society » awards the Bruckner Medal of Honour to the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. The certificate is jointly signed by Professor Franz Moißl and President Max Auer.

## Programme

Professor Peter Raabe conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 101**) .

### *Intermission*

Oswald Kabasta conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

Kabasta receives a certificate from the « International Bruckner Society » , jointly signed by Professor Franz Moißl and



President Max Auer.

...

« Zeitschrift für Musik » 104/7, page 797 :

« The Bruckner Medal was first presented to the “ Führer ” of the German people by the President of the “ International Bruckner Society ”, Professor Max Auer, as part of the State Act in front of the “ Walhalla ” on June 6, 1937.

In the course of the Regensburg Bruckner Festival, the Bruckner Medal of Honour was awarded during an official ceremony held at the old “ Reich ” City Hall to the “ Reich ” Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels, the Prime Minister Ludwig Siebert, the President of the “ Reich ” Chamber of Music Honorary Doctor Professor Peter Raabe, the President of the “ International Bruckner Society ” Professor Max Auer, the President of the Privy Council of the “ International Bruckner Society ” Doctor “ honoris causa ” Siegmund von Hausegger, the Honorary Member of the “ International Bruckner Society ” Gustav Bosse, editor of the “ Zeitschrift für Musik ”, and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. The Philharmonic received this award because it has been particularly committed for many decades to the cause of Anton Bruckner (still as the Kaim Orchestra under Ferdinand Löwe and the young Peter Raabe) .

The Bruckner Medal of Honour was created by Professor Hans Wildermann, who achieved a particularly lucky litter with this piece. (...) In our opinion, the relief head of Anton Bruckner faithfully reproduces the great Master ; the face captures his joyous musicality and faith in God. The reverse side shows the music genius in the form of an angel with a harp. The medal, which gained special significance when Anton Bruckner was consecrated to the “ Walhalla ”, can be described as one of the most beautiful works of art in regards to recent small sculptures. »

(« Die Bruckner-Medaille wurde im Rahmen des Staats-Aktes vor der Walhalla am 6. Juni 1937 dem Führer des Deutschen Volkes als Erstem durch den Präsidenten der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft Professor Max Auer überreicht. Im weiteren Verlaufe des Regensburger Bruckner-Festes wurde die Bruckner-Ehren-Medaille in der Festsitzung im alten Reichs-Saal zu Regensburg dem Reichs-Minister Doktor Josef Gœbbels, dem Minister-Präsidenten Ludwig Siebert, dem Präsidenten der Reichs-Musik-Kammer Professor Doktor ehrenhalber Peter Raabe, dem Präsidenten der Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft Professor Max Auer, dem Präsidenten der Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft Geheim-Rat Doktor “ honoris causa ” Siegmund von Hausegger, dem Ehren-Mitglied der Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft Gustav Bosse, Herausgeber der “ Zeitschrift für Musik ” und dem Philharmonischen Orchester zu München verliehen. Das Philharmonische Orchester zu München erhielt diese Auszeichnung, weil es sich seit vielen Jahrzehnten (noch als Kaim-Orchester unter Ferdinand Löwe und dem jungen Peter Raabe) ganz besonders und immer erneut für Anton Bruckner eingesetzt hat.

Die Bruckner-Ehren-Medaille wurde von Professor Hans Wildermann geschaffen, dem mit dieser Medaille ein besonders glücklicher Wurf gelungen ist. (...) Der Kopf Anton Bruckners verkörpert uns den großen Meister in wahrer Lebenstreue, das Musikalische ist in diesem Antlitz besonders glücklich festgehalten und vereint sich im Ausdruck mit der Gottes-

Gläubigkeit. Die Rückseite zeigt den Genius der Musik in Gestalt eines Engels mit der Harfe. Die Medaille, die gelegentlich des Einzugs Anton Bruckners in die Walhalla zu so besonderer Bedeutung gelangte, darf als eines der schönsten Bildwerke neuerer Kleinplastik bezeichnet werden. »)

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**Tuesday, 8 June 1937** : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Max Morold informs President Auer that he is resigning from the board-of-directors of the « International Bruckner Society » . Morold also criticizes Auer's intolerance and that of Robert Haas.

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**Saturday, 12 June 1937** : Following the Agreement between Adolf Hitler and Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg of July 11, 1936, by which, in return for Germany's recognition of Austria's sovereignty, an amnesty is to be given to Austrian Nazis, worries about the future of this small country continue to grow.

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**Friday, 18 June 1937** : Doctor Josef Goebbels notes in his diary :

« Meeting with Professor Raabe : he presented me with the Bruckner Medal. He wants me to pass a law against small theatres that perform Wagner. I reject that. It is a local issue. The small towns also want some kind of regulation. Although this is not entirely exemplary. But the Professor is right when he protests against the fact that Party offices want to ban passion and the masses. That's nonsense ! »

(Goebbels Dairies, Volume 3, page 178 : entry of June 19, 1937.)

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**Sunday, 20 June 1937** : Death in Feilnbach, Upper-Bavaria, of the Roman Catholic Benedictine monk and musicologist Alban (Albanus) Schachleiter - a close friend of Adolf Hitler. The Nazis order a State funeral arranged by the Bavarian minister-president Ludwig Siebert.

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**Wednesday, 30 June 1937** : Conductor Karl List and members of the wind section of the « Reichs-Sender » Orchestra in Munich record fanfares based on an arrangement of the opening theme from the first movement of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 3 in D minor (**WAB 103**) . This « jingle » will be used by the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation as an intermission cue during the « Day of German Art » (« Tag der deutschen Kunst ») on July 10.

Audio document Number 1570018-19 (= 57 U 18/9) from the German Broadcasting Archive (« Deutsche Rundfunk-Archiv » , or **DRA**) .

« Kapellmeister » List (born on 4 June 1902 in the Styrian town of Mürzzuschlag ; died on 6 November 1971 in Munich) is a real versatile artist : conductor, band-master, pianist, gambist, violoncello virtuoso, timpanist, percussion teacher, film-music composer, folk-song collector, music-editor for the Bavarian Radio. Working in Munich, Belgrade, Berlin, and Wunsiedel (Bavaria) . Senior sergeant in the propaganda division of the « Wehrmacht » Broadcaster, South-East Group (« Wehrmachts-Sender Gruppe Süd-Ost ») .

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**Friday, 2 July 1937** : August Eigruber, the leader of the Nazi « Gau » of Upper-Austria, moves from the city of Steyr to the city of Linz, which is better suited as the headquarters for the activities of the Party.

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**Thursday, 8 July 1937** : Letter from Martin G. Dumler of the « Bruckner Society of America » to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« Cincinnati, Ohio  
8 July 1937

Dear “ Herr ” Professor :

My sincere thanks for the beautiful letter.

All of us here are pleased that the wreath was so beautifully arranged, and made a good impression. Our dear Bruckner had a solemn entrance in Walhalla.

I also thank you for the newspaper.

We would also like to congratulate you on the help you will receive from the “ Reich ” government. This is splendid and well-deserved.

Hopefully, this month’s Danube Festival Week will also go nicely and have a big effect.

A very solemn performance of the “ Te Deum ” was well received here with a big round of applause.

With warm regards from all of us, we remain

Dr. Martin G. Dumler

President

THE BRUCKNER SOCIETY OF AMERICA »

The President of the « Bruckner Society of America » seems to have classified Adolf Hitler's « bust consecration » as a Bruckner event among many. Apparently, he did not distinguish between festivals in Austria and festivals in the German « Reich » . The War will lead to concern, mainly for the welfare of Max Auer and his colleagues.

Martin Dumler's reaction to the news that the « International Bruckner Society » has been renamed the « German Bruckner Society » is in a similar light. (See : January 16, 1939.)

...

« Cincinnati, Ohio

8. Juli 1937

Lieber Hochverehrter Herr Professor :

Meinen verbindlichsten Dank für den schönen Brief.

Wir alle hier freuen uns das der Kranz so schön besorgt und einen guten Eindruck gemacht hat. Unser lieber Bruckner hat einen feierlichen Eingang in Walhalle gehabt.

Ich danke auch für das Zeitungs blatt.

Wir gratulieren auch das Hilfe von der Reichs Regierung Euch zukommen wird. Das ist grossartig und wohl verdient.

Hoffentlich wird die Donau-Festwoche in diesem Monat auch schön verlaufen und großes wirken.

Das “ Te Deum ” hat hier mit einen sehr feierlichen Aufführung großen Beifall gehabt.

Mit hergzlichem Gruß von uns alle verbleiben wir

Ihre Stets Ergebener,

Dr. Martin G. Dumler

President

THE BRUCKNER SOCIETY OF AMERICA »

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**Friday, 16 to Wednesday, 21 July 1937** : « Day of German Art » (« Tag der deutschen Kunst ») held in Munich.

The massive Nazi-organized parade celebrating « healthy » German art, opens with a fanfare from Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . Granted, the Bruckner melody displays a certain solemn, ceremonial quality ; more importantly, it was the very theme cited by Richard Wagner himself in connection with the dedication of the Third Symphony to the Bayreuth Master.

The celebrations of the « Day of German Art » lasted 3 days and always began on a Friday. The Sunday marked the climax with the official opening of the exhibition as a large procession entitled, « 2,000 Years of German Culture » , moved through the streets of Munich. The procession illustrated German history, legends and myths and how they were linked to the Third « Reich » .

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**Saturday, 17 July 1937 (8:00 pm)** : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Eugene Ormandy conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 8 in F major, Opus 93.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**)

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**Sunday, 18 July 1937** :

**10:00 am** : Sacred concert held at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Eugene Ormandy conducts the Collegiate Church mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor (WAB 29) .

...

Day three of the « Day of German Art » (« Tag der deutschen Kunst ») held in Munich.

The fanfares based on an arrangement of the opening theme from the first movement of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 3 in D minor (WAB 103) is used by the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation as an intermission cue. The recording was made on Wednesday, 30 June 1937 by conductor Karl List and members of the wind section of the Orchestra of the « Reichs-Sender » .

Audio document number 1570018-19 (= 57 U 18/9) from the German Broadcasting Archive (« Deutsche Rundfunk-Archiv » , or DRA) .

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**Monday, 19 July 1937 (7:30 pm)** : Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Theatre of Steyr located at « Volks-Straße » Number 5 :

Eugene Ormandy conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 8 (9) in C major, « The Great » (D. 944) .

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

The imposing building was inaugurated on Saturday, 28 May 1898 under the name « Emperor Franz-Josef's Industrial and Trade Exhibition Hall » . The hall was converted in 1924 into a 900 seat public movie theatre and concert-hall.

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**Tuesday, 20 July 1937** : Symphonic concert held at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Oswald Kabasta conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (WAB 103) .

## *Intermission*

Franz Schmidt : Symphony No. 2 in E-flat major (1911-1913) .

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Before Johannes Hollnsteiner's nomination as Dean of the Catholic Theological Faculty in the **academic year 1937-1938**, the previous chair holder and acting Dean, Prince Constantin of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, has to be retired unexpectedly and, therefore, not without humiliating circumstances and with bewilderment. Up to now, Hollnsteiner has lived the life of a « bon vivant » in the « Ständestaat » but he will soon suffer the same fate as his predecessor - albeit under different assumptions.

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**End of July 1937** : In his talk at the opening of the Radio Exhibition in Berlin, Doctor Josef Gæbbels confirms that his call for more entertainment has already been heeded. In future, he wants no more broadcasting experiments. There is no need to « fill the ears of the broad masses with juvenile stammerings » , particularly radio-plays, which, « with their frenzies of shouting, had an irritating and off-putting effect on the listener » .

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**Monday, 6 to Monday, 13 September 1937** : Ninth Party Congress in Nuremberg, sub-titled the « Rally of Labour » , celebrating the reduction of unemployment in Germany since the Nazi rise to power. The fugue from the Finale of Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) - a personal favourite of Adolf Hitler's - precedes the official opening and closing ceremonies.

Robert Haas, general-editor of the « International Bruckner Society » of Vienna, published the « original version » of the Symphony in 1935 as it is preserved in the autograph manuscript. The new edition served as a prototype of the « pure » Bruckner score. Franz Schalk's version has all but disappeared.

The term « Original-Fassung » was used by Haas and the partisans of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») to distinguish their scores from the first printed editions.

...

The relationship between the Augustinian monks of St. Florian and National-Socialism began before Austria's annexation. This ideology was already popular before 1938.

For example, a priest from a nearby village, who was also the acting advisory board-member of the « Gymnasium » of the monastery, said :

« The priests are invited to actively participate in the Great German movement. If we do not recognize it, we will one

day be without people. »

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**Saturday, 18 September 1937** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

The amount allocated by the « Führer » to the « International Bruckner Society » amounts to 10,000 « Reich » Marks annually, and covers about one third of the production costs of music-scores at the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and Publishing-House.

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**Friday, 24 September 1937** : During a visit to the « Reich » Chamber of Music in Berlin, Justus Brandstetter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and Publishing-House, is told that the authorities are waiting for his « exposé » in order to initiate the first subsidy payment for the publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

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**Tuesday, 28 September 1937** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

On September 24 (last Friday) , Justus Brandstetter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and Publishing-House, accompanied by his Berlin representative Walter Donati went to meet Doctor Ludwig at the « Reich » Chamber of Music. They learned that the initial subsidy payment for the publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » would be authorized after a thorough examination of the firm's « exposé » . The planned up-coming visit by Professor Auer in Berlin, in October, is therefore well-organized, and the first payment fully-secured.

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**November 1937** : Alfred Orel resigns as co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works.

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**Late-1937** : The attempt by engineer Walter Weber (independent of AEG) to improve dynamic range, and thus quality, is of primary importance. He assumes that the uneven magnetic tape coating (both mechanically and magnetically) will cause irregular fluctuations in the magnetic flux in the record head, inducing unwelcome signals and, therefore, increasing the noise.

The « Magnetophon » has the potential to both expand and to simplify radio broadcast operations while making them more reliable, in the process.

Attractive advantages are :

The 20 minute playing time of a 400 gram (approximately, 1 pound) tape compared to a wax record weighing 10



times as much, but with a playing time of only 4 minutes 30 seconds. Additionally, these recordings can, with good conscience, only be played once (and even then, only with an electro-magnetic pick-up co-developed by Hans Joachim von Braunmühl in 1932) :

The ability to immediately play-back a recording, even directly from the play-back head (although this is never mentioned) .

The re-usability of magnetic tape by erasing unusable or unneeded recordings.

Easy editing to remove or re-arrange portions of the recording.

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**Sunday, 5 December 1937** : Issue Number 49 of the « Journal of the Bavarian Radio » (« Bayerische Radio-Zeitung ») reports that Heinrich Glasmeier, the general manager of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne, is planning a radiophonic Bruckner cycle (to be aired every 14 days at 9:00 pm) featuring the Large Symphony Orchestra of the « Reichs-Sender » in Berlin and the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra under conductor Hans Weisbach.

The « Bayerische Radio-Zeitung » is a local radio magazine for Bavaria and the Palatinate.

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**Wednesday, 15 December 1937** : 2 important concerts take place in the « Reich » capital.

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the Philharmonic Choir and Orchestra.

Soloists : Adelheid Armhold (soprano) , Lore Fischer (alto) , Ingrid Lorenzen (contralto) , Heinz Marten (tenor) , Günther Baum (bass) , Friedrich Thomas (flute) , Paul Spörri (trumpet) .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) .

Giuseppe Verdi : « Stabat Mater » , Piece No. 2 from « Quattro Pezzi Sacri » , for double-choir and orchestra (1898) .

### *Intermission*

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Magnificat » in E-flat major (BWV 243) .

...

« Große Sende-Saal » (Hall I) of the « Haus des Rundfunks » on « Masuren-Allee » .

The typed admission ticket bores the note : « Jews are not admitted »

Hans Weisbach conducts the combined orchestras of the « Reichs-Senders » of Berlin and Leipzig.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor (WAB 102) .

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**Thursday, 23 December 1937** : Letter from Justus Brandstetter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and Publishing-House, to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

President Auer and Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , will be pleased about today's phone call from Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » . Following the reception of Auer's letter, the first subsidy payment for the publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » has been approved.

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**Wednesday, 29 December 1937** : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Hausegger is pleased to see that the obstacles regarding the financial support of the « Complete Critical Edition » have been lifted.

« The most important thing was probably the compensation allowed to Universal-Edition. » (Siegmund von Hausegger)

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**End of 1937** : Wilhelm Furtwängler accepts to take-over in Berlin the chairmanship of the North German section of the « International Bruckner Society » from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, the chief-conductor of the « Reich » Broadcasting Orchestra in Cologne.

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**Saturday, 1 January 1938** : Traditional New Year's Concert in Berlin :

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Special programme

## Works by Ludwig van Beethoven.

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**Wednesday, 5 January 1938** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

The Nazi authorities in Berlin will hardly be satisfied in the long run if the mention « with the approval of the Universal-Edition » is to remain printed on the scores of the « Complete Critical Edition » . Doctor Josef Bick, the director-general of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library, must withdraw this promise made to Universal.

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**Thursday, 27 January 1938** : Inauguration of the new building designed by architect Karl Reichle, across the street from the old « Reich » Chancellery on « Wilhelmstraße » , expanding the complex of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. The first section will be occupied from **July 1938**.

The interior design of the new office building is highly functional. Goebbels uses a recording studio integrated into the building for his speeches and proclamations. He himself does not live in the building, and thus, breaks with the unity of place of office and residence. The Minister's office remains in the old Prince Friedrich Leopold Palace (« Ordens-Palais ») . Since the old palace could not be made taller for monument preservation reasons, links were created between the palace and the new office space.

The completion of the further building sections led to problems. Germany's attack on Poland on September 1939 triggered the Second World War. 200,000 tons of iron contingent were withdrawn, bringing construction to a virtual halt. The construction project was not categorised as a « building important for the war effort » , but Goebbels did manage to have the building completed in several construction phases, so that all the departments of the Ministry could be housed in the same place.

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**February 1938** : Josef Bürckel (while remaining « Gauleiter » in Saarpfalz) is appointed the acting head of the Nazi Party for Austria.

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**Saturday, 12 February 1938** : Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg signs the Berchtesgaden Agreement with Nazi Germany, which paves the way for the end of Austria as an independent state.

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**Wednesday, 23 February 1938** : The « International Bruckner Society » awards the Bruckner Certificate of Honour to the « Reich » Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , awards the Bruckner Medal to Hans

Weisbach, the music-director of the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra.

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**Wednesday, 2 March 1938** : Professor Leopold Reichwein and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra are rehearsing in preparation of the up-coming major concert placed under the sponsorship of the « Strength through Joy » organization (« Kraft durch Freude » , or KdF) .

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**1938** : The « International Bruckner Society » registers over 3,200 members.

At the time, Norbert Furreg is the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » .

Conductor and musicologist Professor Peter Raabe tries to resign as President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, but his resignation is rejected by Doctor Josef Gœbbels. Raabe will continue to serve until the end of the War.

Off and on, Gœbbels considered replacing both Drewes and Raabe, for he could not say who was the duller of the two. Wilhelm Furtwängler was reportedly interested in the « Reich » Chamber of Music post. In the end, both men proved indispensable for carrying out the practical chores that had become their everyday routines in a period of scarce new talent.

As this task was too great for one bureau to deal with, publishers were only under compulsion to submit music to the « Reich » Music Examination Office if it was requested, although some composers submitted their own compositions anyway.

A story will emerge after the War that Drewes used pseudonyms as he conducted during his mandate. He conducted only with the radio orchestras. It was he who hired and fired the conductors.

The smaller « Deutscher Klein-Empfänger » (German Compact People's Radio Receiver) is introduced to great acclaim and at an even lower and much more affordable price of just 35 « Reich » Marks.

Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper becomes a member of the « Waffen-SS » (membership card-number : 310.379) .

Herbert von Karajan makes his debut with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and the Berlin State Opera, conducting Ludwig van Beethoven's « Fidelio » . He receives a contract with « Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft » and makes the first of numerous recordings, conducting the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » in the Overture to « The Magic Flute » .

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**Several months prior to the « Anschluß »** : Eugene Ormandy is in Austria to conduct Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony

in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) .

Ormandy recorded the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**, 1885 version, with modifications by Albert J. Gutmann) on **5, 7 January 1935** with the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra (RCA Victor « Red Seal » , DM-276) . It is the first Bruckner Symphony to be recorded in the United States. For their efforts, Eugene Ormandy and producer Charles O'Connell received the Bruckner Society of America's Kilenyi Medal of Honour.

Ormandy served until 1936 as conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. During the depths of the Great Depression, RCA Victor contracted Ormandy and the Minneapolis Symphony for many recordings. A clause in the musicians' contract required them to earn their salaries by performing a certain number of hours each week (whether it be rehearsals, concerts, broadcasts, or recording sessions) . Since Victor did not need to pay the musicians, it could afford to send its best technicians and equipment to record in Minneapolis. Recordings were made between January 16, 1934, and January 16, 1935.

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Edmund Glaise-Horstenau is the last vice-Chancellor of Austria before the « Anschluß » .

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**Friday, 11 March 1938** : Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer is appointed provisional Mayor of Linz by the new Federal Chancellor Arthur Seyß-Inquart.

Speech on Linz radio by Doctor Heinrich Gleißner, the Governor of Upper-Austria and head of the « Patriotic Front » (« Fatherland Front ») of Upper-Austria. He is announcing the torch-light procession of the National-Socialists in the evening.

Occupation by National-Socialists of the building of the Catholic Press Association (the publisher of the « Linzer Volksblatt ») .

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**Night of Friday, 11 to Saturday, 12 March 1938** :

**5:30 am** : German troops cross the Austrian border, with the official approval of Arthur Seyß-Inquart. There is no resistance. On the contrary, they are welcomed by cheering Austrians.

Even before the first German soldier set foot on Austrian soil, the local Nazis under the command of the S.A. « Brigade-Führer » August Eigruber (on the instructions of the German special envoy Wilhelm Keppler, the « Reich » Commissioner for Economic Affairs, and in agreement with Friedrich Rainer, the Party leader of Salzburg and Carinthia) have managed to capture the centres of power in Linz. In the federal police headquarters, the Nazi take-over results in 4 deaths, including that of the Chief of Police, Viktor Bentz.

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**Saturday evening, 12 March 1938 : « Anschluß »**

After Alfred Klimesch's refusal, the responsibility for radio broadcasting the historical event rests on Herbert Ziebland's shoulders. For hours, he stays with the microphone on the balcony of the Linz Town Hall.

Around 5:00 pm, Ziebland is joined on the balcony by the Federal Chancellor Arthur Seyß-Inquart (who made the trip from Vienna) , the « SS Reichs-Führer » Heinrich Himmler the Nazi leader for the District of Linz, Josef (Sepp) Wolkersdorfer the provisional Mayor of Linz, August Eigruber the S.A. « Brigade-Führer » of Upper-Austria, Anton Fellner Eigruber's cultural representative, Alfred Maleta (who has been imprisoned in the basement of the Town Hall) , Nikolaus Negrelli and Ignaz Hemmetmaier.

While all the radio stations in the « Reich » are gradually switching on, Ziebland keeps entertaining the waiting crowd with reports, slogans and interviews.

The news that the leaders of the « Patriotic Front » (« Fatherland Front ») are gone « on vacation » overnight. is greeted with stormy applause. Speeches of Nazi celebrities are no less applauded.

**7:30 pm** : The Mercedes-Benz W150 « cabriolet » of the « Führer » enters the main square (the « Franz-Josef-Platz » which immediately bears the name « Adolf-Hitler-Platz ») . He is greeted with frenzied acclaim by 250,000 Austrians. Ziebland comments enthusiastically.

Hitler tells the Austrian people in the radio broadcast that the demonstration proves that it is the wish of the entire Austrian nation to follow Germany's leadership, and proclaims the union of Austria and Germany.

Addressing Hitler, the Mayor says :

« We proclaim Article 88 of the Peace Treaty dead. »

(Article 88 of the St. Germain Treaty forbids union with Germany.)

Hitler now begins his short speech :

« Germans, “ Herr ” Chancellor,

I thank you for the welcome. I thank you who are present to testify that it is not the wish of the few to follow the great popular “ Reich ”, but the wish of the entire nation.

May a few of the well-known foreign seekers after truth not only see the truth, but also admit the truth.

When I left this town, I had the same ideals as now. »

He is interrupted by frantic cheering.

Hitler continues :

« If Providence calls me from this town, its intention could only be this :

Through me, to restore my dear homeland to the German nation.

I lived and fought for this aim, and I think I now have fulfilled it. »

Speaking in a highly-emotional voice, Hitler returns to the coming Nazi-controlled plebiscite, and says :

« When you are called on to give a confession of faith - I hope the day may not be far distant - I hope I can be proud of my home province. I hope you will show the whole world that Germany unity can never be dissolved. Just as you are ready to do your share. »

Hitler goes on :

« Germany also is determined to stand by you. The German soldiers who have marched in are fighters for the entire nation, for the unity of the “ Reich ”, for the might and greatness and glory of Germany, now and forever.

Germany, “ Sieg Heil ” ! »

The crowd, mad with enthusiasm, breaks into a mighty chorus of « Deutschland, Deutschland über alles » , and then, the Nazi hymn, the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » .

After he concluded, Hitler enters the Town Hall, but is forced to appear on the balcony, time after time, to respond to the thunderous cheers.

Hitler leaves the Town Hall soon afterwards, and departs by automobile in the direction of Vienna to chants of « Sieg Heil, Seig Heil ! »

By command, windows in the square are lighted in Hitler's honour. Windows of all « Aryan » homes are illuminated, but Jewish homes remain in darkness. Opponents of the Nazis are already being imprisoned, beaten and murdered.

Hitler stands in the open car as he leaves.

The radio announcer says :

« The “ Führer ” is proceeding downstream in a direction along the Danube. »

S.A. « Brigade-Führer » August Eigruber, assumes (illegally) the function of Governor of Upper-Austria, while Wolkersdorfer assumes (illegally) the function of Mayor of Linz, deposing « de facto » the Christian-Social Wilhelm Bock.

Wolkersdorfer becomes a member of the SS (membership card-number : 308.204) .

Eigruber appeals to the people :

« The age of shame and disgrace, hardship, misery and persecution is once and for all over ! »

All the public buildings in Linz are occupied by S.A. and SS forces. Serious clashes erupt in Urfahr at the headquarters of the Youth Association of the « Patriotic Front » (« Fatherland Front ») .

The National-Socialist conductor Leopold Reichwein propagates the call for a « referendum » on the future of Austria with the following words :

« Since Adolf Hitler has reconquered freedom for us, German artists in Austria, it is our deepest need to prove our gratitude by confession and deed. »

Immediately after the « Anschluß » , Professor Reichwein once again makes a triumphant return to the Austrian capital. He conducts, among others, the Vienna Philharmonic and the Orchestra of the State Opera.

The Nazis take over the Gutenberg Printing Company located on « Spittelwiese » Number 5 and change its name to « NS-Druckerei und Verlag Linz » (National-Socialist Printing and Publishing House of Linz) .

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Of the approximately 600 Jews who had lived in Linz, in March 1938, about 305 fled abroad. 23 died during the course of the years until 1942 (including suicides) . Most of the 205 Jews who fled to Vienna and Bohemia and Moravia were killed in Nazi concentration-camps.

The Jews who had remained in Linz were nearly all taken to the Theresienstadt concentration-camp. Hardly any Upper-Austrian Jews died in the Mauthausen concentration-camp near Linz, where many Jews died who had been deported from other parts of Europe.

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**Sunday, 13 March 1938** : Around 100,000 German soldiers invade Upper-Austria.



Adolf Hitler invites the « most loyal of the faithful » to lunch at the Hotel Weinzinger in Linz. There, he first proclaims the « Anschluß » to a small circle.

Franz Langoth exclaims euphorically :

« My “ Führer ”, this is the greatest hour in German history. »

Hitler then returns to Braunau-am-Inn near Linz, to a thunderous welcome from the people of his home-town. He will stay there for 2 days.

Dissolution of all Upper-Austrian community days.

Doctor Heinrich Gleißner is officially deposed as regional governor.

Josef Bürckel is appointed acting head of the Nazi Party to carry out the referendum on the « Anschluß » .

Arthur Seyß-Inquart joins the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number in the 7 millions' digits) . He meets with Hitler in the evening.

The first edition of the Nazi propaganda newspaper « Arbeiter-Sturm » (Workers' Storm) is published in Linz.

From the town of Braunau-am-Inn, Hitler will pass sites from his youth, such as the school he had attended in Fischlham near Lambach, and the house where his family lived in Leonding, near Linz.

At the request of Josef Bürckel, a broadcasting staff from the « RRG » , which has been prepared by the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, arrives in Vienna to replace in the course of the next few days the staff of the « Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft » (RAVAG) . The goal is to ensure the organizational and technical integration of « RAVAG » into the « RRG » , to maintain broadcasting operations, and to prepare propaganda for the referendum on the « Anschluß » scheduled for April 10.

Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger resigns as head technical director of « RAVAG » for political reasons. He then moves to the Rosenhügel Film Studios in Vienna. To the astonishment of the professional world, he solves dubbing problems that had previously been considered unsolvable by experts. This will lead to his nomination in Berlin until the end of the War as a radio technician at the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin.

Alma Mahler-Werfel strongly advises Johannes Hollnsteiner to burn incriminating documents such as letters and manuscripts, but the theologian priest is not thorough enough. He travels from Vienna to St. Florian and returns to the monastery, where he hopes to avoid being arrested by the « Gestapo » . Hollnsteiner would like, at least, to be able

to continue his career as a priest and university teacher. And he does not shy away from coming to terms with the National-Socialists whom he has fought for so long as an ardent advocate of the Corporate State.

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**Night of Sunday, 13 to Monday, 14 March 1938** : The « Gestapo » ransacks Johannes Hollnsteiner's apartment in Vienna, and comes across letters from Thomas Mann and books from Franz Werfel.

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**Monday, 14 March 1938** : On his way to Vienna, Adolf Hitler passes by the famous Benedictine Abbey at Melk, overlooking the Danube.

Johannes Hollnsteiner makes a declaration of loyalty as the acting Dean of the Theological Faculty to Oswald Menghin, the Minister of Education in the « Anschluß » cabinet. Hollnsteiner does not feel he has been called to a full-life in a monastery or as a parish priest. As with so many exponents of the authoritarian « State of the Estates » , the expressions of sympathy does not prove successful ; after all, Catholicism no longer plays any kind of role in Austrian political life.

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**Tuesday, 15 March 1938** : The « Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Platz » in Linz is renamed « Adolf-Hitler-Platz » .

S.A. « Brigade-Führer » August Eigruber forms the new state government, making him the youngest « Gauleiter » on the former Austrian territory.

Raids by the « Gestapo » and the S.A. forces in St. Florian. The house searches are primarily intended to provide evidence on the basis of the reported suspicion of illegal weapons. But the joint forces are only able to confiscate a few harmless stilettos from students attending the private « Gymnasium » (Grammar School) - which were returned. (Despite great difficulties, the « Gymnasium » is still able to stay open and welcome students.)

August Eigruber, the S.A. « Brigade-Führer » of the Upper-Danube region, will inform Adolf Hitler by saying :

« We found home-defense weapons during the house searches. »

This affirmation will even surprised the « Führer » to some extent.

Hitler's journey through Austria becomes a triumphal tour that climaxes in Vienna when around 200,000 cheering German Austrians gather around the « Helden-Platz » (Square of Heroes) to hear Hitler say :

« The oldest eastern province of the German people shall be, from this point on, the newest bastion of the German “ Reich ”. »

It is followed by his « greatest accomplishment » (completing the annexing of Austria to form a Greater German «

Reich ») by saying :

« As leader and Chancellor of the German nation and “ Reich ”, I announce to German history now the entry of my homeland into the German “ Reich ”. »

Bruno Walter was working in Paris at the time. Unable to return to either Germany or Austria, he settled in France which gave him citizenship. His elder daughter, Lotte, was in Vienna and was arrested by the Nazis. Walter was able to use his influence to free her. He also used his influence to find safe-quarters for his brother and sister in Scandinavia during the War.

Bruckner : « Te Deum » (WAB 45) , Bruno Walter, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Chorus of the Vienna « Staatsoper » , Théâtre des Champs-Élysées (live-performance, June 29, 1937) . Elisabeth Schumann (Soprano) , Kerstin Thorborg (Mezzo-Soprano) , Anton Dermota (Tenor) , Alexander Kipnis (Bass) . This fine performance (and recording) of the « Te Deum » has only been issued on CD and in Japan.

**EMI BCD-24** (coupled with Palestrina's « Stabat Mater ») / **EMI TOCE 9099** (coupled with Mozart's « Requiem ») .

...

After Adolf Hitler's troops marched into Vienna, the Nazi regime became extremely interested in the Bruckner autograph manuscripts situated in private ownership. The « Führer » was very fond of Bruckner and regarded the publication of « original versions » of his Symphonies « cleansed » of the influence of others, to be a culture-political goal. The compilation of the manuscripts was coordinated within Doctor Josef Goebbels's Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Procurement of the music-scores assumed top-priority, « because we fear that something could happen to these valuable treasures » .

The Nazi Party assumed control of all cultural bodies in Austria. The Society of Friends of Music in Vienna had been dissolved. Firstly under acting head, and then, placed under retention of the name of the Vienna State Academy of Theatre and Stage Inc. Doctor Josef Bick, the superior of chief-editor Robert Haas, has been removed from his post as director-general of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library.

Just how quickly the power structure of the « International Bruckner Society » changed after the « Anschluß » is demonstrated by documents in the correspondence.

As the Patronage City of the « Führer » , Linz was singled out for Nazi urban and industrial planning. The city's haphazard expansion was driven by incorporations and by the construction of huge industrial plants such as « Reichs-Werke Hermann Göring » , primarily used for armament production. A pivotal role in the expansion of Linz was to have been played by granite quarried by concentration-camp labourers in Mauthausen and by thousands of forced labourers. The monumental plans for the Danube embankments and the city-centre mostly did not, however, come to fruition. Linz became a centre for persecution and forced labour in « Ostmark » . Mauthausen and Schloß Hartheim

housed institutions to destroy political adversaries and individuals considered « racially inferior » or « unworthy of life ». The policy of destruction was also practised within the city, in Niedernhart Psychiatric Hospital, which specialized in Nazi euthanasia, and in the 3 sub-camps of Mauthausen. Even the Nazis' seemingly beneficial measures for their « national comrades », such as housing and social welfare, involved the expropriation of fellow-citizens and increasingly also the exploitation of countries conquered and occupied by the German « Wehrmacht » .

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**March 1938** :Vinzenz Goller, the Lord Mayor of Klosterneuburg near Vienna, is removed from office by the National-Socialists. 2 of his 7 children who are members of one of the first resistance groups, the « Scholz Group » (which consists of a few dozen militants) , are imprisoned. (The Austrian author and Augustinian canon regular at the monastery of Klosterneuburg, Roman Karl Scholz, became a resistance activist after attending a Nuremberg Rally in 1936.) Goller's daughter becomes almost blind as a result of the mistreatment during her detention. The youngest son, Hubert, is sentenced to death for « betrayal of the people » . Fortunately, a close Nazi Party friend of Adolf Hitler, whom Goller had once saved in the First War, is able to reduce the sentence to only serving time in a penal colony. Goller's wife, Maria Josefa, will never fully-recover from these traumatic events.

German troops move into the city of Salzburg. Political opponents, Jewish citizens and other minorities are arrested and deported to concentration-camps. The premises of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter are seized and most of the monks are expelled. Nevertheless, the monastery is not dissolved. In Salzburg itself, several POW camps as well as so-called transit-camps are organized and held for slave labour.

The German infantry regiment's headquarters in Linz are installed in the former school-wing of the Ursuline nunnery. It is followed by the Military Court, the Army Construction Department and the Army Site Administration.

Doctor Rudolf Mildner becomes Deputy-Chief of the « Gestapo » in Linz. The modern cubic-shape structure called « Kolping-Haus » (commissioned in 1930 by the Kolping family) located at « Langgasse » Number 13 (« Gesellenhaus-Straße » Number 1) is confiscated. From now on, it will housed the Control Centre : the hub for the persecution of the political and religious opposition. Interrogations were notorious for the brutality « Gestapo » personnel resorted to ; in many cases, this led to the remand prisoners being tortured, severely injured or even killed. In the subsequent trials, many opponents of the regime were given long prison sentences or they were sentenced to death. Others were committed to a concentration-camp without having stood trial.

The edifice was designed by the Linz architect Hans Steineder (1904-1976) , a student of Peter Behrens who was a representative of the Austrian modernism during the inter-War period. The master-builder was Friedrich Gangl. The new structure replaced the world's first « Kolping-Haus » founded in 1853 by the Catholic Journeymen's Association.

« Steineder has command of the grand architectonic gesture. He grasps form as an architectonic quality on an equal footing with constructive and functional needs, and achieves both a symbolism and plasticity in his buildings comparable to a “ Baroque variant of the Stijly movement ” »

(F. Achleitner)

In 1938, Steineder moves from Linz to Vienna. Shortly thereafter, he breaks with his style, a change that is well-illustrated by his conservationist work in the old cities (Grinzing, Klosterneuburg, Melk, Kahlenbergdorf) or in his reconstruction of typical Austrian institutions such as Heuriger taverns and musicians' monuments.

Jewish people living in Linz see suicide as the only way out.

August Eigruber joins the S.A. forces, in which he bears the rank of « Brigade-Führer » .

As board-member of the local branch of the N.S.D.A.P. in Hirschbach near Freistadt, Franz Kinzl promotes the « Anschluß » . Furthermore, he removes the Mayor and takes over the office.

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**1938** : August Eigruber is elected to the Nazi « Reichstag » in Berlin, an institutional body with no real power.

Siegmund von Hausegger retires from the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. His successor is Oswald Kabasta, who has been principal-conductor of RAVAG (« Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft ») from 1931 to 1937. Kabasta will maintain the orchestra's sacred allegiance to Anton Bruckner, Hans Pfitzner and Richard Strauß, but will prove to be more enterprising in his support of other German and Austrian composers, frequently performing works by Franz Schmidt, Theodor Berger, Johann Nepomuk David, Carl Orff, Werner Egk and Karl Holler. While the orchestra's repertoire remains firmly rooted in the German tradition, Kabasta will occasionally surprise his conservative Munich audience by conducting contemporary pieces from other countries (i.e. Béla Bartók, Igor Stravinsky) .

...

The 2 major orchestras in the Austrian capital, the Vienna Philharmonic and the Vienna Symphony, dismissed their Jewish instrumentalists. Conductors such as Bruno Walter and Josef Krips could no longer appear before the Viennese public. It must be remembered that the Germans could have not accomplished these changes in such a short period without the active and enthusiastic support of the Austrian Nazis. While anti-Semitism and pan-Germanic feeling had been a strong component in the Austrian musical tradition from the middle of the 19th Century, it was the Nazis who emerged as the most effective political force in exploiting such sentiments during the 1930's. For instance, in 1933, when Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, a number of Austrian musicians openly expressed their solidarity with the Nazi regime. They included such senior figures as the composers Wilhelm Kienzl and Josef Reiter (the latter being especially proud of emphasizing his distinction of having been born in the same town as Hitler) . There was also Professor Leopold Reichwein, the second concert-director of the Society of Friends of Music, a respectable if not the premier orchestra in Vienna (successfully working with the first concert-director Wilhelm Furtwängler, from 1921 to 1925) , also second concert-director of the « Konzertverein » (succeeding to Franz Schalk) , conductor of the « Singverein » and at the Chamber Opera. He proved to be an extremely active protagonist for the Nazi cause, joining the N.S.D.A.P. as early as 1932 (membership card-number : I.009.765) . During the summer of 1933, the Austrian

government placed a ban on further Nazi activity in the country. Notwithstanding his mixed German-Austrian background, Reichwein was the prototypical « Nazi conductor ». The most active orchestra, from 1938 to the end of the War, was the Vienna Symphony. On the orders of the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, it was designated the « official city orchestra », and, as such, was expected to provide background music for miscellaneous functions, including trade-fairs. However, the Viennese concert promoters managed to achieve a balance in its activities and secured engagements from a distinguished list of conductors, including Oswald Kabasta (nominally its principal-conductor), Hans Knappertsbusch, Eugen Jochum, Franz Konwitschny, Rudolf Moralt and Joseph Keilberth. Programmes were not particularly enterprising, with great emphasis placed on the German Romantics and practically no representation of contemporary music by the younger generation of composers. On the other hand, with Kabasta at the helm, Viennese audiences heard a substantial representation of the output of Franz Schmidt, whose 70th birthday was posthumously celebrated with a week-long festival of his music in February 1944. Both the Vienna Symphony and the Vienna Philharmonic also actively espoused the cause of Hans Pfitzner and Richard Strauß. Reichwein returns to Germany in 1936, albeit merely for guest-appearances; he remained based in Vienna, honing his reputation as an interpreter of Anton Bruckner, Richard Wagner and Hans Pfitzner. He was also very committed to promote the works of other Austrian composers.

Although, from 1938 to 1945, Vienna still remained the musical capital of Austria (or « Ostmark » as it was now known), Adolf Hitler wanted to change the status quo. Having held a strong aversion to Vienna and its artistic environment ever since he had lived in the city during the first years of the 20th Century, he now saw the opportunity to realize a long-held plan and make his native town of Linz the cultural centre of the German « Reich ».

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The school and orphanage of the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz are suspended by the Nazi regime.

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**Friday, 18 March 1938** : The S.A. « Brigade-Führer » of the Upper-Danube region, August Eigruber, dismisses the previous elected members of the State parliament.

About 160 men from the German « Wehrmacht » are quartered in the monastery of St. Florian. Space must be created for 600 displaced Germans from Bessarabia and 400 displaced Germans from Bukovina.

The Nazi leisure organization « Strength Through Joy » (« Kraft durch Freude ») offers reduced admission prices to see the famous art-collections of the monastery.

The « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » requires 2 farm lands from the site of the monastery for resettlement purposes from the originally planned area located in the District of Linz - St. Peter.

The « Hitler Youth » claims 7 home rooms in the monastery. Their gatherings are greatly disrupting the monastic life.

The welfare service for war victims takes over the accommodation which was used by the (now dissolved) Catholic Journeymen's Association.

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**Sunday, 20 March 1938** : The « Gestapo » of Linz orders the surrender of all privately owned weapons by Friday (March 25) .

...

Since the « Anschluß » , the « Oberösterreichisches Landestheater » of Linz distinguishes itself as an National-Socialist stage of special political reliability and submissiveness. Staff and repertoire are aligned to the new regime. As a reward, the « Landestheater » is granted huge financial benefits from the « Sonder-Fonds L » or Special Fund L(inz) , available for the cities' upgrade as « Führer-Metropole » . Thus, the theatre can afford architectonic and technical improvements and, beyond that, is given huge extra-budgetary sums for « Führer-Ausstattungen » (scenographies of the « Führer ») , concerning operas, musical comedies and dramas, which are considered and gladly accepted as personal gifts of Adolf Hitler. This special financial and propagandistic position of the « Landestheater » of Linz can be kept throughout all difficulties caused by the War, until « Total War » restricts and finally stops the continuation of the theatre enterprise in the season of 1944-1945.

The history of the « Oberösterreichisches Landestheater » of Linz between 1938 and 1945 is also the history of the ambivalent character of its impresario, Ignaz Brantner, who had been holding this position before the National-Socialists' advent to power in Austria and could easily resume it after the crash of the German « Reich » .

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**Tuesday, 22 March 1938** : A mere 10 days after German troops crossed the Austrian border, the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna was ordered to submit an account of its debts and assets to the cultural-political office of the N.S.D.A.P. , to be followed by regular reports of its activities.

The letter was not addressed to Norbert Furreg, then, still the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , but to Friedrich Werner, a member of the society's board who was eventually appointed « commissioner » of both the Bruckner Society and the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » . It was Werner's job, as later letters would show, to keep an eye on the doings of all active members and to report anything noteworthy directly to the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Werner, a lawyer by profession, was well-suited to the task : he was already active in the society and apparently well-liked in the proper circles. His appointment as vice-President of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » would soon follow.

It may come as no surprise that the N.S.D.A.P. rapidly and efficiently imposed its will on the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna. Within months, Furreg was divested of his influence, by-laws were re-written, even the organization's name was changed to reflect the new circumstances : from now on, it would be known as the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») , and would be relocated in Leipzig - its international

aspirations apparently deemed suspect. The House of the « Musicological Publishers » would also be transferred in Leipzig. Its role as publisher of the Bruckner « Complete Edition » (« Gesamt-Ausgabe ») , under the direction of the firm of Oskar Brandstetter, would maintained close ties to the Ministry of Propaganda.

The new authorities had no difficulty in finding allies in its ranks. Conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler regrettably allowed himself to be installed (for political reasons) as new President to replace Professor Max Auer (a Jew) .

The House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Leipzig received a subsidy of 100,000 « Reich » Marks for the publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works that would restore the « œuvre » to its supposedly original form. In this highly-politicized setting, scholarly debates about different versions and editions of Bruckner's music were hardly objective. These disputes fitted into the Nazi's ideological embrace of German cultural forms which they aimed to free from Judaizing or modern influence. Robert Haas, the committed Austrian Nazi and music-scholar, praised Bruckner's music for its pure German essence. Espousing flagrantly anti-Semitic language, he asserted that a cadre of former pupils, friends, and the composer's music-publisher (all largely Jewish) deceptively doctored the text of Bruckner's compositions.

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**Monday, 28 March 1938** : Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas to Doctor Josef Gœbbels :

Robert Haas expresses his unfailing loyalty to Doctor Gœbbels as patron of the « Complete Critical Edition » and « original versions » of Anton Bruckner's works.

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**Wednesday, 30 March 1938** : The theologian Father Johannes Hollnsteiner is arrested by the « Gestapo » at the monastery of St. Florian because of his close links with the Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg and the Corporate State. He is first incarcerated in the police prison of Linz. After a few days, he is transferred to the police prison of Vienna and, later, he is sent to the prison of the Vienna Regional Civic Court.

Despite the fact that the ultra-modern « Funkhaus » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in Vienna's 4th District is at the cutting edge of technology and is equipped with a very powerful, far-reaching transmitter, the broadcasting centre is now under the control of the « Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » in Berlin, where the all the radio programs are made. Vienna is considered as a subordinate station, thus bearing the name of « Reichs-Sender Wien » .

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**Friday, 1 April 1938** : Negotiations by the SS for the acquisition of grounds in the town of Mauthausen near Linz for the establishment of a concentration-camp.

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**Friday, 8 April 1938** : Adolf Hitler visits the « Landes-Museum » (Museum Francisco-Carolinum) in Linz. Duration : 1 hour.



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**Saturday, 9 April 1938** : 30 years after Adolf Hitler had broken-off contact with « Gustl » (August Kubizek) , the 2 friends were re-united during one of Hitler's visits in Linz. The two spoke for over an hour at the Hotel Weinzinger and Hitler offered Kubizek the conductorship of one of Germany's leading orchestra, which Kubizek politely refused. Upon learning of his friend's 3 sons, Hitler insisted on financing their educations at the Anton Bruckner Conservatory in Linz. Hitler later invited Kubizek to attend the Bayreuth Festival as his guest in 1939 and, again, in 1940, experiences described by Kubizek as « the happiest hours of my earthly existence » .

« Gustl » , who had previously been more or less out of reach, had with the « Anschluß » suddenly become a German citizen and well within the grasp of all the political departments.

6 weeks after the « Anschluß » (which coincided with the completion of Robert Haas's version of the Second Symphony, **WAB 102**) , Haas presents a « Report on the Collected Edition of Anton Bruckner's Works » , which he « dedicated to the German people and to our " Führer ", Adolf Hitler » .

He adds :

« There were always battles to be fought in public since every performance was accompanied by the same abuse, lies, and defamation by the Jewish press that in his own time Bruckner, the Master, also had to endure. »

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By 1938, the Carl Lindström (Record) Company could no longer withstand the pressure of organized anti-Semitism and was forced to relinquish almost half the items listed in their « Odeon » catalogue. Even a recording of Anton Bruckner's « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) had to be removed because one of the soloists was of Jewish birth.

That same year, « Telefunken » demonstrated considerable entrepreneurship by issuing an original unabridged version of the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) - a composition that has been neglected on commercial recordings.

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**Sunday, 10 April 1938** : August Eigruber, the S.A. « Brigade-Führer » of the Upper-Danube region, becomes a ministerial adviser. He helps to establish the Mauthausen complex near Linz by conveying the land to the SS and, later, by supporting their other projects, and aiding those efforts of industry including Steyr-Daimler-Puch.

Eigruber announces to an enthusiastic audience that his district will have the « distinction » of erecting a concentration-camp. Political opponents and groups of people labelled as « criminal » or « anti-social » will be imprisoned and forced to work in the nearby granite quarries.

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**Monday, 11 April 1938** (noon time) : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Symphonic concert broadcast by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the State Opera Concert Association's mixed-choir and men's choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Soloist : Alfred Jerger, bass.

### Programme

Richard Wagner : Chorus « Wach auf » (Wake-up) and Final Speech of Hans Sachs from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

Gustav Reichardt : « Des Deutschen Vaterland » , based on a text by Ernst Moritz Arndt, patriotic song.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture in C major from « Die Weihe des Hauses » (The Consecration of the House) , Opus 124.

Richard Wagner : « Einzug der Gäste auf der Wartburg » (Entry of the Guests on the Wartburg) from the Opera « Tannhäuser » (WWV 70) .

Anton Bruckner : « Germanenzug » , secular Cantata for male-choir and brass (WAB 70) .

Peter Cornelius : Overture from the Opera-seria « Der Cid » .

Hugo Wolf : « Dem Vaterland » , based on a text by Robert Reinick, patriotic anthem for male-choir and orchestra.

Richard Wagner : Final speech of Hans Sachs from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

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**Wednesday, 20 April 1938** : Adolf Hitler appoints Professor Leopold Reichwein as general music-director.

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**Thursday, 21 April 1938** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, to Professor Max Auer :

Friedrich Werner will continue to stand-up for Robert Haas if he remains in post as chief-editor. However, the activities of co-editor Alfred Orel have been revised.

Wilhelm Furtwängler (the intended President of the up-coming « German Bruckner Society ») will endorse the final decision.

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**Friday, 22 April 1938** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is removed by the Office of the Dean of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna until further notice by a decree of the Ministry of Education, and placed on leave.

...

Concert given at the old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » in Berlin. Adolf Hitler is among the audience.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

#### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Saturday, 23 April 1938** : Adolf Hitler determines the establishment of 7 administrative territories (« Gauen ») in Austria, including the Upper-Danube region.

Repeat concert given at the old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » in Berlin.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Saturday, 23 April 1938 to Sunday, 31 March 1940** : Josef Bürckel works as « Reich » Commissioner for the union of Austria with the German « Reich » , in charge of fully integrating it as the « Ostmark » politically, economically and

culturally into the latter.

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**Wednesday, 27 April 1938** : Heinrich Glasmeier, the general manager of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») is appointed as acting administrator. A staff union is formally established.

Glasmeier sharply opposes the re-infiltration, by way of the « humorous » sketch, of the destructive Jewish spirit into the radio broadcasting system. We cannot have a situation in which the leaders of the movement extol the sacredness of marriage and the ethos of the German soldier, who must risk his life and blood for the Fatherland while, in the evening, these very values are insulted and ridiculed in « colourful » entertainment sketches with the corroding sarcasm of so-called variety programs.

Glasmeier addresses an urgent appeal to his musical colleagues not to fall asleep at their desks, filing cabinets, and music cabinets, but to set forth on journeys of discovery in the field of German musical literature, to find unknown precious pearls, which can be transmitted to the German people, works of the past as well as works of contemporary creative artists. He distinguishes between the tasks of the « Reich » broadcasting stations and the tasks of the « Deutschlands-Sender » .

German radio desperately wants to replace the 4 minute transcription discs. In 1938, the electro-acoustic laboratories chief-engineer at the Corporation, Hans Joachim von Braunmühl, makes the decision to use the AEG machines for all transcriptions and radio broadcasts. From this point on, the audio-engineers at the « Haus des Rundfunks » become valuable consultants to the « Magnetophon » project.

« Magnetophon » is the brand or model name of the pioneering reel-to-reel tape-recorder developed by engineers of the German electronics company AEG in the 1930's, based on the magnetic tape invention by Fritz Pfelemer. AEG created the world's first practical tape-recorder, the « KI » (based on work by Eduard Schüllerat) , which was first demonstrated at the Berlin International radio exhibition (« Internationale Funkausstellung ») held on August 1935. Following this success, AEG begins to see the « Magnetophon's » potential, as not just a dictaphone, but also perhaps as a music recorder. (Initially, the press viewed the « Magnetophon » as a slick device for office dictation or news media interviews, innovative because of its lengthy recording time - more than 20 minutes - and ability to edit and erase.) The « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation in Berlin orders several of these machines for testing and evaluation.

Later models introduced the concept of AC tape bias, which improved the sound quality by largely eliminating background hiss. The resulting reproduction was so great an advance on any existing recording method that even those well-acquainted with the industry could not tell the recordings from live play. Adolf Hitler used these machines to perform what appeared to be live broadcasts from one city while he was in another. A cache of 350 of these tapes was released years later when they were found in Koblenz.

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To make the city economically vibrant, Adolf Hitler initiates a major industrialization of Linz shortly before, and during,

the Second World War.

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**Wednesday, 4 May 1938** : Foundation of the armament factories located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**Thursday, 5 May 1938** : The armament factories in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz become a subsidiary of the conglomerate which bears the name « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » headquartered in Berlin. (Full corporate name : « Reichs-Werke Aktien-Gesellschaft Alpine Montan-Betriebe “ Hermann Göring ” Linz » .)

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**Friday, 13 May 1938** : Inauguration ceremony of the armament factories called « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**Sunday, 22 May 1938** : The « Brigade-Führer » August Eigruber is transferred from the S.A. forces to the SS as an « SS-Standarten-Führer » (membership card-number : 292.778) , a para-military rank considered the equivalent of an « Oberst » (Colonel) .

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**Monday, 23 May 1938** : Adolf Hitler officially appoints « SS-Standarten-Führer » August Eigruber as « Landes-Hauptmann » (Chairman of the State) of the Upper-Danube. His Deputy « Gauleiter » will be Hans Eisenkolb.

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**Night of Monday 23 to Tuesday, 24 May 1938** : The theologian Father Johannes Hollnsteiner is brought to the Dachau concentration-camp on the second Austrian convoy from Vienna along with a cabaret artist (most likely Fritz Grünbaum) , whose particularly cruel humiliation Hollnsteiner witnessed during the deportation journey.

The university professor and dean, Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, in now inmate Number 14,234.

An SS-guard punches him in the face for his doctorate, and shouts :

« You dirty pig, we'll give you a doctorate ! »

Hollnsteiner survives, despite hard physical forced labour and harassment thanks to Castello, his communist fellow-inmate and room-elder (imprisoned since 1933) who saves him from so many punishments by circumventing camp regulations. Once, Castello made sure that the priest, who was completely exhausted, was transferred from a road construction site to the clothing store.

Hollnsteiner, who saw Socialists and Communists as arch-enemies during the Austro-Fascist period, now counts Castello

as « one of the most valuable person » he has met in his life.

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**Friday, 27 May 1938** : Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer is officially appointed Lord Mayor of Linz.

Linz becomes a city with county status, headed by a National-Socialist Lord Mayor. Below him is a Mayor (as his Deputy Mayor) , 6 Deputies (Councillors) as well as Council members in place of a City Council. The Lord Mayor is solely responsible and the final decision-maker, according to the « Führer » model, although he is subordinate to the Governor and « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, August Eigruber. The National-Socialist Lord Mayors' actions contribute considerably to Nazi persecution of political opponents as well as of social and ethnic minorities.

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**Saturday, 28 May 1938** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is put into temporary retirement.

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**Beginning of June 1938** : Around 40 former RAVAG employees have been dismissed, some of them ending up in concentration-camps after mistreatment. The majority of the new appointments were recruited from the Nazi Party, as well as « deserving » old S.A. and SS members.

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**June 1938** : Franz Kinzl is transferred to Linz as a gesture of reparation, but probably also because of his friendship as a teacher with the National-Socialist Intendant of the State School Council and State Council for Education, Rudolf Lenk.

Kinzl now teaches at the Weber School in Urfahr, where he finds an apartment. Since he is already known as a composer (a status that he tries to improve again) , he is selected to get involved in cultural life.

At the suggestion of Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer, the Lord Mayor of Linz, Kinzl is appointed Music Commissioner for the city by the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. In this function, he publishes the booklet « Jewishness and Music » (a list of Jewish composers as a basis for their purge in the field of music) for the Propaganda Office of the « Gau » of Upper-Danube.

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**Saturday, 11 June 1938** : A decree issued by the « Reich » Propaganda Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels marks the beginning of coercive measures to bring musical life into line with the Greater German « Reich » . However, the new structures suffer from the lack of competence of several cultural officers from different organisations.

Due to the different socio-political interests of the city of Linz and the State of Upper-Danube (Upper-Austria) , 3 professional orchestras exist side-by-side for some time :

**1940-1945** : The Municipal Symphony Orchestra under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, for symphonic concerts and opera performances at the State Theatre (« Oberösterreichisches Landestheater ») . There will be tensions between the Lord Mayor of Linz, the municipal officials and the « Gauleiter » August Eigruber over the use of the orchestra.

To reduce Jochum's responsibilities at the « Landestheater » , Wickenhäuser will be in charge, among other things, of the rehearsals. Both conductors will also perform special concerts at the occasion of various ceremonies, chamber music concerts, studio and radio recordings, and concerts held at the monastery of Saint-Florian.

« Kapellmeister » Willy Wickenhäuser will replace Jochum as music-director of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra in 1941.

**1941-1943** : The Theatre Orchestra of the « Gau » of Upper-Danube for performance of light-music.

**1943** : The « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (from **May 1944** : the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, for radio recordings and concerts.

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**Wednesday, 15 June 1938** : General assembly of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna, which is attended by Doctor Friedrich Werner, the lawyer and financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » , Professor Max Auer, Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , Professor Franz Moißl, one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » , Robert Haas, the chief-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » , and Councillor Rudolf Holzer (board-member of the « International Bruckner Society ») .

The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (on « Wilhelmstraße ») in Berlin is planning to set-up a « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») .

The celebration of the 10th anniversary (originally planned for July 1938) of the « International Bruckner Society » is now being planned as part of a large Bruckner festival to be held in Vienna and Linz.

Born on 16 June 1858 in Vienna, the pianist and Nazi sympathizer « Frau » Gisela Göllerich(-Pászthory) (« née » Gisela Voigt von Leitersberg) celebrates her 80th birthday during a honorary evening organized by the « Reich-Gau » of the N.S.D.A.P. at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located at « Landstraße » Number 49 (« Bismarck-Straße » Numbers 1-3) in the inner-city of Linz.

## Programme

### 1) Piano Trio.

Performers : « Frau » Gisela Göllerich-Pászthory (piano) , who is accompanied by the children of her first marriage : Pálma von Pászthory (violin) and Casimir von Pászthory (cello) .

2) Ceremonial speech including the read-out by the music advisor and head-squad « SS-Führer » Herbert Ziehland of a congratulatory telegram from the « Führer » (as reported in the « Völkischer Beobachter » , Tuesday, 21 June 1938) .

3) Max Damberger conducts the National-Socialist Symphony Orchestra of the « Reich-Gau » of Upper-Danube.

Anton Bruckner : First movement (Allegro) of the Symphony No. I in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 101) .

Max Damberger was the chief-conductor of the Linz « Konzertverein » Orchestra from 1922 to 1939, which he successfully expanded into a symphony orchestra. Damberger was also, from 1918 to 1934, the « Kapellmeister » of the Upper-Austrian Alpine Hunter Regiment Number 7, which stayed in Linz. They performed in public concerts and made appearances on radio programs.

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**Mid-1938** : After the « Reichs-Sender » in Munich aired several hours of light-music along with only 40 minutes of chamber music on a daily basis, Doctor Josef Gœbbels suddenly changes his mind again, calling for « more serious, less entertainment music. Transmissions of operas and symphonies. A serious program. »

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**Thursday, 16 June 1938** : Upper-Austrian politicians and intellectuals in Linz who are opponents of the Nazi regime are brutally mistreated by « Waffen-SS » guards and deported to Dachau concentration-camp.

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**June 1938 to Summer 1940** : Part of the building material for the Nibelungen Bridge (« Nibelungen-Brücke ») in Linz is granite-quarried in the nearby Mauthausen concentration-camp under extremely brutal conditions.

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**Saturday, 25 June 1938** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary :

« I am reviewing new music for the “ Reich ” Party Congress. Not many rare pieces. But if you go back to Bruckner : grandiose ! »

(« Ich prüfe neue Musik für den Reichs-Parteitag. Nicht viel Rares dabei. Aber wenn man bis auf Bruckner zurückgeht : grandios ! »)

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**Monday, 4 July 1938** : Planning of a first Bruckner festival to be held each 4 years (i.e. , the 10th Festival placed



under the sponsorship of the « International Bruckner Society ») . This project will not occur.

**9:30 am** : Opening-day of the International organ competition, entitled « The Art of Improvisation » , which takes place at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

The « Reich's » best-known organists are called upon to display their prowess on this iconic instrument.

In the 1937 « Bruckner-Blätter » , Friedrich Hogner duly describes « the first Upper-Danube Organ Competition in the form of displays of improvisation on given themes on the “ Bruckner Organ ” in St. Florian, near Linz, under the auspices of the “ Gauleiters ” and “ Reichs-Stathalters ” and in association with the National-Socialist “ Strength Through Joy ” Association » .

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**Tuesday, 5 July 1938** (noon time) : Ceremonial hall in the old Vienna « Rathaus » .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (**WAB 108**) .

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**July 1938** : « Electrola » releases a recording of Anton Bruckner's Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) featuring the celebrated Aachen Cathedral Choir. In August, « Telefunken » will reply with a recording of the same work.

The « Aachener Domchor » is the oldest boys' choir in Germany, and one of the oldest in the world. Based in Aachen, the former capital of the Carolingian Empire, the choir is sometimes also identified using its Latin name : « Cappella Carolina » .

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**Friday, 8 July 1938** : 25,000 S.A. men are deployed to secure the harvest in Upper-Danube.

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**Sunday, 10 July 1938** : Concert held at the Old Court (« Alter Hof ») located in the centre of Munich.

General music-director Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, conducts the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

It is preceded by few fanfares (performed from the bay window) based on a symphonic theme by Anton Bruckner -

with the major colouring and the missing final notes.

The « Alter Hof » is the former Imperial residence of Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor, consisting of 5 wings : Burgstock, Zwingerstock, Lorenzstock, Pfisterstock and Brunnenstock.

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**Wednesday, 13 July 1938** : Establishment in Linz of the « Reich » Propaganda Office for the Upper-Danube region.

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The goal of the National-Socialists is to wipe-out the Catholic education system which has been firmly in place in the Upper-Danube region for centuries ; the monastery of St. Florian being its main centre.

**Monday, 18 July 1938** : All private schools (291) in the Upper-Danube region are deprived of the right to public access.

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**Saturday, 23 July 1938** : All the private education institutions in St. Florian are deprived of the right to public access. However, the sovereignty of the Church is still maintained.

Abolition of the convent of the Boys' Choir.

Abolition of the Teacher Training Institute (the so-called « Bruckner-Schule ») , which offers special musical training of prospective teachers.

Abolition of the College of Philosophy and Theology.

Abolition of the private « Gymnasium » (Grammar School) .

The Collegiate Church will be briefly used as a parish church, but also as an organ concert-hall during the up-coming Bruckner Festivals.

At the time, the staff consists of 126 members (84 priests, 23 clerics, 2 novices, 13 lay brothers, 4 brother candidates) who are active in the monastery, the monastic institutes and establishments, as well as in the 33 incorporated parishes.

Provost Vinzenz Hartl tries to prevent these closures by writing official letters to every conceivable authority, including the « Reich » Ministry of Science, Education and Culture in Berlin, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna Theodor Innitzer, and the Apostolic Nuncio, pointing out the deep connection between Anton Bruckner and the music institutions of the monastery.

Finally, Doctor Hartl dares to take a spectacular step to save St. Florian by going to Berlin.

Once arrived in the capital of the Third « Reich », he meets the Apostolic Nuncio, speaks to Bishop Heinrich Wiencken, the head of the Episcopal Commissariat of the Fulda Conference of the Bishops of the Roman Catholic dioceses in Germany (Wiencken led the negotiations between the Catholic Church and the National-Socialist government) , makes representations to the « Reich » Ministry for Church Affairs, the « Reich » Security Main Office, the « Reich » Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, and Hans Heinrich Lammers, the Chief of the « Reich » Chancellery.

As expected, this courageous attempt by Hartl led nowhere. On his return, he is met with more displeasure from « Gauleiter » August Eigruber, who threatens the Provost to undergo a tough interrogation by the « Gestapo » unless he leaves for good the Upper-Danube region. Although he does not receive an explicit ban from the « Reich-Gau », Hartl goes into exile in the town of Weißenkirchen-in-der-Wachau, Lower-Austria, until October 30, 1941, when the « Gestapo » grants him permission to move permanently to the Augustinian Abbey of the Holy Spirit Order located in Pulgarn near Steyregg.

The abbey and adjoined hospital for the « poor and the sick » was founded in the hamlet of Pulgarn in 1303. The abbey was first acquired by Franz Steinhäuser in 1808, and then by the monastery of St. Florian in 1836. The Bailiwick of Pulgarn was lost to the monastery with the dissolution of the manors in 1848.

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**Tuesday, 26 July 1938** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary :

« Even the “ Führer ” does not like the newly-composed music for the Party Congress. How great, on the other hand, is Bruckner ! What a titan ! A music giant. »

(« Auch der Führer findet keinen Gefallen an der neu-komponierten Parteitags-Musik. Wie groß ist dagegen Bruckner ! Welch ein Titan ! Ein Riese in der Musik. »)

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**Monday, 1 August 1938** : The Mauthausen concentration-camp near Linz is completed.

Jews still living in the Upper-Danube region have to move to Vienna.

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**Monday, 8 August 1938** : SS-men transfer the first prisoners from the Dachau concentration-camp to Mauthausen near Linz. During this phase, the prisoners, who were all Germans and Austrians and all men, have to build their own camp and set-up operations in the granite quarry. Their daily lives are shaped by hunger, arbitrary treatment and violence.

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**Saturday, 13 August 1938** : Thanks to express couriers, the Deputy of the « Führer » , chief-of-staff Martin Bormann, informs the cultural and educational leader of the « Reich » , racial theorist and ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, who is presently resting at his vacation house in the Upper-Danube District, that some movements of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony (WAB 107) are programmed for the Cultural Conference. But Adolf Hitler has not yet decided which movements should be played.

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**Wednesday, 31 August 1938** : Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra.

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**September 1938** : The chief-editor Robert Haas sends Adolf Hitler a copy of the Volume 2 of the « Complete Critical Edition » and receives a letter of thanks from the private law firm.

« Gauleiter » August Eigruber attends the « Reichs-Parteitag » in Nuremberg. When National-Socialists of Passau meet at the « Deutsch-Meister Inn » , Eigruber joins his allies and reminisces about their venture during the « Kampf-Jahre » .

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**Thursday, 1 September 1938** : The first list of « undesirable » compositions compiled by the « Reich » Music Examination Office, under the directorship of Doctor Heinz Drewes, is published in the Official Journal of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. Several more of these lists will be published.

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**Monday, 5 September 1938** : Letter from general music-director Peter Raabe, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, to the « Reich » Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels :

Professor Raabe suggests the following musicians to be appointed to the Senate of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture : Hermann Abendroth, Karl Böhm, Siegmund von Hausegger, Bruno Kittel, Alfred Lorenz, Karl Straube, Richard Strauß, Leopold Reichwein, Josef Reiter and Emil Nikolaus (Joseph) von Řezníček.

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**Friday, 9 September 1938** : Despite the immediate interventions by the Provost Vinzenz Hartl with the « Reich » Commissioner Josef Bürckel in Vienna, underscored by the statement : « how much the “ Führer ” loves the arts, and especially the music of Bruckner » , the School Council of the Upper-Danube informs the monastery of St. Florian that their private « Gymnasium » (Grammar School) did not meet the conditions required by National-Socialism.

A Doctor of Theology, Hartl is also the Director of the monastery's College of Philosophy and Theology, the Abbot General of the Austrian Congregation of Canons Regular, and the Superior of the Ursuline convent in Innsbruck.

Hartl wants to leave no stone unturned, and decides to write to Adolf Hitler personally.

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**Sunday, 11 September 1938** : Letter from Doctor Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, to Adolf Hitler :

Provost Hartl recalls the unveiling of the Bruckner bust in the « Walhalla » Temple in Regensburg in June 1937, and asks for a word of salvation in favour of the private « Gymnasium » (Grammar School) and the « Bruckner-Schule » (Teacher Training Institute) of the monastery of St. Florian.

« So, I place our “ Bruckner School ” and our “ house ” (monastery) under your personal protection, and ask for a word of salvation for our Grammar School and for the high-honour of the presence of the “ Führer ” on the next “ Bruckner Day ” of St. Florian (1939) . »

(« So stelle ich denn unsere “ Bruckner-Schule ” und unser Haus unter Ihren persönlichen Schutz und bitte um ein rettendes Wort für unsere Schule und um die hohe Ehre der Anwesenheit des Führers am nächst-jährigen Bruckner-Tag von St. Florian. »)

Hartl will also plead his case to the Benedictine Abbot of the Minorite Church in Regensburg, Albanus Schachleiter (a musicologist who is closely associated with the Nazis, and with Hitler personally) by using the same arguments.

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**Monday, 12 September 1938** : All denominational schools located in the Upper-Danube region are closed.

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**Thursday, 15 September 1938** : Letter from the private office of Adolf Hitler on « Wilhelmstraße » (Number 77) to (?) :

The « Reich » Chancellery thanks the chief-editor Robert Haas for sending a copy of the Volume 2 of the « Complete Critical Edition » - Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**) hybrid version.

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**Friday, 23 September 1938** : Symphonic concert.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Gioachino Rossini : Overture.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Piano Concerto. Soloist : Hans-Erich Riebensahm.

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony ?

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**Friday, 7 October 1938** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Popular concert placed under the sponsorship of the leisure organization « Strength Through Joy » (« Kraft durch Freude ») , organized by the « German Labour Front » (« Deutsche Arbeitsfront ») and broadcast on the radio by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Although the concert-hall can seat around 2,000 people, only 100 will attend the concert.

Programme

Excerpts from great German operas.

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**Early-October 1938** : The German invasion of the southern Bohemian Forest begins.

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**Saturday, 22 October 1938** (noon time) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

First symphonic concert held in the inner-city (First District) of the Nazi « Gau » of Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music for Gœthe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84.

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (**WAB 108**) .

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**Tuesday, 25 October 1938** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is finally dismissed for political reasons, without severance payment in accordance with Section 4 of the Professional Civil Service Ordinance. The chair of ecclesiastical law is supplemented (until 1945) by the retired « emeritus » moral theologian Franz Zehentbauer, who is 77 years old.

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**Tuesday, 1 November 1938** : Letter from Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) , to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda :

Doctor Drewes informs the « Reich » Ministry that the loan fees imposed by the House of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag ») in Vienna on the orchestral scores of Bruckner Symphonies are much too expensive in the long run. Therefore, he recommends instead to purchase the material.

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**Wednesday, 9 to Thursday, 10 November 1938** (« Kristall-Nacht ») : During the night, a unit of the S.A. forces its way into the Linz synagogue at « Bethlehem-Straße » Number 26, and sets it on fire. The fire-brigade only concerns itself with preventing the flames from spreading to neighbouring buildings.

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**Friday, 11 November 1938** : Symphonic concert.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Overture.

Johannes Brahms : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 77. Soloist : Riele Queling.

*Intermission*

Franz Schubert : Symphony.

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**Friday, 18 November 1938** : Letter from Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office, to Doctor Friedrich Werner, the lawyer and financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna :

« Through a letter written today, I have appointed State Councilor Furtwängler as President of the “ German Bruckner Society ” in Vienna. I hereby appoint you as Managing Director, and instruct you to immediately establish the “ German Bruckner Society ” in Vienna on the basis of the tenfold copy of the articles of statutes, which I have approved in

principle, and then, to promptly initiate its entry in the Register of Associations. I request that you begin without delay the process by which the former “ International Bruckner Society ” in Vienna, and its subdivisions, will be replaced by the new “ German Bruckner Society ”. Then, I request that you reach an agreement with the Liquidation Commissar for Austria. I look forward to a report on the implementation of my instructions in the near future. »

(« Mit Schreiben vom heutigen Tage habe ich Staatsrat Furtwängler zum Präsidenten der in Wien zu gründenden “ Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ” ernannt. Ich bestelle Sie hiermit zum Geschäftsführer und beauftrage Sie, die “ Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft ” auf Grund der in zehnfacher Ausfertigung anliegenden, von mir grundsätzlich genehmigten Satzung sofort in Wien zu gründen und alsdann unverzüglich die Eintragung ins Vereinsregister herbeizuführen. Ich bitte, sofort alle Arbeiten in Angriff zu nehmen, durch die die bisherige “ Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft ” Wien mit ihren Untergliederungen in die neue “ Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft ” übergeleitet wird. Das Einvernehmen mit dem Stillhalte-Kommissar für Österreich bitte ich von dort aus herzustellen. Einem Bericht über die Durchführung meiner Weisung sehe ich in naher Zeit entgegen. »)

Max Auer, who, until then, occupied the position of President of the « International Bruckner Society », was dismissed for political reasons. The society was « brought into line ». However, very little changed as far as its structure and objectives were concerned. Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society », represented for a long time the interests of the « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna.

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**7:30 pm** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna Teachers' « a cappella » men's choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Soloists : Erika Rokyta (soprano) , Heinz Marten (tenor) , Laurens Bostman (bass) , Bruno Seidlhofer (harpsichord) , Walter Pach (organ) .

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis » (I had much grief) , Sacred cantata for 3 vocal soloists (STB) , 4-part mixed-choir (SATB) and orchestra (BWV 21) (possibly 1713) .

Georg Friedrich Händel : « Dettingen Te Deum » in D major for 3 voices (ATB) , mixed-choir (SSATB) and orchestra (HWV 283) (1743) .

*Intermission*



Giuseppe Verdi : « Stabat Mater » for mixed-choir with orchestral accompaniment - the second sacred chorus from the « 4 Pezzi sacri » (IGV 23) (1898) .

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Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (WAB 38) .

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**Monday, 21 November 1938** : The Upper-Danube region counts 2,212 members of the N.S.D.A.P.

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The successful history of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company will continue until 1939. At the outbreak of the War, it represents one of the largest enterprises in its field in Germany with nearly 2,000 employees and over 10 affiliated publishers and companies related to the publishing industry.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed general music-director of the newly-founded Chamber Orchestra of the German Broadcasting Corporation (« Kammer-Orchester des Deutschland-Senders ») . He also frequently conducts the Berlin Philharmonic.

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**Saturday, 3 December 1938** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, hosts 800 Ausseer in Linz.

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**Sunday, 4 December 1938** : Memorial concert in honour of the victims of the Sudeten German Freecorps (« Freikorps ») placed under the patronage of the honorary guests Konrad Henlein, the « Reich » Commissioner and « Gauleiter » for the « Reichs-Gau » of the Sudetenland, and Odilo Globočnik, the « Gauleiter » of the District of Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the State Opera Choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Johannes Brahms : « Ein deutsches Requiem, nach Worten der heiligen Schrift » (A German Requiem, to Words of the Holy Scriptures) , for soprano, baritone, mixed-choir and orchestra, Opus 45. Soloists : Erika Rokyta (soprano) , Alfred Jerger (baritone) , Franz Schütz (organ) .

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**Thursday, 8 December 1938** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, receives the « Reichsführer-SS » Dress Sword of Honour designed by Karl Diebitsch.

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**December 1938** : Hans Fritzsche replaces Alfred Ingemar Berndt as director of the Home Press Division (or, German

Press Division) of the Propaganda Ministry. Fritzsche, as head of the German Press Division, will, from now on, personally give to the representatives of the principal German newspapers the « daily parole of the “ Reich ” Press-Chief » . During this history-making period, he is directly concerned with the manipulations of the press.

Following Wilhelm Furtwängler's resignation over the « Hindemith Affair » (1934-1935) , Herbert von Karajan, the « protégé » of Hermann Göring and Heinz Tietjen, is appointed « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) of the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » and the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » . He will keep his post until 1945.

Inauguration of the « Funkhaus » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in Vienna's 4th District. Heralded as a great Fascist achievement, the complex, which is part of the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » , operates as the « Reichs-Sender » during World War II.

Officials of the Voting and Population Registration Office compile a list of « racial Jews » . They provide the basis for the racist persecution of the Jewish citizens of the city of Linz.

When « Gruppen-Führer SS » Alfred Freyberg assumed office as Lord Mayor of Leipzig, he forced the retirement of the Cantor of St. Thomas Church, Karl Straube, in favour of Professor Günther Ramín. Freyberg hoped to have a more malleable person in Ramín, who had displayed some political opportunism in furthering his musical career up to that point. Freyberg wanted to exploit this to gain greater control over one of Germany's most important cultural establishments in order to use the choir to increase his own standing in Germany. He also sought to sever the strong ties of St. Thomas's School and Choir with their church. Ramín, however, proved himself to be a strong guardian of St. Thomas's heritage. In the years 1941 to 1943, he refuted Freyberg's attempt to dissolve the triad, and thus, saved a tradition of more than 730 years.

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With regard to the 1938-1939 winter program, the head of programming at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») , Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, felt the need to broadcast « a greater range of serious and demanding music in the future » while continuing to « aim our entire radio programming at the broad masses » . Glasmeier's push into Classical music may have occurred in association with the agreements with the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic Orchestras.

Glasmeier personally led the negotiations with the Vienna Philharmonic. As a result, the orchestra agreed to record 4 master concerts per season, each under the direction of Clemens Krauß, which would be programmed as « Philharmonic Academies » . These performances did not, however, generally involve « serious and demanding music » ; the emphasis was clearly on music « of a pronounced Viennese character » over more demanding fare. However, the orchestra did reap all of the box-office receipts and take in other money from sales to the « Strength through Joy » organization as well. These KdF concerts were mainly a pot-pourri of well-known overtures, arias, waltzes, and a few symphonies, mostly by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart - the emphasis clearly being on their « Viennese character » .

Under the Nazi regime, popular music and dance music experience a spectacular expansion during the War. The radio programs mainly offer this form of music, geared towards the tastes of a mass-audience, because entertainment and distraction from everyday life are becoming increasingly important. At the same time, listening to « enemy channels » (which is a criminal offense as a broadcasting crime) should be prevented with an attractive programming schedule.

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**1938-1945** : Professor Leopold Reichwein heads the conducting and opera classes at the State Academy of Music and the Performing Arts in Vienna.

The expansion of the city of Linz, which continues in leaps and bounds from 1938 (Eblelsberg and St. Magdalena become separate parishes) , occurs in connection with Adolf Hitler's intention of making Linz an industrial, administrative and cultural centre. This results in the recruitment of thousands of forced labourers and the construction of 3 concentration-camps.

The development of the War stalls the majority of the ambitious plans, which mainly come into effect through the construction of the industrial plants, residential buildings, with the monumental plans for the Danube waterfront and the main boulevard barely realized.

Construction in Linz of the heavy industry (the Hermann Göring « Reich » Steel Works, the Nitrogen Works « Ostmark ») ; construction of numerous residential buildings ; reconstruction of the Nibelungen Bridge. The city becomes a centre of the armaments industry. Adolf Hitler plans the « Greater Linz » to become one of 5 « Cities of the “ Führer ” » in the Greater Germany.

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**Sunday, 1 January 1939** : Traditional New Year's Concert in Berlin :

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Special programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 1 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 138.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 61. Soloist : Hugo Kolberg.

#### *Intermission*

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 7 in A major, Opus 92.

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**Tuesday, 3 January 1939** : Since the replacement of the « International Bruckner Society » by the « German Bruckner

Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») and the new statutes were approved by the « Reich » Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the works of Anton Bruckner are now in the care of the entire Greater German « Reich » . « Reich » Minister Doctor Goebbels has appointed Doctor Wilhelm Furtwängler as President of the newly-founded « German Bruckner Society » in Vienna and the Viennese lawyer Doctor Friedrich Werner as managing director of the society.

(« Nachdem die Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft in die Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft übergeführt worden ist und die neuen Satzungen vom Reichs-Minister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda genehmigt worden sind, ist nunmehr das Werk Anton Bruckners in die Obhut des gesamten Groß-Deutschen Reiches genommen worden. Zum Präsidenten der in Wien neu gegründeten Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft hat Reichs-Minister Doktor Goebbels, Staats-Rat Doktor Wilhelm Furtwängler und zum Geschäftsführer der Gesellschaft den Wiener Rechts-Anwalt Doktor Werner bestellt. »)

It is not excluded that Furtwängler's appointment encouraged emigration.

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The « Berliner Börsen-Zeitung » Number 4 : Wilhelm Furtwängler manages Bruckner's legacy ...

« Mit der Ernennung Wilhelm Furtwänglers zum Präsidenten der in Wien neugegründeten Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft und mit der Überführung der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft in die Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft ist eine Entwicklung abgeschlossen worden, von der in eingeweihten Kreisen schon lange gesprochen wurde. Die Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft verwaltet nunmehr das gesamte geistige und musikalische Erbe Anton Bruckners, des größten süddeutschen Symphonikers des 19. Jahrhunderts. Daß Wilhelm Furtwängler zum Präsidenten der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ernannt ist, hat eine tiefe Bedeutung. Dem Eintreten Furtwänglers für die kraftvolle und himmelstürmende Symphonik Bruckners ist es nicht zuletzt zu danken, daß Anton Bruckners Erbe zum wertvollen Gut der deutschen Nation geworden ist. Furtwänglers nachschöpferische und eigenschöpferische Ideenwelt ist der Anton Bruckners tief verwandt. Wie Bruckner schafft auch Furtwängler aus dem Ethos der deutschen Romantik, die im Grunde ein ewiges Gottsuchen war. Anton Bruckners Büste ist im Ehrentempel der Deutschen, in der Walhalla, in Gegenwart des Führers enthüllt worden. Mit der Gründung der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft und mit der Ernennung des größten deutschen Dirigenten zu ihrem Präsidenten ist die Pflege des Erbes Anton Bruckners in ein neues Stadium getreten. Bruckners deutsche Musik ist in guter Hut. »

Damit war die « Eindeutschung » des österreichischen Meisters mindestens organisatorisch und propagandistisch vollzogen.

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**January 1939** : At the initiative of Josef Goebbels, the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») receives a new name : the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») . The Corporation buys the entire package of shares in RAVAG (« Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft ») for a sum of 666,667 « Reich » Marks. The « Reichspost » (Postmaster General's Office of the « Reich ») pays a sum of

2.8 million « Reich » Marks as a transfer fee for transmission systems and properties.

The « Haus des Rundfunks » on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin is assigned as the headquarters of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») .

Throughout the War years, Doctor Gæbbels, as « Reich » Propaganda Minister, will continue to personally vet all musical content and weed out any records or performances that he thinks inappropriate.

August Eigruber rises to the rank of « Brigade-Führer » .

The administration of the Cistercian monastery of Hohenfürth (Vyšší Brod) , located on the right-bank of the river Vltava in South Bohemia, is taken over by a government commissar appointed by the District of the Upper-Danube.

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**Friday, 13 January 1939** : A resolution is adopted for the renovation of the old Provincial Theatre (« Oberösterreichisches Landestheater ») of Linz : expansion of the stage and the orchestra pit ; installation of a revolving stage.

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**Monday, 16 January 1939** : Letter from Martin Dumler, honorary Chairman of the « Bruckner Society of America » , to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« I received your postcard and noted that it is now called the “ German Bruckner Society ” and that “ Herr ” Furtwängler is President, which I am terribly sorry about because you did so much for Bruckner in your time. Hopefully, the same principle of past years will be honoured. (...) Is my membership as an honorary member of the “ International Bruckner Society ” been dissolved ? »

(« Ich habe Ihre Postkarte empfangen und notirt das es jetzt die Deutsche Bruckner Gesellschaft ist und das Herr Furtwängler Präsident ist welches mir schrecklich leid tut, weil Sie so vieles in Ihrer Zeit für Bruckner getan haben. Hoffentlich wird das nämliche Princip von vergangenen Jahren in Ehren gehalten werden. (...) Ist jetzt meine Mitgliederschaft als Honorarisches Mitglied in der Internationale Bruckner Gesellschaft aufgelöst ? »)

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**Friday, 27 January 1939 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus » .

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singakademie » mixed-choir, the Vienna Teachers' « a cappella » men's choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28) . Soloists : Erika Rokyta, soprano ; Maria Ocherbauer, alto ; Anton Dermota, tenor ; Hans Songström, bass ; Friedrich Mihatsch, organ.

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**Monday, 30 January 1939** : While remaining « Reich » Commissioner, Josef Bürckel succeeds Odilo Globočnik as Nazi Party « Gauleiter » of the District of Vienna. A position he will hold until Friday, 2 August 1940.

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**Sunday, 19 February 1939** : Deep-seated anti-Semitism is revealed during the carnival procession on the main-square (« Haupt-Platz ») . The malicious caricaturing of Jews by dressed-up inhabitants of Linz attracts particular applause.

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**Tuesday, 21 February 1939** : Adolf Hitler appoints for 5 years the « SS-Ober-Führer » Franz Langoth as an honorary member of the People's Court (« Volks-Gerichtshof ») in Berlin. Langoth will also served as a judge by passing 41 death sentences, and obtaining the rank of « SS-Brigade-Führer » .

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**March 1939** : The role of the Music Examination Office now expands to encompass all kinds of music before publication or distribution within Nazi Germany. In doing so, it works in conjunction with the Music division of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture. As this task is too great for one bureau to deal with, publishers are only under compulsion to submit music to the Office if it is requested, although some composers submit their own compositions anyway.

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**Sunday, 19 March 1939** : Symphonic concert.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Works by Ludwig van Beethoven.

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**Friday, 14 April 1939** : Under the « Ostmark-Gesetz » Law, which takes effect on May 1, the Austrian « Gaue » are raised to the status of « Reichs-Gaue » and their « Gauleiters » are subsequently also named « Reichs-Statthalters » .

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**Friday, 21 April 1939** : The theologian Father Johannes Hollnsteiner is set free from the Dachau concentration-camp. The prerequisite for his liberation is a declaration of loyalty to the Nazi regime. The authorities forbid him to write

and to return to live in Vienna.

Hollnsteiner spent 14 months in prison : 11 of them in a concentration-camp. The incarceration in Dachau caused him a lot of psychological damage, which may explain the further course of his life (and that of so many others ...) .

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After his release from Dachau, Johannes Hollnsteiner first stays briefly in Vienna ; his wish is to return teaching at the Theological Faculty of the University. Then, he goes back to the monastery of St. Florian where he refuses to teach at the philosophical-theological College - an increasing alienation becomes apparent to him.

Hollnsteiner turns to the Nazi regime in order to get an adequate position.

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**1939** : Adolf Hitler makes it known that he wants in his adored Linz a full-time symphony orchestra, to be known as the « Bruckner Orchestra » .

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, takes part in the Nazi Party Day Parade in Salzburg.

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier welcomes the Spanish « Rundfunk » General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano. An official reception is held at the « Großer Sende-Saal » of the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin in honour of the General.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed chief-conductor of the Orchestra of the German Broadcasting Corporation (« Deutschlands-Sender Orchester ») and choir-master of the Burkhardt National-Socialist Choir of Berlin.

The National-Socialist Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra is renamed the « Gau » Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Gau-Symphonieorchester Niederdonau ») . The ensemble will give concerts throughout the War, mostly promoting the « Kraft durch Freude » organization and committed to caring for soldiers of the « Wehrmacht » .

The annual subsidies granted by the municipal authorities to the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra (Paul van Kempen, music-director) reach 369,000 « Reich » Marks.

Emil Rameis, flute player with the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra, is drafted in the « Wehrmacht » and stationed in Poland, where he sets up a music corps for the Austrian occupation forces.

Adolf Trittinger, the previous organist at the monastery of St. Florian, becomes director of the Bruckner Conservatory of Linz after his predecessor, Robert Keldorfer, is given leave of absence for political reasons after the dissolution of the « Musikverein » .

Due to various tensions and quarrels, including with the Linz City Councillor Othmar Heide, Franz Kinzl, the head of

the « Reich » Chamber of Culture for the « Gau » of Upper-Danube, volunteers for military service as a Reserve officer.

The German music-publisher Gustav Bosse, from Regensburg, is appointed honorary senator of the University of Cologne for his contribution in promoting the composer Anton Bruckner.

One of the highly-innovative engineers at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation, Walter Weber (from AEG) , discovers, partly by accident, a phenomenon known as AC bias (« Hochfrequenz-Vormagnetisierung ») . Simply put, AC bias is a method of injecting ultra high frequencies (80-100 kHz) into the record circuitry to control the oscillation of the magnetic field, giving it more stability and accuracy. The result is a huge improvement in audio-fidelity, with recording specifications that an audio-engineer could only dream about : an almost flat frequency response from 40Hz to 12kHz, a dynamic range of close to 65 dB, and less than 3 % distortion. With AC bias, the « Magnetophon » suddenly becomes the best recording technology in the world.

Following international protests, most of the Austrian prisoners originating from the bourgeois-Catholic-conservative ideology are released from the Dachau concentration-camp.

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**Saturday, 6 May 1939** : Ordinance to clear-out the attics in the face of an expected air-raid on the city of Linz.

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As major German and Austrian cities are increasingly bombed by Allied forces, radio becomes an important civil defense tool : a signal - the so-called « cuckoo call » - warns of the approach of enemy bomber squadrons.

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**Wednesday, 10 May 1939** : Demolition of the old stage of the Provincial Theatre (« Oberösterreichisches Landestheater ») of Linz.

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**Wednesday, 17 May 1939** : « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » :

« (...) At the same time as the “ International Bruckner Society ”, the House of the “ Musicological Publishers ” in Vienna, which was affiliated with this society, was dissolved. The first event placed under the sponsorship of the “ German Bruckner Society ” is the « Great German » Bruckner festival, which will take place from 30 June to 5 July in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna. »

« (...) Gleichzeitig mit der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft wurde auch der dieser Gesellschaft angeschlossene “ Musikwissenschaftliche Verlag ” in Wien aufgelöst. Beide Körperschaften sind der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft eingewiesen worden. Die erste Veranstaltung der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ist das vom 30. Juni bis 5. Juli in Linz, St. Florian und Wien zur Durchführung kommende “ Groß-Deutsche Bruckner-Fest ”. »)



The dissolution of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna and the relocation of the entire organization to Leipzig seem to have offered a financial advantage which, however, was not fully-secured for Leipzig as long as the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») received and managed Adolf Hitler's subsidy rate.

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**Friday, 19 May 1939** : The « Deutschland-Sender III » (DS III) tower of Brandenburg (the world's second largest structure after the Empire State Building with its 337 meters or 1,106 feet) starts transmitting from the town of Herzberg.

During the up-coming War, the name « Deutschland-Sender » will be used to denote the long-wave service which covers most of Germany (and, indeed, Europe) while the regional medium-wave stations are normally identified as « Reichs-Sender » with the name of the city at or near which they are based.

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**May 1939** : Doctor Josef Goebbels explained at the Düsseldorf « Reich » Music Days (« Düsseldorf Reichs-Musik-Tage ») :

« Now, the great Masters of the stature of a Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Hugo Wolf, and Bruckner also belong purely outwardly to us. (...) Besides, we can detect a regularly increasing organic process of recovery in this sector of our musical creation and performance after the eradication of the Jews from what was then called Austrian music. »

After the dissolution of the Linz « Musikverein » , the capital of the Upper-Danube receives an enormous boost with the establishment of the Municipal Music School, a music school « for the Youth and the People » , and a music school for the Hitler Youth. Let's not forget the existing Bruckner Conservatory, apart from the future plans by the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier for the inclusion of a conservatory in the « St. Florian project » .

Musical education in Linz has a tradition stretching back to the end of the 18th Century. As early as 1799, the city music-director Franz-Xaver Glöggel, a close friend of Michael Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven, founded the first music school in Linz. Then, in 1823, the newly-founded Linz Musical Society (« Musikverein ») set up a singing school. The attempt to persuade Anton Bruckner to become director of the Music School in 1863 was unsuccessful. But another important name, August Göllerich junior, the Bruckner biographer and former secretary to Franz Liszt, was in charge of the newly-strengthened institute from 1896 to 1923.

The House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Leipzig protests against the use of Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) as background music during a « Führer » parade.

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**Thursday, 25 May 1939** : The new local « community » caused many quarrels ; the Leipzigers demanded special rights.

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » and « Reich » Governor of the Upper-Danube, wanted to settle the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») in Linz, namely in the confiscated monastery of St. Florian, and exerted pressure through an unconvincing counter- Bruckner festival. The copyright dispute over the restoration of the original versions of Bruckner's Symphonies also stirred up a great deal of controversy. Moreover, engineer Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the Bruckner Society and the House of the « Musicological Publishers », could not provide the Aryan certificate for his wife, but he was allowed to continue working because Wilhelm Furtwängler, the newly-appointed President, attached great importance to him.

Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society », to the « honoured leadership » of the Bruckner community in Leipzig :

« In my capacity as managing director of the “ German Bruckner Society ” appointed by the “ Reich ” Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, I have the honour to inform you about the new structure of our society and the transition from the former “ International Bruckner Society ” to the new society, and to notify the integration of the Bruckner community of Leipzig into our society in accordance with Article 4, Section 2.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my special thanks, on behalf of our President, Doctor Wilhelm Furtwängler, to the previous management team of the Bruckner community in Leipzig for their many years of extensive work in the service of the Bruckner cause. I also take the liberty of asking you to re-organize the Bruckner community of Leipzig on the basis of the statutes herewith submitted to you.

It remains an important goal of our society not only to rebuild the existing local groups as “ Bruckner communities ” and to merge them into a unified “ Gau ” (regional) association, but also to found new Bruckner communities, and thus, to place the “ Gau ” association at the service of the Bruckner cause on as broad a basis as possible, as requested by the “ Führer ” and the “ Reich ” government. »

(« In meiner Eigenschaft als der vom Reichs-Minister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda bestellte Geschäfts-Führer der “ Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ” beehre ich mich Ihnen von dem neuen Aufbau unserer Gesellschaft und der Überleitung der ehemals Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft in die neue Gesellschaft Kenntnis zu geben und im Sinne des § 4 Punkt 2 die Eingliederung der Bruckner-Gemeinde Leipzig in unsere Gesellschaft anzuzeigen.

Ich benütze diesen Anlaß, um im Namen und Auftrage unseres Präsidenten Herrn Doktor Wilhelm Furtwängler der bisherigen Leitung der Bruckner-Gemeinde Leipzig für ihre langjährige und umfassende Tätigkeit im Dienste der Bruckner-Pflege den besonderen Dank auszusprechen. Auch erlaube ich mir an Sie die Bitte zu richten, auf Grund der Ihnen hiermit vorgelegten Satzungen die Neu-Organisation der Bruckner-Gemeinde Leipzig vorzunehmen.

Nach wie vor bleibt es ein wichtiges Ziel unserer Gesellschaft, nicht nur die bestehenden Orts-Gruppen als “ Bruckner-Gemeinden ” neu aufzubauen, und in einen einheitlichen Gau-Verband zusammen-zufassen, sondern auch neue Bruckner-Gemeinden zu gründen und damit den Gau-Verband auf möglichst breiter Grundlage in den Dienst der vom Führer und der Reichs-Regierung geforderten Bruckner-Pflege zu stellen.

(...) Ich benütze diese Gelegenheit, um Ihnen anzuzeigen, daß unsere Gesellschaft in der Zeit vom 30. Juni bis 5. Juli in Linz, St. Florian und Wien das I. Groß-Deutsche Bruckner-Fest veranstaltet und richte an die Mitglieder der Bruckner-Gemeinde Leipzig die herzliche Einladung zum Besuch unseres Festes in der Heimat Meister Anton Bruckners, die ja auch die engere Heimat unseres Führers ist. »)

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**Friday, 26 May 1939** : Johannes Hollnsteiner writes a 6 page « memorandum » to the « Gestapo » headquarters in Vienna declaring that he no longer wants to be excluded from participating in the life and aspirations of the « People's Community » (« Volks-Gemeinschaft ») :

« Please allow me to explain that I took a national stance in all of my academic years of study and teaching, and, in some respects - long before the Nazi Party seized power in Germany - took a position that was related to ideas of National-Socialism. »

Hollnsteiner emphasizes that, already as a student, he thought « German Nationalism and anti-Semitism » and, at that time, recognized the necessity for « Aryan proofs » :

« To this day, I have not changed this racial-political point-of-view in any way, as I consider it to be perfectly compatible with the Christian view of the world. »

The « Gestapo » letter, in its one-sidedness as a letter of exoneration, is a re-interpretation and falsification of Hollnsteiner's own political past.

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**Early-June 1939** : Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is promoted to the rank of « SS-Standarten-Führer » .

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**Saturday, 17 June 1939** (noon time) : Outdoor concert held on the « Heldenplatz » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture for Heinrich Joseph von Collin's tragedy « Coriolan » (1804) , Opus 62.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (**WAB 103**) .

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**Wednesday, 21 June 1939** : The broadcasting system in Austria is completely re-organized. The cities of Linz, Graz and

Klagenfurt are affiliating to the « Reichs-Sender Wien » . The Linz radio transmitter changes its frequency to 1,267 kilohertz.

### First « Great German » Bruckner festival in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna (1939)

**Thursday, 29 June 1939** : Article by Mosco Carner entitled « The Bruckner Festival 1939 » published in « The Listener » . This British weekly magazine reviewed major literary and musical broadcasts, reviewed new books, and printed a selected list of the more intellectual broadcasts for the coming week.

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**Friday, 30 June to Wednesday, 5 July 1939** : First « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») of the « German Bruckner Society » (Vienna) held in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna under the supervision of the City Councilor of Linz, Othmar Heide, who is also the cultural advisor of the Propaganda Office of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

Heide is highly-praised, above all, for having made the wise decision to invite renowned guest-orchestras and guest-conductors like Siegmund von Hausegger, Eugen Pabst and Eugen Jochum.

The program booklet of the festival contains introductory texts by Franz Grasberger (pages 3-18) and an essay « On the Symphonies of the Festival Performances » by Robert Haas (pages 19-23) . Attached is the issue Volume 1/2 of the « Bruckner-Blätter » (the periodical from the « German Bruckner Society » , Vienna) with an article by Doctor Friedrich Bayer (« From the “ International Bruckner Society ” to the “ German Bruckner Society ” ») and the articles approved on 18 November 1938.

A reproduction of an etching by Marta Elisabeth Fossel can be seen on the back-page of the booklet.

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**Friday, 30 June 1939** : Day one of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

**12:00** : Inaugural concert given at the large concert-hall (1,370 seats) of the city-park pavilion (« Volksgarten-Konzertsaal » , built in 1903) near « Landstraße » .

Siegmund von Hausegger conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Overture in G minor for orchestra (WAB 98) .

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a

second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Saturday, 1 July 1939** : Day two of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

**Morning** : Welcome ceremony held in the Ceremonial Hall of the Upper-Danube Parliament.

Speeches are given by Doctor Friedrich Werner (the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » in Vienna) , August Eigruber (the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region) , Josef (Sepp) Wolkersdorfer (the Nazi Mayor of Linz) and Doctor Rudolf Lenk (the Intendant of the State School Council and State Council for Education, Culture and People's Education in Upper-Danube) .

Exhibition in the Stone Hall (« Steiner-Saal ») of the Upper-Danube Parliament of a scale model of the (planned) new building of the Linz Theatre.

### Programme

String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) performed by the Mildner String Quartet (Alfred Mildner, first violin ; Willy Pitzinger, second violin ; Adolf Löffler, first viola ; Eduard Lukas, cello) . Arthur Kleiner is the second viola.

...

**Evening** : Choral concert given on the promenade of the Upper-Danube Parliament.

Professor Eugen Papst (from Cologne) conducts the Singers' Circle of Upper-Danube.

### Programme

« Das hohe Lied » (The song of the heights) , secular song in A-flat major, based on a text by Heinrich von der Mattig, for 2 tenor, baritone and double men's choir (TTBB) (**WAB 74**) .

« Um Mitternacht » (At Midnight) , secular song in F minor, based on a text of Robert Eduard Prutz, for tenor and double men's choir (TTBB) (**WAB 90**) .

« Abendzauber » (Evening magic) , secular cantata in G-flat major, based on a short poem by Heinrich von der Mattig, for tenor or baritone, 3 distant female voices (Alpine « yodlers » , SSA) , « a cappella » double men's choir (TTBB) and horn quartet (**WAB 57**) .

« Träumen und Wachen » (Dreaming and being awake) , secular song in A-flat major for tenor and male-choir (**WAB**

87) .

« Sängerbund » (Singers association) , patriotic song in C major for double men's choir (TTBB) (WAB 82) .

« Der deutsche Gesang » (The German song) , patriotic song in D minor, based on a text by Erich Fels (pseudonym : Aurelius Polzer) , for double men's choir (TTBB) and brass instruments (4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and contrabass-tuba) (WAB 63) .

March in D minor (WAB 96) , arranged for wind instruments.

March in E-flat major for military band (WAB 116) .

In 1922, Eugen Papst was called to Hamburg, where he conducted the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra together with Doctor Karl Muck until the ensemble was disbanded by the Nazis in 1934. Papst first went to Münster as general music-director in the fall of 1934, but, by 1935, he had already become director of the Cologne Men's Choral Society and, shortly afterwards, with the support of his friend Richard Strauß, also became municipal general music-director of the Gürzenich Orchestra of Cologne as successor to Hermann Abendroth.

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**Sunday, 2 July 1939** : Day three of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

**9:30 am** : Sacred concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Broadcast live by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna, a vinyl record will be produced.

Ferdinand Habel conducts the Choir of St. Stephen's Cathedral and wind players of the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) , including inserted works ...

« Asperges me » (Thou wilt sprinkle me) , sacred motet for mixed-choir (SATB) and organ (WAB 3) . Professor Karl Walter, « Dom » organist.

« Tota pulchra es » for solo tenor, choir and organ (WAB 46) . Professor Karl Walter, « Dom » organist.

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (WAB 6) .

The concert concludes with improvisations by Professor Walter on themes taken from the Mass.

...

**12:00** : Symphonic concert given at the Imperial Marble Hall (« Marmor-Saal ») of the monastery of St. Florian.

Eugen Jochum (the general music-director of the Hamburg Opera and Philharmonic Orchestras) conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony in D minor, « Die Nullte » (WAB 100) .

### Intermission

Symphony No. 1 in C minor, « Linz » , revised 1877 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 101) .

The concert is received with tremendous enthusiasm.

Following the huge success of the festival, plans for the creation of a full-fledged orchestra bring on the front-scene for the first time Eugen Jochum's younger brother, Georg-Ludwig. But, for now, the latter will not leave his position as municipal music-director in Plauen.

...

**Afternoon** : Organ concert given at St. Stephen's Cathedral by « Dom » organist Professor Karl Walter.

### Programme

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Max Reger.

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**Monday, 3 July 1939** : Day four of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

Journey (cruise) on the Danube, from Linz to Vienna.

...

**Evening** : Choral concert given on Josef's Square (« Josefsplatz ») in front of the Imperial Palace (or at the Great Hall of the « Konzerthaus ») .

Conductors : Ferdinand Großmann, Otto Nurrer, Rudolf Pehm.

Ensembles : Vienna Men's Choral Society, Vienna Schubert Society, Vienna State Railroad Choral Society.

### Programme

« Träumen und Wachen » (Dreaming and being awake) , secular song in A-flat major for tenor and male-choir (**WAB 87**) .

« Um Mitternacht » (At Midnight) , secular song in F minor, based on a text of Robert Eduard Prutz, for tenor and double men's choir (TTBB) (**WAB 90**) .

March in E-flat major for military band (**WAB 116**) .

« Trösterin Musik » (Music, the Comforter) , secular song in C minor, based on a text by August Seuffert, for double men's choir (TTBB) and brass instruments (originally for organ) (**WAB 81b**) .

« Der deutsche Gesang » (The German song) , patriotic song in D minor, based on a text by Erich Fels (pseudonym : Aurelius Polzer) , for double men's choir (TTBB) and brass instruments (4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and contrabass-tuba) (**WAB 63**) .

« Germanenzug » , patriotic cantata based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) .

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**Tuesday, 4 July 1939** : Day five of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

**7:00 pm** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Symphonic concert broadcast live by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna.

### Programme

Hans Weisbach conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Symphony No. 2 in C minor, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938 (**WAB 102**) .

*Intermission*



Oswald Kabasta conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

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**Wednesday, 5 July 1939** : Day six of the first « Great German » Bruckner festival (« Groß-Deutsches Brucknerfest ») in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna.

**Morning** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Board meeting of the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») .

Welcoming words by Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the society.

Speech by « SS Gruppenführer » Doctor Arthur Seyß-Inquart, the « Reich » Governor of the « Ostmark » (former Austria) .

Doctor Seyß-Inquart is made honorary member of the « German Bruckner Society » .

Professor Franz Schütz, the President of the Society of Friends of Music, performs works by Johann Sebastian Bach on the Gebrüder Rieger organ.

...

**Evening** : Symphonic concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Opening speech by Wilhelm Furtwängler, the acting President of the « German Bruckner Society » (who accepted to replace Professor Max Auer ... a Jew) .

Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (WAB 108) .

**Friday, 7 July 1939** : The Bruckner festival as ended. Report in the « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » :

« “ Reich ” Minister (Bernhard) Rust was warmly welcomed in the Great Hall of the “ Musikverein ” on the occasion

of the first “ Great German ” Bruckner festival of 1939. The numerous Bruckner communities also warmly welcomed the first honorary member of the society, “ Reich ” Minister Doctor (Arthur) Seyß-Inquart. Like so much other young people, Seyß-Inquart described how he reacted when he heard Bruckner’s music for the first time in his native province (he comes from the Moravian village of Stannern, near the town of Iglau) and then, he never missed one of his symphonies standing on the parterre of the “ Musikverein ”. From now on, perhaps every 3 years, such a “ Great German ” Bruckner festival will be held in Linz, St. Florian and Vienna - places where the great composer worked. The Minister called upon the participants to promote Bruckner into all the “ Gae ”, whom the entire German people, as well as the one from “ Ostmark ”, should be considered as “ the musical expression of the heroism of the German soul ”. (...) During the festival’s large assembly, “ Reich ” Minister Seyß-Inquart, the first honorary member of the society, and chairman Wilhelm Furtwängler declared under a row of applause that, after the current Viennese performances of the original versions of Bruckner’s symphonies, there is no longer any doubt they must be promoted in the future by the true Bruckner followers instead of the unauthorized ones. »

(« Zur Fest-Versammlung des I. Groß-Deutschen Bruckner-Festes 1939 war im Musikvereins-Saal, freudig begrüßt, Reichs-Minister (Bernhard) Rust erschienen. Die zahlreiche Bruckner-Gemeinde feierte ebenso herzlich das I. Ehren-Mitglied der Gesellschaft, Reichs-Minister Doktor (Arthur) Seyß-Inquart. Seyß-Inquart schilderte, wie es ihm und soviel anderer Jugend ergangen ist, als er in seiner heimatlichen Provinz - er stammt aus dem mährischen Iglau - zum erstenmal Brucknersche Musik hörte, um dann im Steh-Parterre des Wiener Musikvereins-Saals keine der Sinfonien mehr zu versäumen. Vielleicht alle 3 Jahre werde hinfort ein solches Groß-Deutsches Bruckner-Fest in Linz, St. Florian und Wien, an den Wirkungs-Stätten des großen Tonmeisters, abgehalten werden. Der Minister richtete die Aufforderung an die Teilnehmer, in alle Gae diesen Bruckner hineinzutragen, den das ganze deutsche Volk wie auch die Ostmark “ als den musischen Ausdruck des Helden-Haftens der deutschen Seele ” betrachten solle. (...) Wie das I. Ehren-Mitglied der Gesellschaft, Reichs-Minister Seyß-Inquart, und der Vorsitzende, Wilhelm Furtwängler, in der großen Fest-Versammlung unter stürmischer Zustimmung erklärten, gibt es nach den jetzigen Wiener Aufführungen der Urfassungen von Bruckners Sinfonien keinen Zweifel mehr, daß diese und nicht die Bearbeitungen zukünftig von den wahren Bruckner-Freunden gefördert werden müßen. »)

...

Article published in the « Berliner Börsen-Zeitung » by Hans-Georg Bonte entitled « Furtwängler on Bruckner » :

« (...) The actual speech was given by the President of the “ (German) Bruckner Society ”, Wilhelm Furtwängler. His immensely experienced and thoughtful words were based on the fact that Bruckner only created his work as a mature man, and is only so present to us today because he was thinking of eternity.

Extremely self-confident in his art, but childlike insecure in life, he is one of those problematic natures whose fate as a musician and a person remained equally contradictory. Immensely confident in his art, but childishly insecure in life, he is one of those problematic natures whose fate as a musician and human being remained equally contradictory. Early on in the dispute between Wagner and Brahms, he was soon called upon for the wrong side. This disagreement has not died out even today, but should never grow into orthodoxy. Of course, enthusiastic followers are not excluded.

Nor could Bruckner be captured with catch-phrases such as the embodiment of a special Germanic artistic spirit or as a pure son of his homeland. Another danger is the literarization of the Bruckner image. Despite all the efforts, even today, it is still very difficult to achieve an understanding of Bruckner abroad. With regard to the original versions, one should only consider in which form his style is more convincing. Incidentally, it is part of the essence of this expansive music never to be completely finished. (...) »)

(« (...) Die eigentliche Festrede hielt der Präsident der Bruckner-Gesellschaft Wilhelm Furtwängler. Seine ungemein erlebten und durchdachten Worte gingen von der Tatsache aus, daß Bruckner erst als reifer Mann sein Werk geschaffen habe und uns heute nur darum so gegenwärtig sei, weil er an die Ewigkeit dachte. Ungeheuer selbstsicher in seiner Kunst, aber kindlich unsicher im Leben, ist er eine jener problematischen Naturen, deren Schicksal als Musiker und Mensch in gleicher Weise widerspruchsvoll blieb. Schon früh in den Streit der Meinungen zwischen Wagner und Brahms hineingerissen, wurde er bald für die falsche Seite in Anspruch genommen. Dieser Streit der Meinungen sei auch heute noch nicht ausgestorben, dürfe sich aber niemals zur Orthodoxie auswachsen. Dabei sei begeisterte Gefolgschaft natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen. Man könne Bruckner auch nicht mit Schlagworten wie als Verkörperung eines besonderen germanischen Kunstgeistes oder als reinen Sohn seiner Heimat erfassen. Eine Gefahr sei auch die Literarisierung des Bruckner-Bildes. Trotz aller Mühen sei auch heute noch das Verständnis für Bruckner im Ausland nur sehr schwer durchzusetzen. Hinsichtlich der Originalfassungen dürfe man nur bedenken, in welcher Form sein Stil überzeugender sei. Im übrigen gehöre es zum Wesen dieser expansiven Musik, nie ganz fertig zu werden. (...) »)

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**Tuesday, 25 July 1939** : Negotiations with the potential candidates to be named on the supervisory board have not yet been completed.

They are :

- 1) Engineer Hanns Blaschke, Deputy Mayor of the city of Vienna responsible for cultural affairs.
  - 2) Professor Franz Schütz, President of the Society of Friends of Music, Vienna.
  - 3) Doctor Armin Caspar Hochstetter, general-secretary of the « Konzerthaus » Society.
  - 4) Doctor Friedrich Werner, provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » .
  - 5) General music-director Hans Weisbach.
  - 6) Wilhelm Jerger, Chairman of the Vienna Philharmonic.
  - 7) Karl Günther, Controller in Leipzig.
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**Wednesday, 30 August 1939 to August 1940** : Franz Kinzl is named Lieutenant, and then, First Lieutenant in the 45th Infantry Division of the « Wehrmacht » .

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**From September 1939** : A gradual dismantling of the powers of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») in favour of a concentration of power within the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin begins to emerge. After the beginning of the War, the Corporation achieves a peak value of around 90 % of music and entertainment programs.

The outbreak of the War means a serious turning point for the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne. The Radio Orchestra is dissolved. Even before September, senior staff members have been drafted into the « Wehrmacht » .

In 1939 and 1940 as well as in 1942, Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is drafted into the « Luftwaffe » for a few months, and serves as an aviator in the Second Air Corps over Poland, France and England. Then, he is deployed in Sicily and Tunis with the 77th Fighter Squadron (« Jagdgeschwader » 77, or JG 77) - nicknamed : « Ace of Hearts » (« Herz As ») .

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**October 1939 (?)** : Recording produced by « Electrola » of Anton Bruckner's String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) featuring the Strub Quartet from Berlin : Max Strub, first violin ; Hermann Hubl, second violin ; Hermann Hirschfelder, first viola ; Hans Münch-Holland, cello. **Emil Seiler** is the second viola

Duration : 40 minutes, 53 seconds (12:18 - 12:16 - 6:50 - 9:29) - 5 x 78 rpm, D.B.5541 to D.B.5545.

The Strub Quartet will perform the Quintet on **April 29, 1940**, during the « Berlin Art Week » .

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**Sunday, 12 November 1939** : The « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin has an important influence on the development of stereophonic sound and its adoption by radio broadcasting. Some programs will continue to air during the War, notably the « Request Concerts for the German Armed Forces » (« Wunsch-Konzerten für die Wehrmacht ») , performed on Sunday afternoons at the large broadcasting hall (« Großer Sende-Saal ») from 1939 to 1941.

The « Request Concert for the German Armed Forces » is a radio-show that began broadcasting soon after the start of the War. The « Request Concerts » in German radio had a longer history, beginning in 1936 as the « Request Concert for the Winter Relief » . This weekly program revolved (officially at least) around musical requests from listeners, from both the front and those left at home. The « Winter Relief » is an annual donation drive by the « National-Socialist People's Welfare » to help finance charitable work. Initially an emergency measure to support people during the Great Depression, it went on to become a major source of funding for the activities of the « National-Socialist People's Welfare » and a major component of Germany's welfare state. Donations to the « Winter Relief » organisation, which were voluntary in name but - de facto - required of German citizens, supplanted tax-funded

welfare institutions and freed up money for re-armament. Furthermore, it had the propagandistic role of publicly staging the solidarity of the « People's Community » .

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Although he enjoyed the favour of high-ranking National-Socialists, Doctor Friedrich Castelle seems to have attracted attention in internal Party committees due to problematic behaviour. In the files of the « Reich » Chamber of Literature, there is evidence from the **post-1939** period of his low inclination to pay Party contributions. In the following years, he also encountered several problems with the offices of the N.S.D.A.P. in Berlin. Castelle was even described in a letter as a « skinflint knight » , and thus, politically unreliable due to human weaknesses.

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**1939-1945** : Using the guide-lines on Nazi « heredity and race welfare » , the Linz Public Health Office, located at « Wurmstraße » Number 7, decide to carry-out around 1,000 compulsory sterilisations, as well as prohibiting marriages and combatting « asocial » elements.

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**Saturday, 2 December 1939** : The Cistercian Trappist Abbey of Engelszell near Engelhartzell-an-der-Donau in the Innviertel is confiscated by the Nazis in favour of the authorities of the Upper-Danube region.

The monastic community, which is composed of 73 monks, is evacuated. Of the 5 monks who are interned in the Dachau concentration-camp, 4 will die. The rest are imprisoned elsewhere, or forcedly enrolled in the the German « Wehrmacht » .

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**December 1939** : SS-men order the construction of a second concentration-camp just a few kilometers from Mauthausen near Linz. The Gusen-branch camp will officially go into operation in May 1940.

After the outbreak of War, people from across Europe are deported to Mauthausen, which gradually develops into a system of several inter-connected camps. During this phase, Mauthausen and Gusen are the concentration-camps with the harshest imprisonment conditions and the highest mortality. Prisoners at the bottom of the camp hierarchy have barely any chance of surviving for long. Those who are ill or « useless » to the SS are in constant danger of their lives.

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**Sunday, 24 December 1939** : Christmas Eve concert for wounded soldiers held at the Wilhelmina Hospital (« Wilhelminenspital ») in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

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Professor Günther Ramín had fought for the leadership of the « Gewandhaus » Choir throughout the 1930's, especially

after his appointment as Cantor of St. Thomas Church. During that time, conductor Hermann Abendroth, who had demanded the post in his contract negotiations, kept the upper-hand, possibly due to the advantage of being a member of the N.S.D.A.P. This Party membership now turned into a disadvantage, and he lost the choir.

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**New Year's Day 1940** : As Vicar General of the Cistercian monastery of Hohenfürth (Vyšší Brod) located on the right-bank of the river Vltava, the Bishop of Linz, Johannes Maria Gföllner, takes over the 4 (and later 5) deaneries of South Bohemia, and includes them in the administration of the Diocese.

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**1940** : It is alleged that Karl Straube resigned his office as Cantor of St. Thomas Church in protest against the regime. When Günther Ramin wants to take-over the post, tension results between the 2 men because of Ramin's accommodating ways. The Nazis think correctly (as facts will later show) that Ramin will be better suited to lead a « Thomaner-Chor » that now consists entirely of members of the Hitler Youth.

The Nazi Youth and Welfare Office of Linz, located on « Wurmstraße » Number 11, boasts of the high-quota of « a-socials » being sent to work and forced labour camps.

August Eigruber rises to the rank of « Gruppen-Führer » .

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is named captain.

Eugen Hadamovsky heads the radio department in the « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. However, Doctor Josef Goebbels is not entirely pleased with him, as is evident by many references in his diaries.

Heinz Ihler (a small businessman and occasional piano player who was hired by first President Richard Strauß) is appointed managing director of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. The Presidial Council is now made up of general music-director Franz Adam, Heinz Drewes (director of the Music Examination Office) , composer Paul Graener, Heinz Ihler, Fritz Kaiser (official in the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry and author of the souvenir guide-book of the « Degenerate Art » Exhibition organized by Adolf Ziegler and the Nazi Party in Munich, which was held from July 19 to November 30, 1937) , Friedrich Krebs (mayor of Frankfurt) , « Leibstandarte SS » military band conductor Hermann Müller-John, Professor Peter Raabe, general music-director Hermann Stange, and Fritz Stein (director of the « Musik-Hochschule » in Berlin) .

At the personal request of the « Führer » , measures begin in the 1940's to help establish the capital of the Upper-Danube as one of the cultural and economic centres of the Third « Reich » .

Johann Sebastian Bach's compositions in melodic linearity and counterpoint are transparent as no other, being perceived as the very opposite of « atonality » . Ludwig van Beethoven ranks second in this canon of officially sanctioned classics, mostly for the heroic element. To the exclusion of the special status credited to Richard Wagner,

Anton Bruckner comes third in the Nazi regime leaders' collective taste, even though other traditional composers are performed more often, not for any musical reasons but, again, by the logic of ancestor worship, because Adolf Hitler truly adores the work of an ancestor from the city of Linz. Even though such reverence is rooted in territorial kinsmanship rather than musical comprehension, Hitler mouths that Bruckner is the greatest organist of all time.

Developing a true passion for his symphonies, the « Führer » mentions the composer in the same breath with Richard Wagner.

Göebbels notes in his diary :

« He told me that it was only now during the War, that he had learned to like him at all. »

The enthusiasm will steadily grow.

...

He also writes :

1) The Minister requests a report on the performance of « Ariadne auf Naxos » , which includes some technical experiments (October 1, 1940) . (Sheet 1)

2) The Minister provides information about his plans for the 50th « Request Concert » for the « Wehrmacht » (October 30, 1940) . (Sheet 34)

3) Instruction that the France « Lied » can be played again - but without special emphasis - at the « Request Concerts » (for the « Wehrmacht ») (November 26, 1940) . (Sheets 47, 48)

4) « Reich » Intendant Glasmeier should no longer include the fast Italian marches in the programme of the « Request Concerts » (for the « Wehrmacht ») (December 5, 1940) . (Sheet 57)

5) Information about the complaint made by general music-director (Hermann) Stange against the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation, and instructions to intervene (December 19, 1940) . (Sheet 68)

Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer becomes the director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Bremen.

Fritz Öser creates an orchestral installation for the exposition from the final movement (**WAB 143**) of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony.

Publication of Johannes Hollnsteiner's « Die Kirche im Ringen um die christliche Gemeinschaft : vom Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts » (The Church in the Struggle for the Christian Community : from the

beginning of the 13th Century to the middle of the 15th Century) , Herder & Co. Editors, Freiburg-im-Breisgau (1940)  
- part of : the « History of the Church » (Volume 2) , edited by Johann Peter Kirsch.

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**1940-1943** : The violonist, violist, viola d'amore player, musicologist, pedagogue, composer and conductor Emil Seiler teaches at the « Akademie für Kirchen- und Schul-Musik » in Berlin.



The  
Bruckner Monastery Project

January  
1940



## The « Bruckner Monastery Project » (1942-1945) of SS Reich Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier

Since the German Radio is increasingly being exploited as a propaganda instrument and controlled (at least in terms of programme content) by the Propaganda Minister, Doctor Josef Gœbbels, the powers of Director-General Heinrich Glasmeier continue to dwindle until his role is eventually reduced to a purely administrative one.

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**Tuesday, 16 January 1940** : Reservations about Heinrich Glasmeier's administration becomes increasingly serious. While he was taking part in a 3 month deployment in the German « Wehrmacht » , Doctor Josef Gœbbels issued a new organization chart for the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , which considerably restricted Glasmeier's authority. He was left with the basic management of the institution without having any influence on radio programming.

Soon after his return to Berlin, he made the sarcastic remark in a letter dated April 24 to Professor Stieren, the director of the Museum of Pre-History and Early-History in Münster :

« I have been back in Berlin since the end of February, and trying to keep the sprinkler system going. »

Even after the restructuration, Glasmeier remained Gœbbel's most important confidant.

...

Glasmeier made up for this loss of power by opportunistically embracing one of Adolf Hitler's ideas and pursuing it with great determination, namely the ambition to develop the city of Linz into a centre of European art and culture and, in particular, to convert the St. Florian Monastery into a « sacred shrine for the immortal works of Bruckner » and the site of an annual Bruckner festival, not unlike Bayreuth.

Johannes Brahms was praised to the heavens by Jewry, a creature of salons, a theatrical figure with his flowing beard and hair and his hands raised above the keyboard. Bruckner, on the other hand, a shrunken little man, would perhaps have been too shy even to play in such society.

From then on, Hitler did everything possible to promote Bruckner and to enlist him in his vendetta against Vienna. St. Florian, where the composer's career had begun, was to be turned into a pilgrimage site in the manner of Bayreuth.

Gœbbels noted :

« He wants to establish a new cultural centre here. Simply as a counter-weight to Vienna, which must gradually be shoved aside. (...) He intends to renovate St. Florian at his own expense. »

Since Hitler had, until this point, constantly been engrossed in this project despite, or indeed because of the futility of the war effort, Glasmeier could safely rely on support from the highest authority.

The « Führer's » conception goes much further than the « Festspielhaus » in Bayreuth : not only he is keen to promote Bruckner, but he also wants to establish a music conservatory in Linz, and expand the local opera house.

Although the plans to renovate Linz in line with Nazi ideals could not be initiated due to the tense economic situation in the first half of the 1940's, the plans to set-up a « Bruckner Orchestra » and a « Bruckner Choir » were carried through, albeit with a reduced choir.

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**Thursday, 25 January 1940** : Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, writes to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry, about the draft of the publishing contract :

« It now seems clear to me that the publishing-house wants to eliminate any reasonably noticeable influence of the “ German Bruckner Society ”, and may I point out once again that I am only able to assume responsibility for the subsidies paid out by the “ Reich ”, even if I am given the opportunity to check the invoice for the works produced every year accordingly. »

The problems described by Doctor Werner were then brought under control by the above-mentioned publishing contract signed a few months later (**June 1940**) in cooperation with the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin.

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**Friday, 2 February 1940** (noon time) : Vienna, « Konzerthaus Großer-Saal » .

Symphonic concert placed under the patronage of the « Winter Relief of the German People » (« Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes ») , an annual donation drive by the « National-Socialist People's Welfare » to help finance charitable work - in this case, the Nordic Society and Kontor Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Edvard Grieg : « In Autumn » , concert Overture for large orchestra, Opus 11.

Herman Sandby : ?

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

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**Friday, 6 February 1942 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, « Eroica » , Opus 55.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (WAB 103) .

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**February 1940** : Alfred-Ingemar Berndt, the head of the radio department within the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda resigns after a major dispute with the head of « Reich » radio and of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier. His successor is one of the directors of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany, « Reich » Chief of Broadcasting Eugen Hadamovsky, who continues to hold his previous position. At the same time, Doctor Josef Gœbbels reduces Glasmeier's responsibilities against the latter's strong opposition, calling him « stubborn as a mule » .

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**March 1940** : Thanks to the Upper-Danube Regional District, Johannes Hollnsteiner is appointed as the acting director of the archive, art-collections and librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » . The monastery is re-named the « Historical Research Institute of the “ Reich ” Region of Upper-Danube » . From then on, Hollnsteiner looks after the manuscript and archive collections from all the monasteries of the « Land Österreich » .

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**Friday, 8 March 1940** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

« On February 24, the first meeting of the new Bruckner community in Berlin went very well, which is encouraging for the future of this young organization. With the agreement of Doctor Furtwängler, the general music-director Doctor Rudolf Siegel has agreed to take-over - until further notice - the management of the community. According to our statutes, which has been approved by the « Reich » Minister, the appointment of the head of a Bruckner community requires also the consent of the acting regional cultural administrator. Doctor Siegel has already contacted you to help him obtain this certification. According to our experience, since it takes a few weeks for the document to be in the hands of the applicant, I appeal for your kind support. Our goal is to begin the activities as soon as the director is appointed. »

(« Am 24. Februar hatten wir in Berlin die Gründungs-Versammlung der neuen Bruckner-Gemeinde Berlin, die einen für die weitere Entwicklung dieser jüngsten Vereinigung sehr erfreulichen Verlauf nahm. Im Einvernehmen mit Herrn Doktor Furtwängler hat sich bis auf weiteres Herr General-Musik-Direktor Doktor Rudolf Siegel bereit erklärt, die Leitung der Berliner Bruckner-Gemeinde zu übernehmen. Gemäß unserer vom Herrn Reichs-Minister genehmigten Satzungen ist zur Bestellung des Leiters einer Bruckner-Gemeinde die Zustimmung des zuständigen Landeskulturwalters erforderlich. Herr Doktor Siegel hat sich bereits an Sie gewendet mit der Bitte, ihm bei Beschaffung dieser Zustimmungs-Erklärung behilflich zu sein. Da es erfahrungs-gemäß meist einige Wochen dauert, bis diese Zustimmungs-Erklärung in die Hand des Antragstellers gelangt, erlaube ich mir die Bitte um freundliche Unterstützung, da wir im Interesse eines ehemöglichsten Arbeitsbeginnes die Bestellung des Leiters der Berliner Bruckner-Gemeinde so bald als möglich vornehmen wollen. »)

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**Friday, 15 March 1940** : The re-organization of the administration of the « Gau » of the Upper-Danube is completed.

August Eigruber is appointed as « Reich » Governor, the top-most Nazi Party representative in the region, formerly and after the War known as Upper-Austria.

Eigruber now heads the state administration, the self-administration of the « Gau » , and the special administrative body of the « Reich » .

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**Monday, 1 April 1940** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber is installed as « Reich » Governor (« Reichstatthalter ») of the Upper-Danube region.

Josef Bürckel ends his work as « Reich » Commissioner and is appointed « Reich » Governor of the District of Vienna, thus, uniting under his control the highest Party and governmental offices in his jurisdiction.

According to the statutes of the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Leipzig, several Bruckner associations and communities are established :

The Bruckner community of Aachen under the directorship of lawyer Doctor Claus Springsfeld.

The Bruckner association of Baden under the directorship of Doctor Fritz Grüniger from Weinheim.

The Bruckner community of Baden-Baden under the directorship of Eduard Ritter von Herold.

The Bruckner community of Freiburg-im-Breisgau under the directorship of Heinrich Zöllner.

The Bruckner community of Heidelberg under the directorship of « Fräulein » Clara Ernst.

The Bruckner community of Karlsruhe under the directorship of Franz Philipp.

The Bruckner community of Mannheim under the directorship of Fritz Seefried.

The Bruckner community of Pforzheim under the directorship of Karl Brehm.

The Bruckner community of Berlin under the directorship of Doctor Rudolf Siegel with Walter J. Donati as secretary.

The Bruckner community of Hamburg under general music-director Eugen Jochum with Doctor H. Rehwoldt as secretary.

The Bruckner community of Karlsbad under general music-director Robert Manzer.

The Bruckner community of Leitmeritz under music-director Franz Seemann.

The Bruckner community of Munich under the directorship of Doctor Siegmund von Hausegger with Doctor Fritz Staudinger as secretary.

The Bruckner association of Württemberg under the directorship of Professor Alexander Eisenmann from Stuttgart.

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**April 1940** : Johannes Hollnsteiner joins the National-Socialist Welfare Association. It is not a « creation » of the N.S.D.A.P. , but an organisation that is « affiliated » with the Party.

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**Thursday, 11 April 1940** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier is to present the radio music programmes on a daily basis. The Minister agrees that Danish music should be broadcast from Copenhagen. (...) »

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**Friday, 12 April 1940** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber is sworn in as « Reich » Governor (« Reichstatthalter ») of the Upper-Danube region.

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Over the last decades, the main task of the Linz Municipal Orchestra was to play the opera repertoire, and offer to the public a « modest » season of orchestral concerts.

Now, sufficient funds are made available to create a « permanent municipal symphony orchestra » . The local authorities takes over the State Theatre Orchestra (« Landestheater Orchester ») and increases the number of musicians from 26 to 93.

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**Tuesday, 16 April 1940** : Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed general music-director of both Linz orchestras.

The « new » Municipal Symphony Orchestra becomes a multi-tasked ensemble. This concept soon proves to be unrealistic during the War years.

Jochum's connections to the cultural and political machinations of the Nazi regime intensified, as well as his dependence in favour of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. The general music-director is more strongly integrated into the cultural apparatus of the regime than his brother Eugen. Throughout the Nazi era, the city of Hamburg remains, as Eugen Jochum puts it, « reasonably liberal » . The music-director of both the Hamburg State Opera and Philharmonic Orchestras is even able to keep his post despite not joining the N.S.D.A.P.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum is responsible for the programmes and conducts most of the concerts himself. The repertoire ranges from Antonio Vivaldi to Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály but inevitably centers on a high-profile Bruckner cycle. He enjoys a high-reputation both among the public and the municipal authorities, of which he is an employee.

There are particular difficulties in integrating « Aryan » modernism into public music life. Jochum probably recognizes the lack (?) of quality of individual works and opposes, although not openly, the performance of contemporary composers of the « Gaus » . As a group, these composers will appear for the first time on **October 1940** in the « serious management of the Upper-Danube region » . Among them is Doctor Franz Schnopfhagen (for a short time, the head of the Chamber of Music in the « Reich » Chamber of Culture of the Upper-Danube, who is also the head of the student council for composers in the Chamber of Music, and organist of the Linz city parish) , Franz Neuhofer, Franz Kinzl, Ludwig Daxsperger (the director of the Linz Cathedral choir) , Robert Keldorfer and Franz-Xaver Müller from Linz, professor Karl Rausch (from the Rieder « Gymnasium ») and Isidor Stögbauer (a composer from the town of Krummau in South Bohemia) . Frida Kern (who was born in Vienna in 1891 but is considered to be « the Linz composer ») is the only woman to join.

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**Friday, 19 April 1940** : The last Canons Regular are moving out of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 21 April 1940** : Date of Father Johannes Hollnsteiner's Preface to his book entitled « St. Florian and Anton Bruckner » .

« Das Stift St. Florian und Anton Bruckner Bilder zur deutschen Kultur- und Kunst-Geschichte » (The Monastery of St. Florian and Anton Bruckner - on German culture and art history) edited by the « Musicological Publishers » , Leipzig. Hardcover : 56 pages, 66 images.

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**Monday, 22 April 1940** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier should ensure that outdated bourgeois male singing can no longer be heard on the “ Request Concerts ” (“ Wunsch-Konzerten ”) . (...) »

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**May 1940** : Adolf Hitler has issued a directive « to avoid all unnecessary measures during the War that could worsen the relationship of the State and Party to the Church » .

But since the same directive also transfers jurisdiction over spiritual affairs in the « Ostmark » to the provincial « Gauleiter » , the order actually sends a strong signal to the dictator’s Austrian retainers to resume their assault on organized religion.

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**Thursday, 9 May 1940** : The Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») in Berlin broadcast a nation-wide centralized schedule. Consequently, the proportion of programs produced in Cologne declines massively.

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**Saturday, 11 May 1940** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier should make sure that a good recording of the Old Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer is produced immediately. (...) »

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**Wednesday, 15 May 1940** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » (who works for the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and the « Musicological Publishers ») to Professor Max Auer :

There was hardly any solemn atmosphere at the recent Berlin Festival (which lasted 15 days and started on April 22, 1940) . The House of the « Musicological Publishers » narrowly avoided mentioning the « old versions » of Anton Bruckner’s works in the programme. The German musicologist, composer and singer Hans Joachim Moser had claimed in his ignorance that the « original versions » were hardly suitable for a performance.

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**Tuesday 21 May 1940** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier calls for the creation of a “ Lied ” against France, whose tendency should lie in the sense of “ We want to defeat France victoriously ”. (...) »

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**Saturday, 1 June 1940** : The « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») signs an agreement with the House of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag ») in Leipzig. The « Publishers » , under the control of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company, are granted the rights to publish the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») . The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin promises them an annual grant of 10,000 « Reich Marks » .

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**Thursday, Saturday, 6 June 1940** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier is to prepare a festive (radio) program that can be used for the next major victory announcement. In principle, the France “ Lied ” should be played after the victory announcement over France. The England “ Lied ” should be played after reports concerning England. But the (Old) Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer should be played only in the case of monumental victories of historical proportions. (...) »

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**Sunday, 16 June 1940** : Doctor Leopold Sturma takes office as the new Lord Mayor of Linz, succeeding Josef (Sepp) Wolkerstorfer who is re-assigned as Deputy Mayor until December 31, when he is appointed as authorized representative of the « Hermann Goering “ Reich ” Steel Works » located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**Monday, 24 June 1940** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Herr ” Glasmeier should have the first verse of the the (Old) Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer recorded again, because the children’s voices flutter too much in the current radio version. (...) As soon as the armistice with France is concluded, the France “ Lied ” is to end silently, without any official announcement. Furthermore, “ Herr ” Glasmeier is to prepare a (radio) program for the announcement of the effective date of the cease-fire. After the announcement, the national anthems should be played first, followed by a verse from “ Nun danket alle Gott ” (Now thank we all our God) . Then, after a radio silence, the England “ Lied ” is to be broadcast. In the future, only the England “ Lied ” or the England fanfare will be broadcast. (...) »

« Nun danket alle Gott » is a popular Christian hymn written around 1636 by Protestant minister Martin Rinkart. Its hymn tune, « Zahn Nummer 5142 » , was published by Johann Crüger in the late-1640’s.

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**Wednesday, 26 June 1940** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) At the request of the “ Führer ”, the last verse of the (Old) Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer in the radio version should only be sung by men. “ Herr ” Glasmeier should then make the necessary adjustments. (...) »

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**Thursday, 27 June 1940** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...)“ Herr ” Glasmeier should provide for a new recording of “ Nun danket alle Gott ” (Now thank we all our God) . The Minister wishes for a very solemn version, supported by an organ with trumpets and trombones ; he agrees that the first verse should be repeated instead of the third one, since its text no longer corresponds to our sensibilities. (...) »

« Nun danket alle Gott » is a popular Christian hymn written around 1636 by Protestant minister Martin Rinkart. Its hymn tune, « Zahn Nummer 5142 » , was published by Johann Crüger in the late-1640's.

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**July 1940** : The « Donau-Zeitung » announces that « Gauleiter » August Eigruber will travel to Passau by ship. There, he will be ceremonially welcome at City Hall, and attend the latest play by Hans Baumann.

For Doctor Walter Weber and his supportive supervisor, chief-engineer Hans Joachim von Braunmühl, it was clear that they had so dramatically improved the « Magnetophon » , « that play-back quality now far exceeds that of any other recording process » . Within 10 months, the first prototype was ready for operation. This delay was not caused solely by the outbreak of the War the year before. First, the positive operational conditions had to be determined ; in other words, methods of establishing the optimum bias and adjusting the equalization had to be found. In any event, these initial ideas in cooperation with AEG became the basis for a new generation of machines, the tape-recorder « R 22 » and its accompanying amplifiers, and tape-recorder « R 26 » .

**Result :**

« No other operational work process has ever been so quickly and enthusiastically accepted, in particular, by the programming staff. »

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**Tuesday, 9 July 1940** : Only National-Socialist programs are broadcast from the the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin.

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**Friday, 19 July 1940** : Adolf Hitler makes a peace appeal to Britain in an address to the « Reichstag » . BBC German-language broadcaster Sefton Delmer unofficially rejects it at once.

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**Saturday, 20 July 1940** : Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed music-director of the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz.

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**Tuesday, 23 July 1940** : August Kubizek sees Adolf Hitler for the last time.

His friend told him :

« This War will set us back many years in our building programme. It is a tragedy. I did not become Chancellor of the Greater German “ Reich ” to fight wars. »

The « Führer » was speaking after the successful campaigns in Poland and France.

When the tide began to turn against Hitler's favour, Kubizek, who had avoided politics all his life, became a member of the N.S.D.A.P. in 1942, as a gesture of loyalty to his friend.

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**August 1940** : Franz Kinzl, the head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture for the « Gau » of Upper-Danube, is considered as « indispensable » by the Nazi regime until **Monday, 1 September 1941**. Consequently, he is included in the list of artists exempted from military service.

Kinzl will play an important role in the restructuration of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

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**Thursday, 8 August 1940** : Baldur von Schirach succeeds Josef Bürckel as « Reich » Governor of the District of Vienna, a powerful post in which he will remain until the end of the War. He also succeeds Bürckel as « Reich » Defense Commissioner of the 17th Military District, which, in addition to his own Vienna District, includes the Upper-Danube, Lower-Danube and part of the Sudetenland regions.

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**Thursday, 15 August 1940** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) The Minister instructs “ Herr ” Glasmeier to prohibit pure dance music, explicit dance music and operetta music on radio. Entertainment music, including classical dances and operetta, can continue to be broadcast, but the lighter music must be accompanied by the other ones. (...) »

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**September 1940** : The production of German « Tiger » tanks moves from the city of Steyr to the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**Thursday, 5 September 1940** : Inauguration of the newly-renovated « Landestheater » of Linz with a performance of Friedrich von Schiller's « Wilhelm Tell » .

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**Wednesday, 18 September 1940** : Letter from Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin to Willy Hoffmann, specialist in copyright law who works for the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » :

The Bruckner community of Leipzig is threatened with the ban on their local Bruckner festival - which will take place from Tuesday, 10 to Sunday, 13 October 1940 - if it does not join the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») .

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**Wednesday, 25 September 1940** : The Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz and his newly-appointed music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum are introduced to the population for the first time.

Deputy « Führer » Rudolf Heß visits the Upper-Danube region.

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**Sunday, 6 October 1940** : 767 displaced Germans from Bessarabia arrive in Linz.

### Bruckner festival, Leipzig (1940)

**Thursday, 10 to Sunday, 13 October 1940** : Second Bruckner festival held in Leipzig.

Official complete name : Second Leipzig Bruckner Festival, organized by the Leipzig Bruckner community in conjunction with the National-Socialist leisure organization « Strength Through Joy » (« Kraft durch Freude ») , the « Gewandhaus » of Leipzig and the « Reichs-Sender » of Leipzig.

(« Zweites Leipziger Bruckner-Fest, veranstaltet von der Leipziger Bruckner-Gemeinschaft in Verbindung mit der NS-Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude, dem Gewandhaus zu Leipzig und dem Reichs-Sender Leipzig. »)

One of the background features of this Festival seems to have been a quasi-political struggle between the « Leipziger Bruckner-Gemeinde und Verlag » (Leipzig Bruckner Association and publishing-house ; they were opposed to the original versions of the Symphonies and had not been allowed to become part of the « International Bruckner Society » , in the mid-1930's as a result) and the « Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » (« German Bruckner Society ») . The « Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » , supported by the Ministry for Propaganda, accused the « Leipziger Bruckner-Gemeinde und Verlag » of not including them in the planning of the Festival and, 3 weeks before the beginning of the Festival, the Ministry for Propaganda threatened to cancel the Festival unless the « Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » was involved.

This struggle between those in favour of the « original versions » of the Bruckner Symphonies versus those published by the « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » (« Musicological Publishers ») , under the editorship of Robert Haas, and

those who wished to retain the First Edition versions, seems to have continued for some time throughout the 1940's. However, the Ministry for Propaganda made it clear that they wanted to be involved in discussions with the different Bruckner Societies in Germany, at the time.

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**Thursday, 10 October 1940** : Day one of the second Bruckner festival in Leipzig.

**7:30 pm** : Concert-hall of the « Gewandhaus » .

Professor Hermann Abendroth conducts the combined forces of the Leipzig Municipal Orchestra and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra.

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G major (BWV 1048) .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, Opus 37. Soloist : Professor Doctor Edwin Fischer, from Berlin.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Friday, 11 October 1940** : Day two of the second Bruckner festival in Leipzig.

**8:00 pm** : Sacred concert given at St. Thomas Church.

Professor Max Ludwig conducts the Leipzig Reidel Choral Society and the (enlarged) Leipzig Chamber Orchestra.

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

« Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (**WAB 38**) .

Soloists : Anna Maria Augenstein (soprano) , Dorothea Schröder (alto) , Paul Reinecke (tenor) , Philipp Göpelt (bass) .

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**Saturday, 12 October 1940** : Day three of the second Bruckner festival in Leipzig.

Recording sessions by the « Reichs-Sender Leipzig » taking place in the concert-hall of the « Gewandhaus » .

Hans Weisbach (from Vienna) and the Large Orchestra of the Leipzig « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation perform the opening section from the final movement (**WAB 143**) of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony, based on an edition arranged and edited by Fritz Öser.

The 32 page program-book printed by Oskar Brandstetter for the second Bruckner festival in Leipzig documents some very important performances that were captured by the local « Reich » Radio as « experimental recordings » (« Versuch-Aufnahme ») that were probably never broadcast, but ended up in the archives of the « Deutsche Rundfunk-Archiv » (DRA : German Broadcasting Archive) . These include the discarded Trios to the Scherzo of the Ninth Symphony in D minor, as performed by the Max Strub String Quartet and the opening section of the last movement, as performed by conductor Hans Weisbach. Both were world-premiere performances and recordings.

The program book informs us that both « study performances » were preceded by introductory statements : the Trio by Doctor Erich Schweschk and the Finale fragment by Hans Weisbach.

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**2:00 pm** : Sacred concert given at the Church of the University of Leipzig, on « Augustus-Platz » .

Johann Nepomuk David conducts the choir and wind players composed of teachers and students of the State Conservatory.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Prelude and Fugue in C minor for organ (incomplete score completed by Franz Phillip, 1929) (**WAB 131**) . Doctor Heinrich Fleischer, organ.

Anton Bruckner : 4 Graduals for mixed-choir.

Johann Nepomuk David : Introitus, Choral and Fugue on a theme by Anton Bruckner, for organ and 9 wind instruments (2 trumpets, 4 horns and 3 trombones) (1939) .

...

**8:00 pm** : Concert-hall of the « Gewandhaus » .

Symphonic concert organized by the Leipzig Bruckner community in conjunction with the National-Socialist leisure organization « Strength Through Joy » (« Kraft durch Freude ») , the « Gewandhaus » and the « Reichs-Sender » of Leipzig.

General music-director Hans Weisbach. (from Vienna) conducts the Large Orchestra of the Leipzig « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation.

### Programme

Explanatory words from general music-director Hans Weisbach.

Anton Bruckner : Fragment from the final movement (**WAB 143**) - world-premiere study performance.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Sunday, 13 October 1940** : Day four of the second Bruckner festival in Leipzig.

**11:00 am** : Concert given at the collegiate hall of the State Conservatory located at « Grassistraße » Number 8.

Address given by Doctor Erich Schwebsch, from Dresden.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Quartet Movement in C minor (D. 703) .

Anton Bruckner : 2 Trios (in F and in F-sharp major) for the Scherzo of the Ninth Symphony - world-premiere study performance.

Anton Bruckner : String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) - first performance of the original version.

Performers : The Strub Quartet, from Berlin.

Professor Max Strub (first violin) , Hermann Hubl (second violin) , Hermann Hirschfelder (first viola) , Emil Seiler (second viola) , Professor Hans Münch-Holland (violoncello) .

The Austrian composer Johann Nepomuk David is the director of the Leipzig Conservatory from 1939 until 1945. The institution will remain closed in 1944 due to the War.

...

7:30 pm : Concert-hall of the « Gewandhaus » .

General music-director Professor Doctor Karl Böhm (from Dresden) conducts the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » .

### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 35 in D major (K. 385) .

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

**After Wednesday, 16 October 1940 (?)** : In Linz, Christian Opdenhoff, the Deputy « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region (from 1 May 1940 to 1944) , tells Doctor Friedrich Werner that the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig will, obviously, move to Linz in the near future.

Refer to letter dated Wednesday, 8 January 1941.

Opdenhoff will be the Deputy « Gauleiter » of the Ost-Hannover region from September 1944 until the end of the war in 1945.

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**Monday, 21 October 1940** : Berlin. The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

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**Tuesday, 5 November 1940** : Letter from conductor Eugen Jochum to musicologist Robert Haas :

Condolences on the death of the wife of Robert Haas. The topic of Anton Bruckner and Jochum's up-coming concert in Vienna on November 28, 1940, are also mentioned.

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**Friday, 15 November 1940** : Letter from Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry, to Hanns Blaschke, Deputy Mayor of the city of Vienna responsible for cultural affairs :

The planned performance of the fragments from the fourth movement of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 9 in D minor



**(WAB 109)** at the symphonic concert on Saturday, November 23, is not authorized.

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**Saturday, 16 November 1940** : The Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz is confiscated by the Nazis in favour of the authorities of the Upper-Danube region.

The monks are expelled. Some are arrested and sent to concentration-camps, while others are forced into military service.

The Abbot, Doctor Bernardus (Petrus) Burgstaller, is imprisoned (he will die of starvation in 1941) .

The buildings are used at first to accommodate the seminary from Linz.

...

According to the last catalogue of the Bohemian Province of the Order, issued in 1940, the Cistercian monastery of Hohenfürth (Vyšší Brod) , located on the right-bank of the river Vltava, numbered 53 order priests, 7 order seminarians and 9 lay brothers. Thus, the monastic community had 69 members, which made it the strongest monastery in the Order in terms of numbers (at least, as far as individual monasteries are concerned) , and it had the highest number of members in its almost 700 year long history. The majority of the monastic community worked as pastors or chaplains in parishes.

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**Thursday, 21 November 1940** : The Regional Labour Court in Berlin follows general music-director Hermann Stange's claim for damages on most points and condemns the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») to assign to the plaintiff one third of the large symphonic concerts and establishes the defendant's duty to pay damages in principle.

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**Friday, 29 November 1940** : Letter from Walter Thomas, the cultural advisor of Baldur von Schirach (the « Reich » Governor of the District of Vienna) , to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda :

« On behalf of the “ Reich ” Governor (Baldur von Schirach) , I inform you that following a consultation between the “ Reich ” Governor and the State Councilor Doctor Furtwängler, the Bruckner concert scheduled for last Saturday, November 23, has been approved. However, instructions have been issued that, in future cases of a performance of unpublished works by Bruckner in Vienna, it would require a prior consultation with the President of the Bruckner Society, State Councillor Doctor Furtwängler. Under these circumstances, the acting Deputy has approved the concert in his capacity as General Officer for the advancement of Art. »

Josef Gœbbels is annoyed by the letters of Schirach when they are addressed directly to him, instead of sending them to the personal office of Doctor Drewes or the music department of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » .

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**Thursday, 5 December 1940** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) “ Reich ” Intendant Glasmeier should no longer include the fast Italian marches in the programme of the “ Request Concerts ” (for the German Armed Forces) . (...) »

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**Sunday, 8 December 1940** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » , to Professor Max Auer :

Furreg reports to Auer on the creation of a Bruckner community in Vienna under the directorship of composer Joseph Marx.

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**Saturday, 14 December 1940** : Decision of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin (involving Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber) after interventions by Wilhelm Furtwängler and Doctor Friedrich Werner :

Norbert Furreg can keep his position as general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » for the duration of the War even if his wife was not able to produce an « Aryan » certificate.

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**Thursday, 19 December 1940** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) Before the war, the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany was forced by contract to use general music-director (Hermann) Stange mainly for symphonic concerts. After the outbreak of the war, the radio programming of the Corporation has undergone drastic changes, which significantly reduced the proportion of symphonic concerts in the overall schedule. Stange, who will continue to receive his salary on the express instruction of the Minister, has now filed a lawsuit before a Labour Court.

He has argued that, according to his contract, he wants to be employed in symphonic concerts.

In this regard, the Minister states that, in principle, it is not appropriate for a judicial body to try to prevent necessary political decisions from having an effect based on the stubborn interpretation of a signed contract. Broadcasting is a political instrument that shapes its programming schedule according to political context. (...) The Minister instructed the Ministerial Director (Alfred-Ingemar) Berndt (the head of the radio department) and the “ Reich

” Intendant Glasmeier to appeal against the verdict of District judge Doctor Riese. He also pressed the Ministerial Director (Leopold) Gutterer to give his opinion on the subject to the Ministry of Justice. (...) »

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**Thursday, 26 December 1940** : Symphonic concert held in the Fourth District of the Nazi « Gau » of Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Works by Richard Wagner.

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**End of 1940** : After his military service, Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is appointed director of the German short-wave band at the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin, succeeding Adolf Raskin, who had died in a plane crash in November 1940.

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Although anti-German sentiment remained largely confined to Vienna, overall morale in Austria, as in most of Greater Germany, deteriorated perceptively in the winter of 1940-1941. Shortly before Christmas, massive call-ups in both Upper- and Lower-Danube severely cut the native work-force, making it necessary to import thousands of additional foreign labourers. The « Reich » Food Estate issued orders requiring delivery of enormous quantities of hay, straw, and oats ; the shortage of consumer goods showed no signs of abating.

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**1941** : The musicologist, pedagogue, composer and conductor Emil Seiler is responsible for the chamber music department at the « Deutschlands-Sender » in Berlin. The programs broadcast are generally confined to Baroque chamber music with viola d'amore, because contemporary music is not produced.

Nevertheless, Emil Seiler continued to play new compositions, for instance, at the regular gatherings in the house of the « degenerate » painter Emil Nolde in Berlin, which were organized by his wife and the pianist « Frau » Tscherner. He also participated in the matinee concerts which took place every third Sunday, performing contemporary music in the music library of Berlin-Charlottenburg. Together with pianist Edith Picht-Axenfeld, Seiler played compositions by Harald Genzmer, Johann Nepomuk David, and Cäsar Bresgen.

First Allied air-raid on the « Ostmark » territory, which hits the freight station of the city of Graz.

Allied air-raids from the east and the south are coming ever closer to the Upper-Danube region.

Stolen art-forms : the basis for a new Art Museum (« Führer-Museum ») in Linz planned by Adolf Hitler. Heinrich J.

Sch. , head of the Department of Art History at the « Landes-Museum » (Upper-Austrian Museum) , located at « Museum-Straße » Number 14, is active in building-up the collection.

The Municipal Symphony and Theatre Orchestras of Linz are placed under the control of the « Gau » of the Upper-Danube. An advisory board is created for the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») . In addition to representatives of the « Gau » , representatives of the city are included for the first time in decision making. It is largely through Georg-Ludwig Jochum's efforts that the State Theatre Orchestra, which originally consisted of 58 musicians, is transformed into a full-fledged Symphony Orchestra of 88 musicians, significantly enhancing the quality and range of the repertoire. However, since the majority of the players are drawn from the local area, standards of performance are not of the international calibre that is envisaged by Adolf Hitler.

The SS start to construct a gas-chamber and other installations at Mauthausen near Linz for the systematic murder of large groups of people.

During the second half of the War, the prisoners, who now include women for the first time, are increasingly used as forced labourers in the arms industry. In order to accommodate the prisoners where they work, the SS establish several sub-camps. Newly-arrived prisoners are transferred to these camps from the main-camp. More and more, Mauthausen itself becomes a camp where the sick and weak are sent to die.

Since the prisoners are now needed for their labour, living conditions improve for a short time.

AEG buys Siemens & Halske shares in « Telefunken » , and the company becomes a subsidiary.

The Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») in Berlin is struggling with increasing staff shortages and equipment problems. In addition, cuts are now being discussed, and the financial resources could be used as sparingly as possible. Hans Joachim von Braunmühl and Doctor Walter Weber, both audio engineers at the Corporation, accidentally discover the technique of high-frequency bias in which the simple addition of a high-level (about 10X the maximum audio level) inaudible high-frequency tone results in a striking improvement in sound quality by effectively smoothing the magnetization of unused portions of the audio band. The discovery is made when a « Magnetophon » producing recordings of extraordinary quality is sent « for repair » . The machine is found to have an oscillating DC bias amplifier. Magnetic media are inherently non-linear, but AC bias is the means whereby the magnetisation of the recording tape is made linearly proportional to the electrical signal which represents the audio component. The « Magnetophon » becomes a « high fidelity » recording system because, in so many respects, it out-performs gramophone recording (78 rpm system) . Many speeches, concerts, and operatic performances are recorded.

Because of ongoing discrimination against his conducting performances, the general music-director Hermann Stange files a complaint to the « Reich » Trustee for the public Service against « Reich » Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier and Intendant Götz Otto Stoffregen. The Regional Labour Court in Berlin finally approves the dismissal (which they once again pronounced) but only on Tuesday, September 30.

Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer becomes the broadcasting director at the « Reichs-Sender » in Berlin, then at the « Reichs-Sender » in Saarbrücken and also in Cologne. Finally, he will return to Berlin again as director of the art-and-entertainment evening programs on the German short-wave band at the « Haus des Rundfunks » .

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed music-director of the united radio orchestras of Berlin. He is now considered « indispensable » (« uk » : unabkömmlich) for the Third « Reich » .

Paul van Kempen, the music-director of the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra, organises an anniversary cycle of works by Anton Bruckner.

Professor Günther Ramín joins Johann Nepomuk David and Bernhard Rust, the « Reich » Minister of Science, Education and National Culture, at the commencement of the Conservatory of Leipzig. He takes the boys' choir of St. Thomas Church on the road to the Nazi Protectorate of the former Czechoslovakia and to Fascist Italy to demonstrate the « victory of European art, German style » . The Third « Reich » honours him with ostentatious prize ceremonies.

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**Wednesday, 1 January 1941** : Traditional New Year's Concert in Berlin :

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. (Last year, Joseph Keilberth was at the podium.)

Soloist : Tilla Briem (soprano) .

Special programme

Works by Ludwig van Beethoven.

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**Just after New Year 1941** : Nazi functionaries unexpectedly resume their attack on the Catholic Church.

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**Between January and September 1941** : Nazi officials seize numerous monasteries, including St. Peter and Michelbeuern in Salzburg ; St. Florian, Schlägl, Hohenfürth, Kremsmünster, and Wilhering in Upper-Danube ; and Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

Under direct orders from Adolf Hitler, they also sequester a number of teacher-training academies and theological seminaries and expelled several dissident priests from the « Ostmark » .

Popular reaction to the new wave of persecution is widespread and angry. People are exasperated by the curtailment

of Catholic holidays and by the petty harassment of the « Gestapo » .

When the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. is abolished, Vinzenz Goller and the rest of his family move to the town of Sankt Michael im Lungau near Salzburg, where one of his daughters is married to a doctor. Goller works as a church musician in various local parishes.

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**January 1941** : The membership of conductor Georg-Ludwig Jochum is removed again from the N.S.D.A.P. for failure to post-payments.

First temporary shutdown of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne.

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**Wednesday, 8 January 1941** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

In October 1940, Christian Opdenhoff, the Deputy « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, told him that the head-office of the « German Bruckner Society » would move to the city of Linz in the near future (refer to January 20, 1941) .

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**Monday, 20 January 1941** : Letter from Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin to Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig :

The project of moving the head-office of the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») from Leipzig to the city of Linz (refer to January 8, 1941) is still at the preparation process. Doctor Werner must wait until formal applications are produced.

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The Nazis suppress the canonry and confiscate the buildings and properties of the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. Provost Alipius Joseph Linda, who was elected in 1937, guides the community wisely through these difficult times. Only a few Canons Regular are permitted to remain and to continue ministering to the faithful. Some Canons go out into the parishes while others are drafted into the German « Wehrmacht » . Many will lose their lives because of their involvement in the resistance movement.

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**Sunday, 21 January 1941** : The Bishop of the Diocese of Linz, Doctor Johannes Maria Gföllner, writes to Doctor Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, expressing the hope that his monastery will « be spared the fate of

other monasteries (including Kremsmünster, Schlägl and Wilhering) » .

But the same day, the site is raided by approximately 50 officers of the « Gestapo » for the benefit of the « Reich » administrative regions (« Gau ») of the « Ostmark » , under the circumstances known from other monasteries (house searches, individual interrogations, strict surveillance, prohibition to communicate between the Canons Regular, etc.) .

The confiscation ordinance of the entire property, signed by the Austrian lawyer Doctor Gerhard Bast, is handed over to Provost Vinzenz Hartl (on behalf of the SS Austrian jurist Humbert Achamer-Pifrader, Bast will lead the Control Centre of the « Gestapo » in Linz, from January to June 1941) :

« On the basis of the Ordinance on the confiscation of assets hostile to the people and the state inside the “ land ” of Austria issued on 18 November 1938 (...) in connection with the decree of the “ Reich ” Governor of Austria issued on 7 February 1939 (...) and the circular decree of the inspector of the Security Police and the Security Service in Vienna issued on 28 July 1939 (...) , the property of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the monastery of St. Florian located in the “ Gau ” of the Upper-Danube is confiscated by the local decree issued on 21 January 1941, which includes all rights and claims in favour of the “ Reich-Gau ” of the Upper-Danube. All third party rights to the confiscated assets shall be deemed to have expired upon confiscation. »

In early-September 1935, Humbert Achamer-Pifrader joined the SS (membership card-number : 275.750) and rose steadily in this Nazi organization. In April 1936, he was transferred to the « Gestapo » in Berlin, where he worked on « Austrian affairs » . After the beginning of the Second World War, Achamer-Pifrader was head of the « Gestapo » in Darmstadt. He was promoted to « SS-Standarten-Führer » in 1941.

The Control Centre is the hub for the persecution of the political and religious opposition. Interrogations are notorious for the brutality « Gestapo » personnel resorted to ; in many cases, this leads to the remand prisoners being tortured, severely injured or even killed.

During 6 consecutive days, the « Gestapo » officers search the premises of the monastery. The brothers of the Augustinian Order are sharply interrogated. The whole monastery is closely guarded. Customary activities will, however, be maintained due to the cultural and historical importance of the institution (this will also be the case for other monasteries) .

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, comes to St. Florian to make it clear in person to Doctor Hartl that the monks will be temporarily allowed to go into exile (as was the case in the 15th Century) to the monastery-owned Abbey of Pulgarn near Steyregg, in exchange for permission to rent space in the monastery at a moderate fixed interest rate of 100 « Reich » Marks, which was determined by the Upper-Danube administrator Doctor Franz Danzer.

Fees totaling 6,100 « Reich » Marks will be paid to the Nazi regime for renting space at the monastery during the

period covering the years 1941 to 1945.

In contrast to the convents of the other expropriated monasteries, the Abbey of Pulgarn, with its incorporated parishes, remains its own corporate body.

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**Monday, 22 January 1941** : Doctor Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, is given the order to transfer the entire property to the Nazi authorities. Not only the buildings in the market town of St. Florian are affected, but also the 7 parish churches and 5 parishes (which were erroneously entered in the land register as property of the monastery) , the parish farms and the agricultural sector.

Count O'Donel, a provisional administrator appointed by « Gauleiter » August Eigruber, takes over the administration of the entire property until the beginning of September 1942. In terms of taxation, however, the monastery continues to exist as a trustee with the « Reich-Gau » self-administration. This will not change until about 10 months later, in November 1941, when it becomes the property of the « Gau » .

O'Donel was already entrusted with the provisional administration of the expropriated Engelszell Abbey near Engelhartzell-an-der-Donau in the Innviertel (Upper-Austria) ; the only Trappist monastery in Austria.

In an internal Party communication, Eigruber attempts to justify the confiscation and planned expropriation of St. Florian monastery as follows :

« For some time, there had been suspicions that members of the Augustinian Order of St. Florian had established connections with the legitimistic and illegal Austrian Freedom Movement. In addition, weapons from the stocks of the Austrian militia “ Heimwehr ”, under the command of Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, were found inside the building complex. Although the private possession of weapons is forbidden, the monks had hidden their home-defense weapons particularly well. »

...

Heinrich Glasmeier got to know the monastery in 1930 when the 22nd German Archives Day, which was organized jointly with the Austrian archivists, took place in Vienna and Linz. One of the conference excursions led to St. Florian. Even then, the monastery complex had made a deep impression on him.

The news of its confiscation by the « Gestapo » immediately aroused his interest. Consequently, he tried to obtain the rights. Glasmeier, who had suffered a considerable loss of power at the broadcasting headquarters in Berlin since the beginning of the war, saw here an opportunity of returning to the core of National-Socialist cultural policies. This led to the creation of a plan to establish on the historical site of the monks a cultural centre for the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») . It is important to remember that Glasmeier had a special veneration for Anton Bruckner, having received an honorary certificate of the « International Bruckner Society



» on 23 February 23, 1938. He also benefited from the fact that Adolf Hitler himself (in his quest to make his homeland district of the Upper-Danube with the capital Linz into a cultural centre to compete with Vienna, which he hates) paid special attention to St. Florian.

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**Saturday, 25 January 1941** : The monastery of St. Florian is examined with regard to its suitability as a future Bruckner Music Conservatory.

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**February 1941** : Hans Joachim von Braunmühl and Walter Weber sign a licensing agreement with AEG Berlin for a total of 6 patents. Among these is an idea for magnetic sound recording in place of optical sound on sprocketed film, a forerunner of later magnetic film recording techniques. The most valuable suggestion proves, understandably, to be « High Frequency Treatment of Magnetogramm Carriers » , later to become Patent DE 743 411.

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**March 1941** : The Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz is confiscated « for the benefit of the German “ Reich ” » by the Linz « Gestapo » , and handed over to the authorities of the District of the Upper-Danube. A few monks will remain during the Nazi occupation.

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**Saturday, 8 March 1941** : Linz premiere of the 1934 Nuremberg production of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » under general music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducting the Linz Theatre Orchestra, staged by the renowned autodidact theatrical designer Benno von Arent (not the usual house stage-designer Walter Storm) , which takes place at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») .

The « Führer » commissioned and paid for this realistic opulent production with his private funds ; he also approved the sets (based on his preliminary sketches) and costumes. Hitler described Arent as one of the greatest stage-designers. The main trait of the Hitler - von Arent style was, as Albert Speer phrased it, « smashing effects » . This collaboration is obvious from a National-Socialist perspective.

This joint-production (a kind of teacher-student relationship) was premiered on Wednesday, 5 September 1934, at the Nuremberg Opera House with the « Führer » along with numerous Party officials in attendance, which concluded the inaugural day of the 6th Party Congress entitled « Congress of Unity and Strength » (« Parteitag der Einheit und Stärke » , held from September 5 to 10) , which was attended by about 700,000 supporters. It culminated in a third Act « meadow scene » staged in the manner of a Nuremberg Party rally, with massed banners and martial choruses.

No detail escaped Hitler's eye :

« (He) considered what sort of lighting would do best for the moonlight-scene at the end of the second Act. He went into ecstasies over the brilliant colours he wanted for the final scene on the Master-Singers' meadow, and over the

romantic look of the little gabled houses opposite Hans Sachs's cobbler's shop. »

The Prelude from Act III was featured in Leni Riefenstahl's Nazi propaganda film, « Triumph of the Will » (1934) which was released the next year.

The production was repeated at the 1935 Nazi Party Congress, entitled « Congress of Freedom » (« Parteitag der Freiheit » , held from Tuesday, 10 to Monday, 16 September) , featuring a high-caliber star cast selected by the « Führer » himself. He gave the Party leaders, who were not very fond of theatre, the express order to attend the gala-performance. They came, were bored, and many of them were overcome by sleep. The rather meager applause also did not reflect, in Hitler's opinion, the brilliance of the evening.

The linkage between opera and rally was emphasized when Hitler ordered that « Meistersinger » be performed at every Nuremberg Party Congress ... forever !

It is not clear how the multiple use of the « Hitler - von Arent » sets was conceived. The production of « Meistersinger » was also performed :

On Sunday, 17 November 1935, for the re-opening of the German Opera House (« Deutsches Opernhaus ») in Berlin.

On Sunday, 17 May 1936, at the Munich « Staatsoper » under the direction of Clemens Krauß, as part of the « Reich » Theatre Week (« Reichs-Theater Festwoche ») , featuring singers Rudolf Bockelmann (baritone) , Ludwig Weber (bass) , Franz Theo Reuter (baritone) , Franz Volker (tenor) , Cäcilie Reich (soprano) , Karin Branzell (contralto) .

In 1938 in Danzig, and in Dessau (with Gustav Singer's set-designs influenced by Arent) .

At the « Festival of German Youth » which took place at the National Theatre of Weimar in 1939. « Rienzi » and the entire « Ring » cycle were also programmed.

At some performances, Hitler and his entourage would arrive for the third Act after a torchlit procession, and the audience and cast were instructed to stand and turn to him in salute at the climax.

The same visual concept was applied on the monumental street-decorations for the presentation of the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936, as well as for Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini's official state visit in Berlin at the end of September 1937, where the « Duce » attended a spectacular military parade. (The visit of Germany ran from September 27th to 30th.)

Baldur von Shirach, head of the Hitler Youth from 1941, « Gauleiter » of Vienna, and later Albert Speer's fellow-prisoner in Spandau, recalled :

« Hitler's amazing knowledge of stagecraft, his interest in the diameter of revolving stages, lift mechanisms, and

especially different lighting techniques. He was familiar with all sorts of lighting systems and could discourse in detail on the proper illumination for certain scenes. »

Arent had also expressed himself theoretically on the connection between stage-design and Nazi ideology : his treatise entitled « The German Stage Design, 1933-1936 » (« Das deutsche Bühnenbild, 1933-1936 ») , with a foreword by the « Reich » Propaganda Minister Josef Gœbbels, was released in 1938.

From the very beginning, Doctor Gœbbels had protected Arent in such a way that the « young star of the time » could be permanently installed, from 1936 onward, as « Reichs-Bühnenbildner » (« Reich » Theatrical Designer) in the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. A title intended primarily to underscore Arent's exemplary position as a set-designer and outfitter. He was ultimately unable to develop his own style, partly due to the outbreak of the War, and because of competition in his field of expertise.

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**Wednesday, 12 March 1941** : Accompanied by August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, and SS member Julius Schmidt, Doctor Josef Gœbbels visits the monastery of St. Florian and officially announces, among other things, that the general headquarters of the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») in Leipzig will be re-located here in the near future. The cost estimate for re-designing of the monastery is handed over to him.

Gœbbels probably has the chance to ear an organ recital played by Hermann Haböck at the Collegiate Church.

In the evening, Adolf Hitler arrives in Linz to attend the ceremony commemorating the Liberation of Austria (« Anschluß ») which happened to the day in 1938.

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**Thursday, 13 March 1941** : Newspaper articles published in the « Linzer Volks-Stimme » , the « Linzer Tages-Post » and the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » about yesterday's visit of Doctor Josef Gœbbels to the monastery of St. Florian.

Gœbbels notes the visit in his diary.

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**Wednesday, 19 March 1941** : Josephus Calasancius Fließer is appointed by Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Linz. The episcopal ceremony of ordination is celebrated by Bishop Johannes Maria Gföllner.

Fließer is also appointed Titular Bishop of Gargara (Gargareus) .

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**Sunday, 30 March 1941** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary Concert to fund the War Relief effort during the winter season.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor (unfinished) , original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

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**April 1941** : The « SS Reichs-Führer » Heinrich Himmler visits the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration-camp near Linz with August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region. Photographies reveal that Eigruber has been promoted to the rank of « SS-Gruppen-Führer » , the equivalent of Major General.

The « Ostmark » is no longer bombed until 1943, mainly because the distances are too great for American and British bombers, which is why the Nazi regime transfers part of the production of its armament factories to Austrian soil.

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If there was a favourite building for the « Führer » in the capital of the « Reich » , it was the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » . Symphonic concerts there became major Party events, due to the Nazi fanfare originating from the Imperial tradition.

Destruction falling from above was a real threat since the start of the War.

Evidence of this is the warning text that started to appear on every program in 1940 :

« Bei Fliegeralarm ist den Anordnungen der Logenschließer unbedingt Folge zu leisten. »

(In the event of an air-raid alarm, the instructions of the ushers must be followed.)

But the origin of the destruction of Berlin's Opera House, one of the key-point buildings of the aerial bombing campaign, would be thousands of kilometers east of the capital of the « Reich » , more precisely in Yugoslavia.

Some sources indicates this attack, called « Operation Retribution » (« Unternehmen Strafgericht ») , was ordered by Britain's War Cabinet in retaliation for the bombing of Belgrade by the « Luftwaffe » on April 6. That day, 160 medium bombers dropped 215 to 360 tons of bombs and incendiaries in 4 air-strikes on the Yugoslav capital. Adolf

Hitler had given orders for the city to be annihilated but the order was changed in the last minute by the Air Staff into an order to attack military objectives within the city area. In his statement for BBC London on the very next day, Prime Minister Winston Churchill said that Germans killed 12,000 souls.

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**Saturday, 5 April 1941** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) In view of the expansion of German war theatres in Africa and the South-East, there is a need for new hymns and fanfares to begin special radio broadcasts.

The Minister asks “ Reich ” Intendant Glasmeier to submit 2 proposals as soon as possible :

1) A hymn for the war theatres in North Africa.

2) A hymn for the war theatres on the south-east European front.

As an opening fanfare for the newsreels on the German activities in the Balkans, the Minister has selected the first bars of the Prince Eugene “ Lied ”. (...) »

« Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter » (Prince Eugene, the Noble Knight) is an Austrian-German folk-song about the victory of Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1717 during the Austro-Turkish War of 1716-1718. It tells of the bravery of Prince Eugene, his companion Prince Ludwig who lost his life in the battle, and their soldiers in defeating the Turks and recovering the city of Belgrade for the Holy Roman Empire. The oldest known record of the song comes from a hand-written song-book dating from 1719. The lyricist is unknown.

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**Monday, 7 April 1941** : Doctor Josef Goebbels notes in his diary :

« Yesterday (April 6) : (...) First listening of the new fanfares and South-East “ Lied ” with Glasmeier. Fanfares are good, the other is not. I again quickly re-programmed the (next) “ Request Concert ” (for the German Armed Forces) . »

(Goebbels Dairies, Volume 4, pages 574-575 : entry of April 7, 1941.)

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**Monday night, 9 to Tuesday morning, 10 April 1941** : Illuminated by moonlight conditions, Berlin is attacked by more than 40 Royal Air Force medium bomber planes.

The « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » is hit by incendiary bombs, which cause a major fire. The roof construction is partially plunged into the auditorium, the head building in front of the massive stage house actually ripe for the demolition.

5 aircrafts are lost.

According to the city's municipal report :

« She was hit by a large number of incendiary bombs. Burned out theatre building, stage house badly affected. Heavy property damage. »

Doctor Josef Goebbels noted in his diary :

« A serious loss. »

« I look at the damage in the “ Staatsoper ”. She is lost. The whole interior completely burned out. There is hardly anything to save. (...) How many happy hours have I already experienced in this house. And now this, ruins. »

The correspondent from U.S. news agency United Press reported to New York :

« Berlin's large Opera House at “ Unter den Linden ”, in which Adolf Hitler often heard Wagner, his favourite music,

today lies in smoldering ruins. »

On Adolf Hitler's order, reconstruction was taken up soon afterwards. Going ahead in war-time, the building project was to re-assure the Berliners of a quick and victorious end to hostilities. The building was rebuilt under the direction of head of Division, Erich Effort, from the engineering department of the Prussian Ministry of Finance. The opera house was « superficially » restored to its pre-war appearance. The auditorium was reconstructed using a simplified design based on architect Carl Ferdinand Langhans senior's ideas. The 4th tier was retained but the other rooms were completely re-designed in a revivalist style. The main source of inspiration was the Frederician Rococo, the ornaments of which were used for murals, among others. In the vestibule to the centre-box of the first tier, the so-called « “ Führer ” box » , a style typical of the time was used ; its heavy wood paneling being similar to the so-called style of the new « Reich » Chancellery. However, the politically-tight time frame and the supply difficulties for construction material during the war exacted rather simple fittings for most of the rooms. Despite these restrictions, the building showed a homogeneous appearance. Only specialists were able to recognize the room equipment as freely devised and revivalist. The architect stated that the idea of the re-design was - apart from the elimination of functional defects - a reconstruction of the building « in terms of its atmosphere » .

But the reconstructed Opera House would stand for only 26 months.

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**Friday, 11 April 1941** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) Then, in response to a question from “ Herr ” Glasmeier, the musical theme that opens special broadcast announcements is discussed. The Minister orders that the great fanfare based on Prince Eugene “ Lied ” and the “ Deutschland-Lied ” will no longer be used before every special announcement, because, otherwise, we would no longer have any opportunities for improvement. He recalls that the special newsbreak on the occasion of the cease-fire with France deeply shook the people, because it was unique. The great Prince Eugene fanfare, like the “ Deutschland-Lied ”, may only be used 2 or 3 times during the entire Balkan campaign, and the Old Dutch Thanksgiving Prayer only once, when the campaign is over. (...) »

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**Monday, 14 April 1941** : Doctor Josef Goebbels writes in his morning dairies :

« (...) Doctor Glasmeier is instructed to block the hymn “ England, we are coming ”, whose further verses are somewhat Bolshevik in colour for broadcasting. The Minister announces that he will go to the (Berlin) State Opera House at noon today. No notice should be taken, nor should photographs. He will propose to general-director (Heinz) Tietjen that the State Opera company should performed home in alternance with the German Opera company, including their subscription-series. (...) It would also be possible to let the State Opera company perform at the German Opera House for a whole week and, in the meantime, use the artists of the German Opera to take care of the soldiers. (...) »

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**Thursday, 17 April 1941** : The monastery of Hohenfürth (Vyšší Brod) , located on the right-bank of the river Vltava in South Bohemia, is confiscated « for the benefit of the German “ Reich ” » by the Linz « Gestapo » , and handed over to the authorities of the District of the Upper-Danube.

The few, mostly elderly, monks remaining in the monastery are allocated to particular monastery parishes.

21 Fathers, seminarians and lay brothers are conscripted to the German « Wehrmacht » . 10 of them will fall on the battlefield (9 on the Eastern Front, 1 in Italy) , of whom 6 are Fathers, 3 seminarians and 1 a lay brother.

The empty main building first serves as a camp for the displaced Germans from Bessarabia. Towards the end of the War, it will be used as a reserve military hospital for the German « Wehrmacht » .

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**Saturday, 19 April 1941** : Last day before the eviction of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 20 April 1941** : The day of birth of the « Führer » celebrates the eviction of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the monastery of St. Florian.

Of the 21 monks, 11 are temporarily allowed to move (as was the case in the 15th Century) to the monastery-owned Abbey of Pulgarn near Steyregg. They will elect Leopold Hager as their leader. Since an organ will no longer be available, the monks create a small choir and turn to the repertoire of folk-songs.

Alois Hunger (born in 1899 in Ried in der Riedmark ; died in 1964 in Ansfelden) , who is responsible for rentals at the monastery, and his economic assistant Josef Hemelmayer (born in 1899 in St. Florian ; died in 1944 in St. Florian) are conscripted to cooperate with the « Reich-Gau » authorities.

The younger ordained Canons Regular, who could not get assured pastoral positions, are subsequently drafted into the German « Wehrmacht » , mainly as medical orderlies. The clerics, the novices and the lay brothers are also drafted into the military.

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**Monday, 21 April 1941** : Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is appointed foreign director of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , to which the German secret stations are subordinate, and the acting director of the short-wave department (thus, responsible for the foreign programming) . Positions he holds to Doctor Gæbbels's satisfaction.

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**Tuesday, 29 April 1941** : The Premonstratensian monastery of Schlägl, located at the foot of the Bohemian Forest in the Upper-Mühlviertel, is confiscated « for the benefit of the German “ Reich ” » by the Linz « Gestapo » , and handed over to the authorities of the District of the Upper-Danube. This will bring the economically successful monastery to the brink of ruin.

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**Saturday, 3 and Sunday, 4 May 1941** : Old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » in Berlin. Sixth subscription-concert of the season.

The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

### Programme

Christoph Willibald Gluck : Overture from the opera « Alceste » (Wq. 37) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 edition revised by Josef Schalk (**WAB 108**) .

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**Monday, 5 May 1941** : After taking advantage of the opportunity that is offered to him, Johannes Hollnsteiner resigns from the Augustinian Order, and applies for laicization (while he is secretly living with his future wife) .

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**Tuesday, 13 May 1941** : Eighth subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Wednesday, 14 May 1941** : Newspaper articles talking about the up-coming Bruckner festival which will take place in St. Florian and Linz, from Saturday, May 31th to Saturday, June 7th.

« Before a cultural event » signed by « K. E. B. » published in the « Linzer Tages-Post » .

« Nurturing Bruckner in the homeland of a music hero. Highlights of the musical life in the Upper-Danube. » published in the « Linzer Volks-Stimme » Number 133, page 3.

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**Tuesday, 20 May 1941** : Letter from Wilhelm Furtwängler to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin (intended to Doctor Josef Gœbbels ?) :

Wilhelm Furtwängler, supported by the « Gauleiter » and « Reichs-Statthalter » Baldur von Schirach, plead for the return of the « Bruckner Society » in Vienna. The establishment of the general headquarters in Linz or St. Florian would only have a provincial character. One could think of a Bruckner Museum or a Conservatory on the site of the monastery.

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**Thursday, 22 May 1941** : Letter from Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin to Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig :

Yesterday, by reading an advertisement in the « Berliner Zeitung », Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber learned that the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Leipzig had been officially informed about staging a Bruckner festival in Linz.

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**Saturday, 24 May 1941** : Letter signed by Doctor Müller from the personnel department of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda to the Regional Labour Court in Berlin :

« (...) In view of the war-time necessities in radio programming, I no longer saw any possibility of keeping general music-director Doctor Hermann Stange after the outbreak of the war. I therefore instructed “ Reich ” Intendant Doctor Glasmeier to terminate in due time our association with general music-director Doctor Stange and to proceed with his a dismissal. »

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**Tuesday, 27 May 1941** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary that he discussed with director Fritz Hippler the new project of making a film about the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, and that Wilhelm Furtwängler should featured in it.

...

The shooting of « Philharmoniker » lasted from 26 November 1942 to 1 March 1943. The film was finally completed in December 1943.

Gœbbels made numerous offers to Furtwängler to appear in « Philharmoniker » and have a say in its production (only Furtwängler could give the film the stamp of legitimacy it needed) . Furtwängler hated the blatant Nazified bias in the script. It made no mention of any of the Jews who had been connected with the Philharmonic (Bruno Walter,

Otto Klemperer, etc.) , barely acknowledged Arthur Nikisch's contribution to it. Furtwängler firmly refused to have anything to do with it.

Werner Fiedler testified during the denazification trial of Furtwängler who refused to act in the film. He was called in by the conductor for a discussion of the necessity of criticism in general. Furtwängler finally agreed that criticism is necessary if Art is to survive.

Göbbels asked Furtwängler to direct the music in a film about Beethoven, again for propaganda purposes. They quarreled violently about this project.

Furtwängler told him :

« You are wrong, “ Herr ” Minister, if you think you can exploit Beethoven in a film. »

Göbbels gave up his plans for the film.

In April 1944, Göbbels wrote :

« Furtwängler has never been a National-Socialist. Nor has he ever made any bones about it, which Jews and emigrants thought was sufficient to consider him as one of them, a key representative of so-called “ inner emigration ”. Furtwängler's stance towards us has not changed in the least. »

Göbbels wanted Furtwängler to supervise the sound-track. Furtwängler was anxious to humor the Propaganda Minister at this point in 1941 because he needed his help to get more money for the Philharmonic and enlist him in his battle against some virulent enemies who were threatening him at the Philharmonic, so he did not decline immediately. Eventually, they talked seriously about the film, but Göbbels' arrogant manner collided with Furtwängler's propensity for long-windedness.

« Philharmoniker » was officially released in Germany on December 4, 1944. The Berlin premiere was held at the « Tauentzien Palast » on « Tauentzien-Straße » .

Irene von Meyendorff, who was the lead female actress in the film, despised Göbbels and emigrated to England after the War.

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**Thursday, 29 May 1941** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin (attended to Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber ?) :

The city of Linz and the Upper-Danube region (including St. Florian) are preparing to stage the « Bruckner festival

Days » without consulting the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») in Leipzig.

The (Nazi) Lord Mayor of Linz, Doctor Leopold Sturma, invites Doctor Friedrich Werner (but not Wilhelm Furtwängler) to attend Saturday's opening ceremony.

(Doctor Sturma will be Lord Mayor from June 15, 1940, to December 31, 1943, and then, he will occupy the post of President of the Higher Regional Court of Linz from January 30, 1944, until the end of the War.)

### « Bruckner festival Days », St. Florian and Linz (1941)

**Saturday, 31 May (before Pentecost Sunday) to Tuesday 3 June 1941** : The « Bruckner festival Days » under the supervision of Georg-Ludwig Jochum are held in St. Florian and Linz.

Consequently, 1,200 German resettlers from the East had to vacate the monastery within 2 days.

Content of the program booklet :

Pages 8 to 14 : Article by organist Helmut Müllner entitled « Ways to Anton Bruckner » ; greetings from « Gauleiter » August Eigruber and the acting Mayor of Linz, Anton Estermann ; list of participants ; programmed works.

Pages 15 to 29 : Article by organist Doctor Helmut Müllner entitled « Introduction to the works programmed at the 1941 edition of the Bruckner festival » .

Page 31 and following : Article by Franz von Juraschek, the Conservator of the « Reich-Gau » of Upper-Danube, entitled « St. Florian » .

On the occasion of the festival, an article entitled « Im Zeichen Anton Bruckners » (In the light of Anton Bruckner) is published in the « Ober-Donau Zeitung » on page 40.

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**Saturday, 31 May 1941** : Day one of the « Bruckner festival Days » in St. Florian and Linz.

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, gives the opening (political) speech. (The full-text can be found in the program booklet.)

Official letter from « Gauleiter » Eigruber :

« Mitten im gewaltigsten, aber auch sieghaftesten Ringen, in dem das deutsche Volk um der Größe seiner Zukunft willen steht, schickt sich der Heimatgau des Führers an, seinen größten musikalischen Genius zu feiern. Die Bruckner-Festtage 1941, zu denen der Reichsgau Oberdonau alle Freunde des großen deutschen Symphonikers ruft, stehen nicht im

Gegensatz zum großen Zeitgeschehen. Denn Geist von jenem Geist, der heute welt-entscheidende Taten setzt, spricht aus den hohen Werken, die uns in Sankt Florian und Linz erklingen werden. Als ein Träger und Künder deutschen Heldentums ist Anton Bruckner in die Ruhmeshalle der Größten unseres Volkes eingegangen.

Die Machthaber einer endgültig überwundenen Zeit hatten sich nicht gescheut, das gigantische Lebenswerk dieses Musikers aus deutschem Bauernblut zu verkleinern oder für ihre kleinen Zwecke verfälschen zu wollen. Den Namen des erhabenen deutschen Meisters als Waffe des politischen Katholizismus auszuspielen, war die Tendenz der Bruckner-Feste des Systems.

Auch da hat nun der National-Sozialismus gründlich Wandel geschaffen. Die Feierstunden, die wir dem großen Sohne unseres Heimatgaaes weihen, schenken uns den wahren Anton Bruckner, der über die Enge konfessioneller Bindung mit der Reinheit deutscher Gläubigkeit triumphiert, die keiner Dogmen bedarf, um das Göttliche des Lebens zu erkennen und es in der Sprache der Kunst zu verkünden.

St. Florian, wo wir Bruckner am nächsten sind und wo der Geist Bruckners inmitten einer gewaltigen künstlerischen Umwelt und der Landschaft seiner Heimat vielleicht am unmittelbarsten zu uns spricht, wird dem Willen des Führers gemäß im Sinne der Bruckner-Pflege besonders ausgestaltet werden. Naturgemäß wird diese große Arbeit erst nach dem Kriege sich dem ganzen deutschen Volk und den Bruckner-Freunden in aller Welt offenbaren können. Die Bruckner-Festtage 1941 sollen nur ein Auftakt zu diesen gewaltigen künstlerischen Ereignissen der Zeit nach dem Kriege sein, wo dann Sankt Florian in der Obhut des Reichsgaaes Oberdonau zu der Weihstätte des deutschen Volkes für das unsterbliche Werk Bruckners gestaltet sein wird.

August Eigruber

Gauleiter und Reichsstatthalter. »

Dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold gives the speech directly relating to the festival.

Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg, the German ambassador to the Soviet Union (before the start of « Operation Barbarossa » on June 22) also takes part in the opening ceremony.

The event concludes with a live radio broadcast of the organ concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian. by Doctor Helmut Müllner from Linz.

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**1 June 1941** (Pentecost Sunday) : Day two of the « Bruckner festival Days » in St. Florian and Linz.

Sacred concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Conductor : One of the Jochum brothers, ... or someone else ???

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

...

Symphonic concert (at the State Theatre - « Landestheater » - of Linz ?)

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

...

Letter from Doctor Franz Danzer, the Treasurer (« Kämmerer ») of the Upper-Danube, to Professor Adolf Trittinger, the Collegiate organist of the monastery of St. Florian :

Doctor Danzer talks about the up-coming International Organ Competition to be held at the Collegiate Church. He informs Professor Trittinger that he has been appointed administrator of the « Bruckner Organ » .

...

Playing regulations are issued for the instrument. From now on, an organ concert should be played every Sunday and on celebration-day in the afternoon at 4:30 pm.

The selected organists are Trittinger, Isidor Stögbauer, Doctor Helmuth Müllner, Professor Ludwig Daxsperger (from the old Linz Cathedral) and Doctor Georg Pirckmayr.

The maintenance of the organ is entrusted to the Mauracher brothers.

For the concerts themselves, an International Organ Competition is held as part of the 1941 Bruckner festival, in which Hermann Kronsteiner will emerge as the winner.

Professor Otto Jochum said of the participating organists :

« (...) Your new path is to be Bruckner's successor in the best sense (...) . »

Trittinger, a past choir-director at the Premonstratensian monastery of Schlägl, music-director at St. Florian since 1934 and Collegiate organist since 1938, is now the director of the Bruckner Conservatory in Linz (succeeding Robert Keldorfer, who was suspended for his political views after the dissolution of the Linz « Musikverein ») .

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**2 June 1941 (Whit Monday)** : Day three of the « Bruckner festival Days » in St. Florian and Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum is strongly supported by his older brothers :

Otto Jochum, music-director of the Choral Society of Augsburg.

Eugen Jochum, music-director of the Hamburg State Opera and Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra.

...

Sacred concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Pre-concert ceremony : Otto Jochum receives a wooden relief of Bruckner (IKO : Iconography 258) created for the occasion by the St. Florian sculptor Franz Seraph Forster. Some members of the choir will purchase a plaster copy of the relief.

Eugen Jochum conducts the Choir Society of the city of Augsburg.

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor (original version) for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

...

Symphonic concert (at the State Theatre - « Landestheater » - of Linz ?)

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz.

### Programme

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Tuesday, 3 June 1941** : Day four of the « Bruckner festival Days » in St. Florian and Linz.

Death of Johannes Maria Gföllner, the last Bishop of the Diocese of Linz to be appointed by Emperor Franz-Josef. He is buried in the crypt of the New Cathedral (« Maria-Empfängnis-Dom ») .

Shortly before his death, Gföllner is able to secure the appointment of Josephus Calasanctius Fließner as Auxiliary Bishop of Linz, and 3 days before his death, as Vicar General.

...

Closing symphonic concert (at the State Theatre - « Landestheater » - of Linz ?)

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (WAB 108) .

**June 1941** : The high-frequency « Magnetophon » process can also be used to produce stereophonic sound.

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**Wednesday, 4 June 1941** : Letter from Eugen Hadamovsky, the head of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») to Wilhelm Furtwängler :

« (...) The “ Führer ” does not share the view expressed in your letter concerning the (future of the) Bruckner Society and has stated that his previous decision regarding St. Florian and Linz must remain. »

« (...) Der Führer teilt nicht die in Ihrem Schreiben über die Bruckner-Gesellschaft niedergelegte Auffassung und hat mitteilen lassen, daß es bei seiner bisherigen Entscheidung bezüglich St. Florian und Linz bleiben müße. »)

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**Thursday, 5 June 1941** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

Doctor Werner relates the failure of the May 31st opening ceremony of the « Bruckner festival Days » which took place in St. Florian and Linz, and the lack of response from the higher authorities. August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter »



of the Upper-Danube region, to whom Werner protested on behalf of the German Bruckner Society, only made a brief appearance to give his speech.

...

Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließer is elected as head of the Diocese of Linz.

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**Monday, 9 June 1941** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » , to Professor Max Auer :

Furreg reports to Auer on the recent « Bruckner festival Days » which took place in St. Florian and Linz.

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**Tuesday, 10 June 1941** : AEG presents the « new magnetic sound recording process for especially noise-free, high quality sound recording and play-back » at the Berlin movie theatre « Ufa-Palast am Zoo » equipped with the best PA system.

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**Monday, 16 June 1941** : Letter from August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, to the (Nazi) Lord Mayor of Linz, Doctor Leopold Sturma :

Despite pressure from Wilhelm Furtwängler and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, Adolf Hitler still wishes to reserve the designation « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » for the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz.

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**Friday, 20 June 1941** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels notes in his diary :

« Yesterday (June 19) : (...) Tried out new fanfares with Glasmeier. Still not the right thing. »

(Gæbbels Dairies, Volume 4, page 705.)

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**Tuesday, 24 June 1941** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber makes a speech in front of « Reich » Railway workers in Linz.

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**Wednesday, 25 June 1941** : Doctor Josef Gæbbels notes in his diary :

« Yesterday (June 24) : (...) Glasmeier had (Heinrich) Anacker write a song about Russia. But still quite inadequate. »

(Goebbels Dairies, Volume 4, pages 715-716.)

The German-Swiss propaganda author Heinrich Anacker was born on 29 January 1901 in the town of Buchs, Canton of Aargau, Switzerland. The son of Georg Heinrich, the owner of a lithography work-shop, and of Barbara Elisabeth Huber, the daughter of a baker from Zürich. After his debut with « Klinge, kleines Frühlingslied » (1921) , he devoted himself to poetry and joined the German youth movement of the « Wandervogels » . He began studying literature in Zürich and Vienna, where he discovered National-Socialism. He entered the Vienna Nazi circles in 1922. From 1928, he lived permanently in Germany where he joined the S.A. He was personally acquainted with leading National-Socialists. Around 1930, he joined the so-called « Young Team » : a group of authors who wrote for the so-called Third « Reich » . Joining the Nazi Party in 1933, he then lived in Berlin as a freelance writer. He was already considered one of the leading Nazi poets. Many of the marching songs that were sung in the Hitler Youth, the S.A. and other Nazi organizations came from him. He was considered the « lyricist of the Brown Front » . Even in the Nazi state, it was emphasized that he was the first to write poems about the Nazi movement. His numerous propagandistic poems often appeared first in the « Völkischer Beobachter » , and later in book form. His greatest success was the sentimental, apolitical seaman's song « Antje, my blond child » . Among the other songs, « Brown is our battle dress » (battle-song of the S.A.) , « England's hour has struck » , « The torch goes from hand to hand » , « Do you hear the drum beat ? » (song of the Hitler Youth) , « We are the soldiers of the new front » . Anacker received a number of National-Socialist awards, such as the « Dietrich Eckart Prize » (1934) for the choral play « S.A. calls into the people » , the « N.S.D.A.P. Prize for Art » (1936) for his complete works, and the Ring of Honour of frontline poets (1939) for his involment with the National-Socialist War Victims Supply (NSKOV) : a welfare institution affiliated to the N.S.D.A.P. Anacker held a seat as Senator on the cultural council of the « Reich » Chamber of Writers. In 1939, he renounced his Swiss citizenship, and volunteered as a war correspondent in a propaganda organization and as a soldier in the German « Wehrmacht » . He wrote 11 collections which seem to have sold over 180,000 copies between 1932 and 1943. In the later years of the war, his poems were increasingly aimed at the soldiers at the front as a means of motivation (for example, « There should be no fear in us » , 1943) and the so-called home-front. By the end of the war, he had published 22 volumes of poetry - 7 of which were published between 1933 and 1945. His poetry collections include « Die Trommel » (« The Drum » , 1931) , « Der Aufbau » (« Uplift » , 1936) , and « Glück auf, es geht gen Morgen » (« Hurrah, it will soon be morning » , 1943) . He had written more than 100 « “ Führer ” poems » , mostly on behalf of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. On April 24, 1945, Anacker was arrested by American troops and sent to the U.S. internment camp in Ansbach. In the course of the denazification proceedings initiated against him in 1947, he was classified on October 6, 1948, as a « minor offender » (minimally incriminated) and was given 60 days of special work plus a fine of 500 « Deutsch » Marks. In front of the trial chamber, he declared that he was « a staunch National-Socialist until the collapse of the Third “ Reich ” , but now was determined, after having made a fundamental mistake, to stay away from politics in the future » . On April 27, 1949, his probationary period was declared expired and he was assigned to the group of « fellow travelers » . His paternal legacy enabled him to live on his income in Bavaria. He stubbornly wrote works of insignificant literary value in Salach and Wasserburg-am-Bodensee on Lake Constance. Heinrich Anacker died at the age of 69 on 14 January 1971 in Wasserburg. His name remained taboo in Switzerland.

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**Saturday, 28 June 1941** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary :

« Yesterday (June 27) : (...) Still no new Russian song. I push and I push, but our poets fail. »

(Gœbbels Dairies, Volume 4, page 721.)

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**Tuesday, 1 July 1941** : Playing regulations related to the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of St. Florian monastery becomes effective.

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**Wednesday, 2 July 1941** : Letter from City Councilor Othmar Heide to the (Nazi) Lord Mayor of Linz, Doctor Leopold Sturma :

If the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Leipzig were to organize Bruckner festivals every year instead of every 3 or 4 years, this would be detrimental to the development work of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

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**July 1941** : The Austrian Bishops submit a formal remonstrance to the « Reich » Ministry of the Interior. In it, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Theodor Innitzer, and his colleagues accuse the regime of attacking « the Church and religion as such, in order to separate our church from the people and to rob our Catholic people of the Church and their Catholic faith » . They protest « in the name of the dignity and freedom of mankind » and demand « that these actions hostile to our Church and religion should be stopped » .

Heinrich Glasmeier is in Linz, conducting negotiations.

Doctor Josef Gœbbels noted :

« Glasmeier tells me about his meetings in Linz. He is working there to acquire the St. Florian monastery - in which Bruckner has worked for a long time - for radio and to make it available for Bruckner research as well as for Bruckner music. I consider this plan to be excellent and support these efforts. »

However, a number of other instances are still in the works before taking possession of this magnificent site. A few days later, Gœbbels had presented these plans to Adolf Hitler, who was enthusiastic about them, and immediately gave the District of the Upper-Danube the necessary instructions. Glasmeier went back to Linz and was soon able to report to Gœbbels that he had succeeded in winning most of the Augustinian complex for exclusive use by the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation. This is where the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») was to be given its headquarters (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Anstalt ») . Also, a first-class orchestra was to be created to produce « élite » audio recordings (citing Gœbbels) for radio broadcast all over the « Reich » . Glasmeier initially requested an

investment of 10,000,000 « Reich » Marks : a truly gigantic sum of money for the time. Goebbels agreed to the plan despite the high costs, and promised to obtain Hitler's consent immediately.

Nevertheless, the negotiations dragged on. They were concluded only on **July 1942**.

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**Monday, 14 July 1941** : Closure of the technical department of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne.

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**Thursday, 17 July 1941** : The District Training Centre for the city of Linz and the Upper-Danube region is established in the confiscated Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz.

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**Before 22 July 1941** : Almost one month after the beginning of the campaign of Russia called « Operation Barbarossa » (**Sunday, 22 June 1941**) , thanks to a decree issued by the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, foreign national writers and composers will be banned from existence until further notice. (This includes Russian authors and composers.)

Franz Kinzl, the head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture for the « Gau » of Upper-Danube, sees in this measure a golden opportunity for Georg-Ludwig Jochum, the music-director of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra, to promote Upper-Austrian composers including Anton Bruckner :

« Since you intend to program music by Tchaikovsky in your subscription-concerts of September 23, 1941, and February 10, 1942, I recommend that you respect the order of the Ministry, leaving room instead for the works of composers from the Upper-Danube (...) »

During the following year, the composers will turn to Anton Fellner, the cultural commissioner of the « Gau » of the Upper-Danube, who, once again, intercedes with Jochum :

« We must consider it a duty of honour to perform the contemporary composers of our “ Gau ” to a greater extent than before. Since we have a number of very remarkable composers, in particular in the Upper-Danube, it will perhaps prove to be the best practical solution to perform such a work at every subscription-concert, whereby a special concert featuring a local composer scheduled not at the end but preferably in the middle of the season. The solution planned for this year has not proved to be very useful, since, even in the opinion of the musicians, the audience of the subscription-concerts is undoubtedly better suited for such performances or world-premieres, which always make a certain claim, than the less trained audience from the “ Strength through Joy ” organization, however commendable the advocacy of the “ KdF ” for the “ Gau's ” own composers is to be recognized. »

Jochum is supposed to include « one contemporary composition from the “ Gau ” » into each of the subscription-concerts. This will be the best way to « deal with contemporary musicians » .

Anton Fellner is therefore very aware that the concept of « bringing culture to the people », also promoted by « Gauleiter » August Eigruber, has not come to fruition.

Aryan modernism must replace Bolshevik music in Upper-Danube. Performances of works by Jewish composers are banned. Russian composers are included to the list in June to make space for contemporary composers of the « Gau ». Among them : Franz Schnopfhagen (for a short time, regional director of the « Reich » Chamber of Music) , Franz Neuhofer, Ludwig Daxperger, Franz-Xaver Müller, Karl Rausch, Isidor Stögbauer, Frida Kern. These composers try to persuade the top political mediators such as Franz Kinzl and Anton Fellner to pressure Georg-Ludwig Jochum to include more local contemporary compositions in his programs.

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**Tuesday, 22 July 1941** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » , to Professor Max Auer :

Calm has now returned at the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») after learning it was about to move to Linz.

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**Sunday, 24 August 1941** : Organ recital given by Professor Ludwig Daxperger (in anticipation of the major organ competition to be held on Sunday, 14 September) , which takes place at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian. The programme offers, among others, works by Max Springer and Josef Meßner including the « Improvisation on a theme by Anton Bruckner » , Opus 19.

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**Sunday, 7 to Sunday, 14 September 1941** : First (and only) Organ Competition of the « Gau » of Upper-Danube intended to promote musical « young talent » , organized by Franz Kinzl, the regional head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture. The week long event takes place at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

The competition, featuring 54 organists, wants to emphasize the « secularization » of the organ and the power of improvisation for use in a National-Socialist perspective.

The jury (sitting right in front of the high-altar) is composed of Professor Johann Nepomuk David, Professor Josef Meßner (from Salzburg) , and Councillor Professor Max Springer (from Vienna) . The Chairman of the jury is composer Professor Joseph Haas.

**Group I** (the unknown talents) is composed of 36 organists. The Kronsteiner brothers (Josef and Hermann) as well as Martin Ritschel are selected as finalists.

**Groups II and III** are composed of 18 organists ...

**Group II** (the composers) : Franz Kinzl, Rudolf Keldorfer and Friedrich Ziegler are selected as finalists.

**Group III** (the concert organists and organ teachers) : Georg Pirkmayr, Professor Ludwig Daxsperger and Adolf Trittinger are selected as finalists.

At the well-attended public competition, the Collegiate Church is festively decorated, as are the tables of the judges in front of the high-altar. At the balcony, the proceedings are well-camouflaged behind large flower garlands, so that the organist cannot be seen even when entering and leaving.

The « Gauleiter » and « Reich » Governor August Eigruber takes a seat on the floor of the choir where chairs are placed to the right and left of the high-altar, along with leaders of the Party, authorities and the « Wehrmacht » , as well as a large number of foreign guests-of-honour and representatives of musical life from all over the « Reich » . Reporters and photographers of numerous papers are also represented.

The improvisations played by the contestants are simultaneously recorded on wax-discs by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna, and on « sound strips » by the main radio station of the Propaganda Office of the « Gau » of Upper-Danube. These recordings will be stored in the music archives of the « Gau » for future use.

After the unveiling of the « choice of the connoisseurs » and the « choice of the music-lovers » (laypeople are also admitted to the competition as judges) , the ranking is determined. But the result of the combined vote is quite embarrassing for the Nazi « Gau » . The 26 year old autodidact and village organist Hermann Kronsteiner (from the town of Windischgarsten near Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems) is declared the grand prize winner. His brother Joseph receives the second prize. Both are priests ! living examples contrary to the deconfessionalization of the organ.

There are indications that the Organ Competition will be held again in 1942. Georg-Ludwig Jochum already announces his favourite candidates at the request of Anton Fellner, the cultural commissioner of August Eigruber. Jochum considers Professor Ludwig Daxsperger to be the best organist known to him in the « Gau » of Upper-Danube, in comparison with Adolf Trittinger, Wolfgang Auler and Hellmuth Müllner (who did not take part in the present competition) .

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The resignation of Johannes Hollnsteiner from the monastery of St. Florian only becomes understandable when on **Sunday, 7 September 1941**, he civilly marries the divorced Wagnerian opera-singer Almut Schönigh (from the Schönigh family of publishers in Paderborn) who, at times, worked as a house-keeper in his household. She will give Hollnsteiner a daughter.

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At the onset of the War, the programmes of the Salzburg Festival are sharply reduced. Among the artists who keep the Festival going beneath the « swastika » are Clemens Krauß (who was commissioned by Adolf Hitler on **September 13, 1941**, to take over the Salzburg Festival as general artistic director) , his fellow-conductors Karl Böhm and Hans

Knappertsbusch, and the pianist Edwin Fischer.

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**Sunday, 14 September 1941** : Closing day of the First (and only) Organ Competition of the « Gau » of Upper-Danube intended to promote musical « young talent » , organized by Franz Kinzl, the regional head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture.

The awards' ceremony is held at the Stone Hall (« Steiner-Saal ») of the State Parliament in Linz.

« Gauleiter » August Eigruber gives the opening speech.

The first prize goes to Hermann Kronsteiner. The second prize goes to his brother Hermann.

The ceremony concludes with a concert featuring members of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra placed under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

(Photo) First row (from right to left) : Governor August Eigruber, Chairman Professor Joseph Haas, Councillor Professor Max Springer (from Vienna) , Professor Josef Meßner (from Salzburg) , Professor Johann Nepomuk David, Georg Pickmayr (finalist, **Group III**) , Martin Ritschel (finalist, **Group III**) . (The empty chair next to « Gauleiter » Eigruber is probably reserved for the grand winner, Hermann Kronsteiner.)

Second row (on the left) : Among others, Professor Ludwig Daxspurger (finalist, **Group III**) .

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**After 14 September 1941** : After the organizers of the Organ Competition of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube (placed under the supervision of Franz Kinzl, the regional head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture) failed to « desacralize » (secularize) the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian, newspapers are forced to conceal the fact that 2 Catholic priests, the Kronsteiner brothers, were the 2 top-winners.

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### The Mozart Year on German Radio

Having frequently extolled the value of broadcasting as a powerful instrument of propaganda, Doctor Josef Goebbels naturally ensured that during this anniversary year, Mozart's work would be given due acknowledgement with the same intensity on the radio as in the nation's concert-halls and opera houses. As well as providing regular broadcasts of his most famous works throughout 1941, the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » devised 2 series of Mozart broadcasts which were orientated towards capturing the distinctive cultural climate in war-time Germany.

The first cycle consisted of 10 programmes which were aired during the summer months between **June and August 1941** under the title « Mozart als Schöpfer von Unterhaltungs-Musik » (Mozart as the creator of entertainment

music) . The idea for such a series may well have come directly from Goebbels. Since the beginning of the War, the Propaganda Minister had spear-headed a change in music broadcasting policy. Since it offered a better distraction for the population at large from the stresses and strains of the War, entertainment music was now to be regarded far more favourably than serious music. Fortunately, Mozart's output was sufficiently large and varied in character to enable radio producer Bruno Aulich to devise effective programmes, juxtaposing serenades, divertimenti and German dances, with vocal canons and songs, all of which succeeded in presenting the composer in lighter mode.

Yet, the charm and effectiveness of these programmes were undoubtedly over-shadowed by a much more elaborate project which dominated the air-waves in the autumn. This was a fully-fledged chronological survey of Mozart's life and works, conceived in 14 separate hourly broadcasts, that was transmitted on the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » **between 7 September and 7 December**. Although the German broadcasting authorities had already demonstrated a special interest and considerable acumen in devising large-scale broadcast cycles, for example the Wagner - Houston Stewart Chamberlain series from 1934 or **the complete Bruckner Symphonies in 1936**, this second Mozart series was far more ambitious in its range and scope. Apart from securing the services of some of Germany's most distinguished conductors (Richard Strauß, Karl Böhm, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Oswald Kabasta, Joseph Keilberth, Hans Knappertsbusch, Clemens Krauß, Carl Schuricht and Meinhard von Zallinger) , not to mention a roster of fine orchestras and soloists, the programmes offered 2 distinctive departures from earlier broadcasting practice.

An indication of the significant propaganda value attached to the Mozart series can be gleaned from the special programme booklet entitled « Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sein Leben und Schaffen » which the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » published in the fall in conjunction with the broadcasts. The preface, written by the « Reich » Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, draws upon the familiar theme of equating the soldier securing Germany's borders with the defence and preservation of German art and its intellectual values. These values were being assiduously promoted in the current series of programmes which « convey the vibrant strength and victorious serenity of Mozart's ever-youthful musical compositions to millions of listeners » and would aim to « give strength and energy to the German people in their battle for the future » .

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**Autumn 1941** : The « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne is in the process of being liquidated.

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**Monday, 6 October 1941** : Concert given in memory of Franz Schalk at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Clemens Krauß conducts the Choir of the Vienna State Opera and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

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**Saturday, 11 October 1941** : Special ceremony honouring the death of Anton Bruckner which takes place at the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 12 and Monday, 13 October 1941** : Old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » in Berlin. First concert of the 1941-1942 season of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » under the « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan.

### Programme

Karl Knaak : First Symphonic prelude for orchestra.

César Franck : « Variations symphoniques » (Symphonic Variations) for piano and orchestra. Soloist : Conrad Hansen.

### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (**WAB 107**) .

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**Mid-October 1941** : Since Doctor Josef Gœbbels concluded that radio is still not broadcasting enough « good and entertaining material » , he assigns the desk-officer responsible for matters concerning the « Reich » Chamber of Culture within the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Hans Hinkel, the task of « contacting our best light orchestras, our best light-music conductors and light-music composers » and making sure they produce « a decent evening program » . After Hinkel introduced the requested reforms, which soon cover the whole of the entertainment programming, Gœbbels notes a generally very positive response from listeners.

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**Friday, 24 October 1941** : First symphonic concert promoting works by contemporary composers.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Erich Marckhl (Austrian composer) : ?

Armin Kaufmann (Austrian composer) : ?

Rudolf Kattnigg (Austrian composer) : Concertino for piano, flute and large string orchestra, Opus 27 (world-premiere) .

Hans Hohenstein (Austrian composer) : ?

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Walter Jentsch (German composer) : 4 musicians' pieces (first performance) .

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**Thursday, 30 October 1941** : The « Gestapo » authorizes Provost Vinzenz Hartl, who currently lives in exile in the town of Weißenkirchen-in-der-Wachau, Lower-Austria, to move to the monastery-owned Abbey of Pulgarn near Steyregg, where 11 exiled monks of St. Florian are staying. Hartl will head the Abbey until his death.

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**Saturday, 1 November 1941** : Death of starvation in prison of Doctor Bernardus (Petrus) Burgstaller, the Abbot (1938-1941) of the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz.

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**Sunday, 9 November 1941** : Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra in a special concert for Heroes' Memorial Day (« Helden-Gedenktag ») .

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**November 1941** : The expropriation of the monastery of St. Florian is completed.

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**Friday, 21 November 1941** : The Benedictine monastery of Lambach, which sits on a hill above the confluence of the rivers Traun and Ager, is confiscated « for the benefit of the German “ Reich ” » by the Linz « Gestapo » , and handed over to the authorities of the District of the Upper-Danube.

The Abbot and the monks, with the exception of a few, are banned from the monastery. From the outset, the Nazi regime helped itself to the monastery's resources and the monks suffered ever worsening reprisals.

A « National Political Institute of Education » (« National-Politische Erziehungs-Anstalten » ; NPEA or NAPOLA) - in simple terms : a Nazi Party Secondary Boarding School - is established within the walls of the monastery and on its grounds as a Nazi « élite » school with titan conversion and development plans. These institutions were founded as « community education sites » after the seizure of power in 1933.

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**Thursday, 27 November 1941** : The Augustinian monastery of St. Florian, under the self-administration of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube as trustee, only exists for tax purposes.

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**Friday, 28 November 1941** : The « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube officially becomes the legal owner of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Late-1941** : The Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») is able to present stereo recordings. The machine used is a « R 22a » tape-recorder with recording amplifiers (in pairs) V 5 and play-back amplifiers V 7b.

Franz Kinzl is called up again for military service.

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**1942** : The intense competition between the music institutions in Linz and the need for more classes and teachers lead to mergers.

The pianist and Nazi sympathizer « Frau » Gisela Göllerich, the widow of the late August Göllerich junior, is still referred to as « our Gisela Göllerich » in the correspondence coming from the Nazi cultural offices in Linz.

The Lord Mayor of Leipzig, « Gruppen-Führer SS » Alfred Freyberg, attempts to re-designate the Friday motets featuring the boys' choir of the church of St. Thomas as « “ Requiems ” for Heroes » , thereby excluding the Christian element of this weekly institution in the Leipzig cultural calendar. Cantor Günther Ramin, is able to prevent the secularization of the concerts by quoting from field-post letters of Leipzig soldiers who say that they gained strength at the front from the knowledge that they are fighting for the great tradition of St. Thomas. Thereby, Ramin manages to retain the link to Christianity. He uses the public sentiment in his argumentation whenever Freyberg attempts to interfere in the church services sang by the boys' choir.

One of Ramin's most significant regime functions is to conduct the boys' choir at St. Thomas Church in a concert of music by Johann Sebastian Bach for the benefit of a company of « Waffen-SS » , who are about to follow the call of duty. These men come from the very same troops, or at least comrades of those troops, put in service at the liquidation camps on the Eastern front. Anyone who witness this spectacle cannot escape the realisation that Bach, Adolf Hitler, concert musicians, and the churches all entered into a strange and unholy alliance.

Ramin and the Berlin Philharmonic Choir are facing war-time rationing : neither take part in official state ceremonies, Nazi Party events or concert-tours in bordering countries. And yet, in order to save their major concerts, which require an important number of soloists and large orchestral forces, considerable sums of money are granted by the German « Reich » . At the same time, as the war progresses, the choir has considerable difficulties in casting adequately the male singers. Ramin will conduct his last concert with the Philharmonic Choir on the occasion of their 60th anniversary.

Johannes Rietz starts to conduct the Stuttgart Radio Choir.

Eugen Hadamovsky is replaced and takes over the position as chief-of-staff in the Nazi Party's Central Propaganda Office (« Reichs-Propaganda-Leitung ») in Berlin.

The « Reichs-Sender » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in Vienna's 4th District produces all the radio programs for the south-east part of Europe occupied by German troops.

AEG engineer, Eduard Schüller, designs a special « dual twin record head » (« Zwilling-Kopf ») for the « Magnetophon », giving the machine the ability to record and play-back 2 channels of sound simultaneously. A pair of « K4 » models, outfitted with the new stereophonic, are delivered to the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin within a few months. Even though stereophony cannot be used for radio broadcast, the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation is willing to explore its possibilities.

After some years of development by the Broadcasting Corporation technicians, the AEG / « Magnetophon R22 » magnetic tape-recorder for recording and broadcasting is pressed into service. Sound quality wise, this magnetic tape-recorder for recording and broadcasting is an audio engineering « tour de force ». Why ? Because during the height of the war, the Allies think the Nazis have successfully developed a very high speed aircraft because live-broadcasts of Adolf Hitler speaking in Berlin are followed a short time later by similar broadcasts from Hamburg and Munich. Given the excellent sound fidelity of the magnetic tape-recorder used by the broadcasters, the Allies are not aware (until after 1945) that they are hearing magnetic tape recordings of Adolf Hitler's speeches - who are, at the time, totally indistinguishable from live radio broadcasts.

In the framework of the new cultural programming, Symphony and Opera broadcasts for the edification of listeners increasingly replace stirring ideological broadcasts. Instead of continuing to emphasize the revolutionary aspects of National-Socialism, the radio now offers, among other things, all 9 of Beethoven's Symphonies, as well as the entire « Ring des Nibelungen » by Richard Wagner. The quality of both the performances and the sound reproduction is so high that such broadcasts are also picked-up by a series of foreign radio stations. But this over-emphasis on high-culture seems too challenging to many listeners from the lower-classes.

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Adolf Hitler places Anton Bruckner on a level with Ludwig van Beethoven and categorizes the former's Seventh Symphony as « one of the most splendid manifestations of German musical creativity, the equivalent of Beethoven's Ninth » .

His feelings about Bruckner, the man and the composer, are best conveyed by remarks he made after listening to a recording of the first movement of the Seventh Symphony (**WAB 107**) at his military headquarters in **January 1942** :

« (Those are) pure popular melodies from Upper-Austria, nothing taken over literally but piece for piece “ ländler ” and so on that I know from my youth. What the man made out of this primitive material ! »

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**January 1942** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels once again receives some complaints about the radio programming. Hans Hinkel, the secretary of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, is on vacation, so Gœbbels directly blames the head of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany, Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier.

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**Wednesday, 14 January 1942 ; Sunday, 1 to Wednesday, 4 February 1942** : Doctor Josef Goebbels considers that the radio programming is not popular enough.

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**Thursday, 22 January 1942** : The city of Linz is connected to the German « telex » (tele-printers) network.

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**Sunday, 1 February 1942** : A total of 20 members of the monastery of St. Florian have to serve in the German « Wehrmacht » .

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**Tuesday, 3 February 1942** : Doctor Josef Goebbels notes in his diary :

« (...) Owing to the absence of Hinkel, the radio programs have deteriorated very much. During the hours set aside for entertainment, almost nothing but symphonic music is offered. That's what we get for letting Glasmeier appoint a musical director-general, Schulz-Dornburg, to be responsible for the entertainment program. People of this type usually sit in an ivory tower and don't know what the common man wants and what he needs most. (...) It is wrong to appoint a musical expert for so difficult a task. Experts are always handicapped in their relation to the common people. They lack the necessary instinct for realizing what the people are thinking. »

Hans Hinkel, who was on leave for a special mission at the time of this entry, was one of the Nazi « Old Guard » who took part in Adolf Hitler's ill-fated beer-cellar « Putsch » in Munich in November 1923. He became State Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of Science, Arts, and Education in 1933, and supervisor of Jewish cultural activity in 1935. Later, he joined Goebbels's « Reich » Propaganda Ministry and was put in charge of its radio section. Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier was deputy to Hinkel.

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**Sunday, 8 February 1942** : The Minister of Armaments, Fritz Todt, dies in a plane crash shortly after taking-off from Adolf Hitler's eastern headquarters at Rastenburg. Albert Speer arrived there the previous evening, and accepted Todt's offer to fly with him to Berlin. Speer cancelled some hours before take-off because, the previous night, he had been up late in a meeting with Hitler. Hitler appoints Speer in Todt's place.

Hitler also appoints Speer as head of the « Organisation Todt » (OT) , a massive, government-controlled construction company. Characteristically, Hitler does not give Speer any clear remit.

The first flurry of decisions that followed his appointment as Fritz Todt's successor allowed Albert Speer to clear away a large measure of resistance, by demonstrating that if differences of opinion arose he was ready at once to involve the « Führer » . This was quickly understood, and continued to bring him respect. But if it was all to be more than a

flash in the pan, and the promises made to Hitler were to be backed with demonstrable successes, it was going to be essential for « Todt Organisation's » still very small staff to be built-up into an effective ministry. Though Speer was at first confident that the outcome of the War would be decided by the end of 1942, and aware that his commission from Hitler would last only for the duration, it was still important for him to set-up an organization that could deliver the goods. One reason the previous economic supremo, Hermann Göring, had come to grief was that he had not been able to impose strict management on his conglomeration of authorities and responsibilities.

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**February 1942** : At the invitation of the German Bruckner Society (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») , Johannes Hollnsteiner makes a 12 day lecture-tour on the topic of « St. Florian and Bruckner » to the cities of Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg and Munich.

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**Tuesday, 3 February 1942** : From Goebbels Dairies, 1942-1943 :

« (...) Due to the absence of (Hans) Hinkel, radio programming has again deteriorated considerably. Almost only symphonic music is now played during the entertainment hours. The fact that Glasmeier has appointed general music-director Schulz-Dornburg to be responsible for the entertainment programs is taking its revenge here. These individuals are usually very distant from the people and do not know what the ordinary citizen is missing and what he needs most. (...) It is not right to use a music expert for this difficult task. Experts are always biased in their relationship with the population. They lack the necessary instinct and the extremely important empathy in regards to the way of thinking of the masses. »

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**Sunday, 8 and Monday, 9 February 1942** : Doctor Josef Goebbels substantially reduces Heinrich Glasmeier's authority at the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

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**Wednesday, 11 February 1942** : The Auxiliary Bishop of Linz, Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließer, receives the rights of a resident diocesan bishop from Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) .

Fließer acts much more pragmatically towards the Nazi regime than his predecessor, Bishop Johannes Maria Gföllner. By establishing new protected pastoral positions, he is able to save part of the Austrian clergy from being drafted into the German « Wehrmacht » . He advises against resistance in order to avoid further victims among the priests and the believers. His main concern is with the Catholic youth ; he also supports the popular liturgical movement.

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**Thursday, 12 February 1942** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » , to Professor Max Auer :

Because of the military service drafts, the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphony Orchestras must constantly help each other out. Because they are supposed to be easier to perform, the Ferdinand Löwe versions of the Bruckner Symphonies are often used.

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**Sunday, 1 March 1942** : Hermann Göring signs a decree naming Albert Speer « General Plenipotentiary for Armament Tasks » in the Four Year Plan. Speer proves to be ambitious, unrelenting and ruthless. Speer sets out to gain control not just of armaments production in the army, but in the whole armed forces.

What Speer needed to do was take firm control of the planning and management of the armament effort, and gain a head start on his rivals. For this, his newly-created set-up of industrial self-administration had to be protected from attack, and made loyal to the young minister. This would be Speer's only path to building-up a reliable power-base that would help him in his climb-up the Nazi hierarchy. « Todt Organisation's » system of having a small management staff and numerous out-stations, and staffing his offices with people with combined functions and dual loyalties, was quite out of the question.

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**Sunday, 8 March 1942** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 7 in A major, Opus 92.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) .

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The absurd situation for the city of Linz to support financially 3 different orchestras during the last few years resulted in the significant deterioration of the musicians' working conditions. Something had to be done ...

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**26 March 1942** : Letter from Ignaz Brantner, the director of the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») , to the Municipal Economic Office of Linz :

« (...) This request is justified by the fact that the musicians often have to perform 50 hours a week, and even more. They are rarely able to take meals at normal times due to the strenuous demands of the programmed works. The rehearsals often last until 2:00 pm, and even longer. They can rarely leave the theatre before 11:00 pm, after the

performances. They can hardly go to bed before 1:00 am, when the orchestra is on tour. (...)

Heil Hitler ! »

(« (...) Begründet wird dieses Ansuchen durch die Tatsache, daß das Orchester-Mitglied oft wöchentlich 50 Stunden und noch mehr Dienst leisten muß und durch die Art des Betriebes selten in der Lage ist, zur normalen Zeit die Mahlzeiten einzunehmen, da die Proben oft bis zu 14 Uhr und noch länger dauern und bei musikalischen Vorstellungen selten vor 11 Uhr nachts den Betrieb verlassen kann, bei Gastspiel-Reisen aber vor 1 Uhr morgens kaum sein Heim betreten kann. (...)

Heil Hitler ! »)

Director Brantner also mentions that the orchestra is currently composed of 40 players - another element to take into consideration.

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**1942** : Nazi authorities ban Johannes Hollnsteiner from writing books.

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**Wednesday, 1 April 1942** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is re-employed as manager of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » of St. Florian.

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**Monday, 13 April 1942 (5:30 pm)** : Symphonic concert broadcast by « Reichs-Sender » Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

**Anton Bruckner** : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (**WAB 104**) .

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**Monday, 20 April 1942** : 53th birthday of Adolf Hitler. Doctor Josef Gœbbels offers an « AEG K5 Magnetophon » as a personal gift to the « Führer » .

The first German « Tiger » tank produced in the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » , located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz, is presented to Adolf Hitler at the new « Reich » Chancellery.

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**Thursday, 30 April 1942** : 75th birthday of Franz Lehár. Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, the head of the Radio Broadcasting



Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , offers the celebrated composer a bouquet of flowers during a simple ceremony.

On 12 January 1939 and 30 April 1940, Lehár personally received awards from Adolf Hitler in Berlin and Vienna, including the Gœthe Medal.

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**May 1942** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is relieved from military service by « Reich » Minister Josef Gœbbels.

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**Sunday, 17 May 1942 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 8 in F major, Opus 93.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) .

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**Monday, 25 May 1942** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, is also appointed authorized regional representative of Labour.

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**Night of Saturday, 30 to Sunday, 31 May 1942** : The Cologne « Funkhaus » at « Dagobertstraße » Number 38 in the Kunibertsviertel district is badly damaged in a British air-raid.

The British conducted a large bombing attack on Cologne, the largest attack to date and an example of what was to come. Though damaging, it would never break German morale.

The Supreme Command of the « Wehrmacht » announced :

« British bombers conducted a terror bombing of Cologne's centre over the past night, causing great damage through bombs and fires, particularly in residential areas and to public buildings, including for example 3 churches and 2 hospitals. The British Air Force suffered heavy losses in these attacks on the civilian population. Night fighters and “ flak ” shot down 36 of the attacking bombers. A further bomber was brought down by coastal artillery. »

As so often before, the air-raid alarms sound at midnight in Cologne. As the first bombs fall at 12:15 am, everyone believes that his neighbourhood is the target. No one yet knows that the British are making a major attack and are attempting to destroy the residential areas of the whole city. In the glare of search-lights of Cologne's defensive ring, the first enemy planes break through the evening clouds.

The « flak » (anti-aircraft canons) begins to fire. The first British attack wave goes after « flak » positions, using dive bombers with bombs and machine guns. Some hit their targets. There are dead and wounded, but the light and heavy guns continue firing, shot after shot. Amidst the roar of « flak » shells, there are the sounds of exploding heavy bombers and the crackling hail of falling incendiary bombs and clusters. The first flames ignite. Flames shoot from apartment buildings and department stores, swelling, blazing flames that greedily spread. The dark city is brightly illuminated by the red glow of widespread fires.

In steady new waves, the British openly ignore military targets and aim for the city's residential districts. The insect-like buzzing of their airplanes sounds ever more menacing, and the dreadful sounds of exploding shells and detonating bombs, mixed with the chattering of machine guns aimed at the civilian population, grows ever louder.

For over an hour and a half, a terrible hail of hundreds of bombs and incendiary canisters, over a dozen block-busters and over 100,000 incendiary bombs fall on Cologne's residential districts. Apartment buildings and multi-storied buildings burn, collapsing with loud crashes.

Only after 2:30 am do these terrible sounds begin to quiet down, and one hears only the crackling of greedy flames and the sounds of falling ceilings and collapsing walls. At the dawn of a rainy morning, the whole city is covered with clouds of mist and smoke, interrupted by raging flames. Hardly a neighbourhood of Cologne is untouched, nor are churches, museums, schools, hospitals and other community buildings spared. The « major attack » on the open city of Cologne, which the British call « The largest air-attack in history » is aimed only and exclusively at the civilian population.

One does not need to conceal the extent of the damage. The civilian population suffered great loss of life and property. Several hundred died this night. Thousands more were wounded to a greater or lesser degree, and tens of thousands became homeless.

Irreplaceable treasures in Cologne's centre were forever destroyed. Artistically valuable public buildings and dwellings which were under landmark preservation vanished from the scene, such as the Vanderstein-Bellen building on the Haymarket, the Guild House « Unter Goldschmied », the « Faßbinder-Zunft » House on the « Filzen-Graben », the Temple House on the « Rhine-Gasse », the Overstolzen House on Eigelstein, the blocks around the Old Market, the « Glocken-Straße », « In der Höhe », « am Lichthof », the « Marien-Platz », the « Straßburger » and the « Salz-Gasse », the « Mathias-Straße » and « Weber-Straße » .

21 churches were heavily damaged, most completely destroyed. They were among the most important treasures of German architecture. Among them were three of the oldest and most artistically significant churches in Germany : «

Maria im Kapitol » , « St. Apostel » , and « St. Gereon » .

The commercial sector had only minor and temporary damage. There was no serious damage. From the type and nature of the attack, there is no doubt that it was directed at the civilian population, not military targets. Even the English press, which is never reluctant to invent successes, did not make an attempt to claim the terror attack on Cologne was a military success.

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**Tuesday, 16 June 1942** : Letter from Johannes Hollnsteiner to the publishing-house Hans E. Günther :

The first edition of Father Hollnsteiner's book entitled « Das Stift St. Florian und Anton Bruckner Bilder zur deutschen Kultur- und Kunst-Geschichte » (The monastery of St. Florian and Anton Bruckner - on German culture and art history) which appeared in 1940 is completely sold-out.

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**Saturday, 20 June 1942** : Adolf Hitler visits the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**1942** : Conductor Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg heads a special group called « serious but generally understandable music » : the entertainment and artistic department within the program division of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») at the House of Broadcasting (« Haus des Rundfunks ») in Berlin, which means that he reports directly to Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

At the request of Doctor Anton Fellner, the cultural representative of August Eigruber,, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, Georg-Ludwig Jochum announces his favourites candidates for the upcoming organ competition. He considers Professor Ludwig Daxspurger to be the best in the region. His opponents are Adolf Trittinger, Wolfgang Auler and Doctor Hellmuth Müllner.

Reduced to purely administrative and representative tasks at the « Funkhaus » on « Nalepa-Straße » in Berlin, Heinrich Glasmeier fights the dismantling of the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » . He prepares for Adolf Hitler (who still holds him in high-esteem) a megalomaniac project : the transformation of the Augustinian monastery of St. Florian into a Brucknerian cultural complex which includes broadcasting studios. As President of the « Reich » Chamber of Radio, Doctor Josef Goebbels's sphere of influence has greatly diminished at this point. With the War taking a turn for the worse, he believes that Glasmeier's idea is becoming more and more questionable - but the « Führer » (who as a sweet spot for the Linz region) gives its approval.

The city of Linz is to receive a new powerful radio transmitter, for which a 3.3 hectare site was purchased south of the capital, in Fleckendorf near Ansfelden. The cost of war will not allow the project to become reality.

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The Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra (« Städtisches Symphonie-Orchester ») survived in its original form **until the summer of 1942** ; after that, it functioned mainly as the Orchestra for the Opera House. In the meantime, the authorities in Berlin unveiled plans to re-organize the entire German Broadcasting network and create a completely new National Radio Orchestra in Linz which would draw its players from all over Germany.

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**Summer 1942** : After a few visits, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier decides to have the rooms in the monastery buildings checked for their suitability for his major conversion project.

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**Saturday, 27 June 1942 and Friday, 31 July 1942** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels receives Heinrich Glasmeier in his office and warns him to keep out of radio programming.

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**Friday, 17 July 1942** : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to musicologist Robert Haas :

Last Tuesday (**July 14**) , Friedrich Werner had received a letter from Philipp Gaissert in Stuttgart, according to which all the scores from the estate of Doctor Karl Muck were intended for the Prussian State Library.

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**Monday, 20 July 1942** : Letter from « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels :

Glasmeier reports to Gœbbels about the lease negotiations in St. Florian. Adolf Hitler had commissioned « Gauleiter » August Eigruber to maintain the great Bruckner tradition in the monastery.

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**Sunday, 26 July 1942** : « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier reports to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

The Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») has leased the monastery of St. Florian from the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube for a period of **99 years**.

The organs of the Collegiate Church and the whole Augustinian complex offer ideal conditions for maintaining the Bruckner tradition, for producing and broadcasting high-quality classical music and for holding conferences and offering courses.

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**Tuesday, 28 July 1942** : Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier asks Doctor Josef Gœbbels for 5 million « Reich » Marks from the construction reserve fund of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , which represents a quarter of the total amount needed for the entire St. Florian project. He also asks for the release of 500,000 « Reich » Marks worth of foreign currency in order to buy furniture, tapestries and other valuable pieces of equipment abroad, especially in France and Italy. While the 5 millions are immediately approved, the foreign exchange release encounters difficulties, which Glasmeier solves by quickly establishing facts and making corresponding purchases abroad without any authorization.

For the construction management, he brings to St. Florian an old acquaintance from his years as Westphalian archive director, namely the Düsseldorf architect Franz Leonhard Schneider (born on 23 April 1877 in Eslohe, in North Rhine-Westphalia ; died in 1948 in Düsseldorf) , who has already planned and built for him in 1923 the new Landsberg archive building in Velen. (At the age of 35, Schneider, a Catholic, conservative-bourgeois, was already studying architecture at the Technical University of Karlsruhe with Carl Schäfer. In 1930, he won the competition for the complete development of the Königsmünster Abbey in Meschede. His daughters Eva - born in 1914 - and Maria - born in 1918 - will die in a bombing raid in 1945. Schneider will take-over the restoration of Lembeck Castle in 1947, where he will set-up an office.)

A variety of construction measures, mainly preserving the original buildings, are put in place immediately.

More plans for extensive renovation and expansion are also worked out :

A collegiate theatre.

A hall for prelates and monks.

A convertible hall in front of the summer refectory.

A crystal gallery.

A showcase room.

However, these far-reaching plans are not materialize, although Glasmeier often succeeds in circumventing war-related restrictions through tricks and deception.

The 1932 renovation of the great organ of the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian had been unsuccessful and its condition was becoming deplorable when the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany decided to rebuild it completely. According to the advice of the Cantor of St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, Professor Günther Ramín, the rebuilt instrument was supposed to become a 5 manual organ according to North German ideals and tradition. However, the projected rebuild suggested by Professor Josef Mertin of Vienna, an accepted authority on Baroque organs was accepted. Mertin suggested that the tonal character of the original Franz-Xaver Chrismann organ

be re-created, a fourth manual be built which would contain that tonal scheme demanded by music of later periods. The contract for this restoration was awarded to Wilhelm Zika of Ottensheim. This restoration was begun in 1945 and the Positiv division was completed in June.

...

On the recommendation of Leipzig's Cantor of St. Thomas Church, Professor Günther Ramín, who will become the director of the « " Reich " Bruckner Choir of the " Reich " Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (« Reichs-Bruckner-Chor der Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft Leipzig ») and St. Florian's permanent organist, the famous instrument of the Collegiate Church, known since 1932 as the « Bruckner Organ », was undergoing a complete restoration - including expansion work - at a high-cost under the responsibility of the Viennese organ-expert Professor Josef Mertin, which could only be completed after World War II.

(« Die Chor-Orgeln wurden noch an die Haupt-Orgel, die seit 1932 « Bruckner-Orgel » genannt wurde, angeschlossen. Während der Besetzung des Stiftes durch die National-Sozialisten (Reichs-Rundfunk-Anstalt) sollte die Orgel erneut Umbau- und Erweiterungs-Arbeiten unterzogen werden. Nach Vorschlag des Leipziger Thomas-Kantors Günther Ramín, der auch als Organist für Sankt Florian vorgesehen war, sollte die Orgel grundlegend umgebaut werden. Jedoch konnte sich das Konzept von Josef Mertin durchsetzen, wonach wieder eine stärkere Anlehnung an die alte Krismann-Orgel geplant war. Die Firma Zika aus Ottensheim, Oberösterreich, arbeitete jedoch wegen Material-Beschaffungs-Problemen in der ausgehenden Kriegs-Zeit bis 1951 an dem Umbau : Das Krismannsche Werk-Prinzip sollte weitgehend wiederhergestellt werden, die Orgel erhielt wieder Schleifladen und fehlende Krismann-Pfeifen wurden neu erstellt. Die Trakturen blieben elektro-pneumatisch, die Register-Zahl beläuft sich seitdem auf 103. Nach dem Vorschlag Professor Josef Mertins wurden ein Trompeten- und ein Regal-Werk als Auxiliar-Klavier sowie ein Schwell-Kasten (darin das Labial-Werk) hinzugebaut. »)

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**Sunday, 16 August 1942** (4:30 pm) : Organ concert at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian placed under the sponsorship of the cultural representative of the « Gauleiter » and « Reich » Governor of the Upper-Danube.

Professor Friedrich Högner (from Munich) plays on the « Bruckner Organ » .

### Programme

Georg Muffat : Toccata No. 11 in C minor (« Toccata undecima ») from the corpus « Apparatus Musico-Organisticus » .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Organ Fantasia in F minor, « Ein Orgelstück für eine Uhr » (K. 608) .

Johann Nepomuk David : Organ variations on the hymn « Veni Creator Spiritus » .

Free improvisation.

## Johann Sebastian Bach : Toccata and Fugue in D minor (BWV 565) .

Professor Högner went to Regensburg in 1925 as city cantor and church music-director. He returned to the Leipzig Conservatory as an organ teacher in 1929. There, he was organist at the « Pauliner-Kirche » and was appointed professor at the Church Music Institute in 1934. He was appointed the regional church music-director of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria in 1937.

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**Tuesday, 18 August 1942** : « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier signs in Berlin the lease agreement of the monastery of St. Florian to the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation for a period of 99 years for a symbolic payment of 1 « Reichs-Mark » per year.

He also succeeds in obtaining from Adolf Hitler the formal approval for the project, which will include considerable financial resources from the « Reich » .

Doctor Glasmeier becomes the « Führer's » agent to create a « first-rate cultural complex » : the « Bruckner Monastery » .

The objectives of the « St. Florian project » are ambitious :

Making the private art-collections of the monastery accessible to the public.

Construction of a Museum of history focusing on the Baroque period in the Upper-Danube region.

Establishment of a research-centre of German history in Austria.

Relocation of the headquarters of the « Bruckner Society » , under the presidency of Wilhelm Furtwängler, from Vienna to St. Florian.

Creation of a permanent annual Bruckner festival.

Holding regular organ improvisation competitions in Linz and St. Florian.

Foundation of a training-school for orchestral conductors.

Foundation of a training-school for musicians.

The monastery is to become a « House of Culture » and the great « Bruckner Organ » is to be used « in the service of the people » , meaning that it is to assist in the ritualization of Nazi Party activities. (Adolf Hitler will

agree to pay for the renovation of the instrument.)

In the words of Heinrich Kronsteiner :

« The “ Bruckner Organ ” in St. Florian was the prototype of all the organs in the Upper-Danube District and, indeed, in all Austria, and one saw it already becoming a secular rather than a religious instrument. »

...

The administration of the monastery of St. Florian (there was a separate administrative office in St. Florian and a liaison office at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation in Berlin, and at the « Reichs-Sender » in Munich) is taking shape.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, from the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») , is appointed program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and personal advisor to Doctor Glasmeier concerning all music matters. Schulz-Dornburg also receives the mandate to establish, in the final phase of the war, a radio station at the « Bruckner Monastery » (« Reichs-Sender St. Florian ») .

The other subordinates are :

Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the radio technician at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin, is named head acoustician and management director, as defined in the « Law for the Protection of National Labour » . Schwaiger will also represents Doctor Glasmeier at formal official events.

Glasmeier's instructions to Schwaiger are clear :

« Make sure that you are always present when individuals of “ rank and status ” come to visit us - especially those from the Ministries ! »

Schwaiger's Deputy, Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer (who had already worked for Doctor Glasmeier as broadcasting director at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne) , is appointed curator of the art-collection and the library at the monastery, and the library of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation. He is also given the responsibility of the « St. Florian project » . Fischer, who starts to plan the establishment of a broadcasting centre inside the walls of the monastery, is producing for now the musical and literary morning programs in St. Florian.

As for Doctor Friedrich Castelle, the Intendant of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne (and strong supporter of the Nazi regime) , he now has the responsibility of dealing with the life and work of Anton Bruckner.

Glasmeier insists in sealing-off the monastery from the Ministries in Berlin, especially the Ministry for Public



Enlightenment and Propaganda. This is the only way he believed he could build an independent and strong position for himself. It is not surprising that, about 10 months after his arrival in St. Florian, the Intendant compiled with the utmost care a report for Doctor Josef Goebbels, the man who managed to take away all power belonging to him at the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation.

But at the same time, Glasmeier tries to gain strong support by sending personal invitations to the important figures from the « Reich ». Martin Bormann's personal advisor and Albert Speer are considered distinguished guests in St. Florian.

The emblem of the Nazi-secularised « Bruckner Monastery » designed by Glasmeier demonstrates the brazen self-importance of the Nazi ideology. It is an idiosyncratic combination of the holy-cross (the crest of St. Florian monastery), the « swastika » under the cover of the Imperial eagle, and the coat-of-arms of the Glasmeier family from the town of Dorsten in Westphalia, which corresponds to the Intendant's personal vanity as well as the anachronism between the feudal monastic atmosphere and the state-of-the-art broadcasting technology inherent in the « St. Florian project ».

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**Wednesday, 19 August 1942** : Accommodation is ordered for 12,000 refugees who were victim of air-raids in the Upper-Danube region.

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**Thursday, 27 August 1942** : The Minister of Armaments Albert Speer and Professor Ferdinand Porsche visit the industrial plants of the « Hermann Göring " Reich " Steel Works » in Steyr (old Steyr-Daimler-Puch A.G.) and in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

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**End of August 1942 (?)** : An organ concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian opens the « Culture Days » of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube. Renown organists including Professor Ludwig Daxsperger perform works by Anton Bruckner including the Prelude and Fugue in C minor (**WAB 131**).

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**Monday, 31 August 1942** : The property report on the monastery of St. Florian (a hard-covered account book of 151 pages covering the period from January 1 to November 26, 1941) is submitted by accounting expert Gottfried Hartl.

The central assets balance-sheet - dated November 26, 1941 - shows own assets of 1,638,288.64 « Reich » Marks. This includes « all movable and immovable property, with the exception of the church and all other treasures, as well as collections and works of art ».

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**Tuesday, 1 September 1942** : Almost one year after the expropriation initiated by the « Gestapo », the « Reich »

Broadcasting Corporation officially takes over the monastery of St. Florian. The refugees who had been quartered there until the summer have to leave again.

The technical advisor (and confidant) of Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger (from the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin) , is now in charge of the day-to-day management of the « St. Florian project » . The lease agreement and transformation contract officially comes into force.

In the weeks of September and the next few months, more employees follow : partly from the « Reichs-Sender » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna, and partly from the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin.

This marks the beginning of the last phase in Glasmeier's plan which, although it only lasted about 2 and a half years, is certainly the strangest - both literally and figuratively.

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**Friday, 4 September 1942** : The first air-raid to hit Austria is conducted by the Soviets.

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**Wednesday, 9 September 1942 or Friday, 18 September 1942** : Letter from « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to the (Nazi) Lord Mayor of Linz Doctor Leopold Sturma :

« I have, with effect from September 15, disbanded all the radio choirs and am currently pooling the finest and freshest singers to form the new “ Bruckner Choir ”, which will comprise some 48 voices. If possible, I would like to relocate this choir to Linz with effect from April 1, 1943, so that the choir can perform there independently and also as the basis of a greater choir of around 200 voices, made up of Linz's residents. »

In addition to massive investments in infrastructure and economy as well as planning for urban re-development, the so-called « Reichs-Sender St. Florian » is founded in the Augustinian monastery near Linz. Adolf Hitler advocates the establishment of a new radio orchestra in St. Florian or in Linz. But the original plan to engage musicians from the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra for this purpose is finally abandoned.

Glasmeier is not only concerned with the transformation of the monastery but also with matters concerning the surrounding country.

Through an agreement between August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, and the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant, the surroundings are placed under « extended landscape protection » in order to preserve the intrinsic character of the entire area.

Long-term plans include the development of the market-town and the regulation of the existing buildings.

The minutes taken from a meeting indicate that the area around the « Bruckner Monastery » should not exceed 5,000 inhabitants, and consist only « if possible, of people coming from local peasant families » .

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**Tuesday, 15 September 1942** : Disbandment of all the German radio choirs by the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

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**Autumn 1942** : Audio-technicians from the « Reichs-Sender » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna begins to carry-out the first acoustic tests in the rooms of the monastery of St. Florian. These measurements continue over the next few weeks.

At the same time, talks between the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation and the District administration are engaged. After long and tough negotiations, the 2 sides finally come to an agreement.

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**Sunday, 27 September 1942** : Third anniversary of the occupation of Warsaw by the « Wehrmacht » .

Opening day of the annual Culture Days of Warsaw.

Welcoming speech by « Reich » Intendant and « SS-Oberführer » Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

Then, the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra under its principal director Paul van Kempen (1934-1942) performs the Prelude to Act I of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

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**Tuesday, 29 September 1942** : Review of Sunday's concert in the Warsaw « Zeitung » , Number 230 :

« (...) Slowly, the hall sinks into darkness. The Dresden Philharmonic kicks off the celebration. The “ Egmont ” Overture resonates under the baton of Paul van Kempen. Then, the Governor (of the Warsaw District) and Commander of the S.A. , Doctor (Ludwig) Fischer, takes the floor and says :

“ For the third time since the flag of the ' Führer ' has been flying over this hall, we have gathered for the opening of the German Culture Days in Warsaw. This time, September 27 was chosen as the opening day not without consideration because, on this day 3 years ago, the victorious German troops marched into the city. Out of deepest gratitude, we therefore dedicate these Cultural Days to our soldiers and wounded. ” (...) »

Ludwig Fischer is directly responsible for a number of war crimes, as well as crimes against humanity. He oversees the establishment of the Warsaw Ghetto and issues many anti-Semitic laws, as well as participating in the bloody Ghetto de-establishment and deportation. He is also responsible for terror in the occupied city, including mass-executions,

slave-labour programs and the deportation of Poles and Polish Jews to the various German concentration-camps.

...

Inauguration of the new revolving stage of the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

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**During the course of 1942** : A completely new symphony orchestra particularly indebted to the symphonic works of Anton Bruckner is to be put together from a selection of the most qualified instrumentalists of the existing radio orchestras, and to be formed in the shortest time possible into THE leading orchestra of the Third « Reich » . Even if the progress of the War hampers the recruitment of sufficient outstanding players, auditions are held in Berlin, Hamburg and Munich.

A one year rehearsal period is planned for this purpose. Georg-Ludwig Jochum, who made a very strong impression in the decisive circles of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda when he guest-conducted the Berlin Philharmonic, is officially appointed as the new orchestra's « trainer » . Consequently, assistant-conductor Willy Wickenhäuser succeeds Jochum as music-director of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

The increasing bombing of German cities made it easier for the Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to recruit. Despite the top-salaries that were offered to the musicians, the new orchestra, which was previously considered provincial, by no means reached the attractiveness of the Vienna Philharmonic. However, it had the advantage of being largely spared from Allied bombings.

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**October 1942** : Robert Hohlbaum, who earns more than twice as much from his literary writing as from his role as library director, leaves the Ruhr area to direct the prestigious Thuringian State Library in Weimar (now, the Duchess Anna Amalia Library) . He will keep this position until 1944.

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**Thursday, 8 October 1942** : Giving himself up in a quasi-feudal attitude, the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier finally moves in the monastery of St. Florian. During his tenure, he uses the countless rooms of the former prelatore.

He also assembles a personal orchestra composed of 25 musicians to celebrate Bruckner.

Herbert von Karajan recalls :

« This is where he lived, and how ! He wore a sand-coloured lined monk's cloak and only moved with a silver cane. Every evening, he dined face-to-face with the old abbot of the convent. »

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**Wednesday, 14 October 1942** : Letter from female composer Mathilde von Kralik (an old Bruckner student and a fellow-colleague of Gustav Mahler at the Vienna Conservatory) to Doctor Josef Gœbbels, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture :

Referring to earlier correspondence and expert reports, Kralik suggests that one of her operas, « Walther von der Vogelweide » or « Weißblume » , be performed on the occasion of her 85th birthday which is coming on Thursday, 3 December 1942.

« (...) You, highly-esteemed “ Herr ” “ Reich ” Minister, who is committed to intellectual work in all fields of society, will certainly consider my musical accomplishments. As a last hour tribute, I am asking for your crucial support, all the more so since I can include myself among Bruckner’s pupils, of whom I am now, perhaps, the only survivor. (...) »

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Due to the occupation of the monastery by the Nazis, the « Bruckner Organ » again requires renovation and expansion work.

**Sunday, 18 October 1942** : The Leipzig Cantor of St. Thomas Church, Professor Günther Ramín (who also is intended as the next organist at the monastery of St. Florian) , gives an expert opinion on the state of the « Bruckner Organ » . Following his proposal, the instrument should be fundamentally re-structured. However, the concept enforced by Professor Josef Mertin plans a stronger reference to the old Krismann organ.

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**Wednesday, 21 October 1942** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, counter-signs in Linz the lease agreement of the monastery of St. Florian to the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation for a period of 99 years for a symbolic payment of 1 « Reich » Mark per year.

...

Second symphonic concert of the season of the Society of Friends of Music.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Robert Schumann : Symphony No. 2 in C major, Opus 61.

Hans Pfitzner : Violin Concerto in B minor, Opus 34.

Hans Pfitzner : « Fons salutaris » , hymn for mixed-choir, orchestra and organ, Opus 48 (1941-1942) .

Franz Liszt : « Les Préludes » , Symphonic-poem No. 3 after Alphonse de Lamartine (S. 97) .

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**Thursday, 22 October 1942** : Herbert von Karajan violates Nazi dictum by marrying his second wife, Anna Maria (« Anita ») Gütermann - the heiress to a textile fortune who was burdened with a Jewish grandfather. As a result, Karajan is dismissed from the Nazi Party.

His career in Germany is a shambles, as he conducts a handful of contracted concerts in bomb-blitzed Berlin with the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » whilst trying to find work. The prosecution of his agent Rudolf Vedder also contributes to his temporary professional decline.

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**Friday, 23 October 1942** : Article by the Intendant of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne, Doctor Friedrich Castelle, entitled « Thoughts on the Commemoration » (« Gedanken zur Festschrift ») , reporting on the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier who is supervising the establishment of a broadcasting centre in the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Tuesday, 27 October 1942** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber and « SS-Obergruppen-Führer » August Heißmeyer inaugurate the first German Secondary Boarding School (« National Political Institute of Education » ; « National-Politische Erziehungs-Anstalten ») in the Upper-Danube region, which is set-up in the confiscated Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz. A few monks will remain there during the Nazi occupation.

(Heißmeyer will be given the right to bear the title of « General of the “ Waffen-SS ” » , along with his regular SS-rank, on November 14, 1944.)

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**November 1942** : At the request of « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, Doctor Friedrich Castelle starts working at the monastery of St. Florian. Among other things, he begins the inventory of all the written and pictorial documents related to composer Anton Bruckner. He will be under the supervision of Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » .

As thousands of German soldiers died needlessly every day in front of Stalingrad, Adolf Hitler sketches a gigantic Wilhelminian monument - which as a striking resemblance with the Victory Column (« Sieges-Säule ») in Berlin - to the glory of Anton Bruckner which he planned to erect in his re-designed home-town of Linz.

Hans Fritzsche accepts a newly-created position in the Propaganda Ministry, that of Plenipotentiary for the Political Organization of the Greater German Radio. At the same time, he also becomes head of the Radio Division of the Propaganda Ministry. He had no involvement in creating policy.

In Doctor Josef Gœbbels's introduction to a book by Fritzsche called « War to the War Mongers » , Gœbbels writes :

« Nobody knows better than I how much work is involved in those (Fritzsche's) broadcasts, how many times they were dictated within the last minutes to find some minutes later a willing ear by the whole nation. »

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**Saturday, 7 and Sunday, 8 November 1942** : During a train ride with his Minister of Armaments Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler sketches a draft (Iconography : IKO 292b) for the erection of a Bruckner memorial in the city of Linz.

(Was the variant Iconography : IKO 292a also drafted at the same time ?)

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**Monday, 9 November 1942** : Memorial ceremony for the fallen Soldiers in Linz, which takes place at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») .

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**Monday, 16 November 1942** : The successes achieved by August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, lead to his appointment as « Reich » Defence Commissar, and thus, is given responsibility for matters relating to the civil defence of the « Reich » .

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**Wednesday, 25 November 1942** : Following the approval by Adolf Hitler on 14 August 1942, August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, declares during a speech given in Linz that the monastery of St. Florian has been rented to the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

The plan consists essentially in establishing on the premises of the monastery the general headquarters of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (to air symphonic music, especially by Bruckner) and the « German Bruckner Society » , but also the creation of a « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra and Choir » and the presentation, on a permanent base, of a Bruckner festival.

The imprint of Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier slowly takes hold. The first organizational problems are solved, and the management issue of St. Florian (Munich or Berlin) , which is important for broadcasting work, is tackled.

Meanwhile, preparatory work begins in the « Reich » . The sheet-music for St. Florian are obtained from the broadcasting houses in Cologne and Leipzig.

...

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, announces the plans for the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian and the creation of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » .

Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig, reports that Professor Günther Ramín (arguably the most eminent choral expert of his generation) has promised to conduct the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (« Reichs-Bruckner-Chor der Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft Leipzig ») on certain conditions.

Ramín insists on remaining the Cantor of St. Thomas Church as a pre-condition of his agreeing to take-up the baton for the « Bruckner Choir » .

...

Letter from Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig, to Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project » :

Professor Günther Ramín (who had agreed to rehearse the newly-formed « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig ») does not want to take over the position of organist in St. Florian. « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier suggested to find an organist originating from the cultural region of « Ostmark » (State of Austria) .

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**Sunday, 29 and Monday, 30 November 1942** : Old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » in Berlin. Second subscription-concert of the season 1942-1943.

The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Concerto in A minor for 4 pianos (harpsichords) , strings, and basso continuo (BWV 1065) , after Antonio Vivaldi's Opus 3. Soloists : Herbert von Karajan, Conrad Hansen, Ferry Gebhardt, Pal Kib.

### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Sunday, 29 November 1942 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary symphonic concert given for the Hitler Youth.



Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major Opus 60.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

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**Monday, 30 November 1942** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Repeat of yesterday's extraordinary symphonic concert given for the Hitler Youth.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, Opus 60.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

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**Between November 1942 and March 1943** : A total of 15 days of auditions are held for the formation of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » . A total of 156 musicians will formally apply for a position. The respective (supplying) orchestras are pressured to release them if necessary. Just over half, namely 80 of them, are ultimately short-listed. The orchestra size targeted for the initial phase is not quite reached at first.

The long-term goal is to achieve a total of 110 but the progress of the war will hamper the recruitment of sufficient outstanding players.

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**December 1942** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier publishes an appeal to the best German musicians to join the new radio orchestra in Linz.

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**Saturday, 12 December 1942** : The reconstructed building of the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » is consecrated again with a staging of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler, shortly after the 200th anniversary of the original opening of the opera house.

...

Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » (who works for the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and the « Musicological Publishers ») to Professor Max Auer :

Procurator Wendler talks to Professor Auer about Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier's monumental project for the monastery of St. Florian.

« A few days ago, I also heard from “ Reich ” intendant Doctor Glasmeier, whom you yourself know from earlier, about the new plans for St. Florian, and I am speechless about what is going to happen there. (...) In any case, the new Linz radio orchestra is already being assembled, and the best players are being drawn from the best orchestras, because - how could it be otherwise - it is of course to become the best European orchestra. »

(« Vor einigen Tagen hörte ich auch vom Reichsintendant Dr. Glasmeier, den Sie ja selbst von früher her kennen, über die neuen Pläne von St. Florian, und bin sprachlos, was dort alles geschehen soll. (...) Jedenfalls wird das Orchester für den Linzer Sender schon jetzt zusammengestellt, und zwar werden aus den besten Orchestern wiederum die besten Spieler herausgezogen, da es - wie könnte es anders sein - natürlich das beste europäische Orchester werden soll. »)

The Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company and « Musicological Publishers » of Leipzig will benefit from this project by supplying the music-scores of Bruckner's works for the new orchestra.

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**Monday, 14 December 1942** : Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , to « Sonder-Führer » Otto Sonnen, the German artistic director of « Radio-Paris » (a pianist, member of the Nazi Party since May 1933) :

« (...) I have been on the (military) field again for almost half a year, traveling back and forth between Sicily, Crete, Africa and Tunis. Doctor Glasmeier took me on a leave of absence from work because, on the “ Führer's ” orders, we had to press ahead with our plans for radio broadcasting after the War, especially the expansion of the “ Bruckner Monastery ” of St. Florian, with a new orchestra and so on. (...) »

« Radio-Paris » was a French radio broadcasting company best-known for its Axis propaganda broadcasts in Vichy France during the War. « Radio-Paris » evolved from the first private radio station in France, called « Radiola » , founded by pioneering French engineer Émile Girardeau in 1922. It became « Radio-Paris » on March 29, 1924, and

remained so through June 17, 1940, transitioning to state ownership in December 1933 as the premiere station in the country. It kept its name from July 1940 until August 1944, but the station was then run by Nazis and French collaborators. In occupied Paris, « le Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris » was quickly able to compete with « l'orchestre de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire », and its public concerts at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, given free of charge on Sunday mornings, became one of the most popular events for Parisian music-lovers. It is indeed difficult to resist the prospect of listening to the German symphonic repertoire under the direction of masters such as Carl Schuricht, Hans Rosbaud, Carl Leonhardt or even the young Herbert von Karajan, even if it is even more at the Palais de Chaillot that the occupant reserves his most prestigious batons : in this immense hall of 3,500 seats, Eugen Jochum, Clemens Krauß or Hans Knappertsbusch undertake to demonstrate the superiority of German genius at the head of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra or that of the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle ». « Radio-Paris » was shut down on the evening of August 15, 1944, by a trained police commando action, as part of the liberation of Paris.

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**1942-1944** : Correspondence covering the establishment of the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

The inventory contains, among others, the correspondence with Georg-Ludwig Jochum, Oswald Kabasta, Joseph Keilberth, Hans Knappertsbusch, Walter Kraft, Josef Mertin (including an expert report on the condition the organs at the abbatial church of the monastery of St. Florian, and a proposal for their reconstructions) , Anton Nowakowski, Felix Oberborbeck, Eberhard Preußner, Günther Ramín, Hermann Reutter, Roman Schimmer, Wilhelm Schleuning, Michael Schneider, Gerhard Schwarz, Adolf Steiner, Karl Tutein, Hermann Unger, Otto Volkmann, Helmut Wobisch and Frank Wohlfahrt.

### Biographical information

**Walter Kraft**, German organist, pedagogue and composer : born on 9 June 1905 in Cologne ; died on 9 May 1977 in Amsterdam. Studied composition with Paul Hindemith in Berlin. Organist at the « Markus-Kirche » in Hamburg from 1924 to 1927. Organist at the « Luther-Kirche » in Altona-Bahrenfeld from 1927 to 1929. He was unanimously chosen in 1929 from 45 applicants as organist at the « Marien-Kirche » in Lübeck, and was appointed for life on a full-time basis (until 1972) . During this tenure, Kraft revived the practice of evening concerts of sacred works. Such concerts, collectively called « Abend-Musik », had been regularly given by his predecessors at the church, notably Dietrich Buxtehude and Franz Tunder ; but they had ceased in 1810, mainly due to the dislocation caused to northern Germany by the Napoleonic wars. The « Marien-Kirche » was destroyed in 1942, but Kraft resumed his post there after it was restored. He was also a professor of organ at the Music College of Freiburg (from 1947) . In addition, he served as director of the Schleswig-Holstein Academy of Music from 1950 to 1955.

**Josef Mertin**, Austrian ensemble conductor, singer, organist, organ-builder, also well-versed in music history : born on 21 March 1904 in Braunau-am-Inn, Bohemia (on the border with Germany) ; died on 16 February 1998 in Vienna. He gave a decisive impulse for organ restoration and also supervised the building of a number of instruments. As a teacher, he was one of the pioneers of historical performance practice in Vienna. After completing his basic music training (boy choir, violin, piano, organ, instrument making) at the Benedictine Abbey of Braunau (Broumov) , Mertin

taught music at the grammar school of Braunau-am-Inn in 1922. He arrived in Vienna in 1925 on a scholarship from the firm « Benedict Schroll's Sohn ». There, he passed the final examination for church music in 1927, and, in 1928, passed the teaching qualification examination in singing and the final examination in conducting. At the same time, he studied with Josef Lechthaler, Joseph Marx, Franz Schmidt, Egon Wellesz, Hugo Kauder and Rudolf von Ficker. In 1927, he founded his first chamber orchestra, which was followed by other music ensembles. In 1928, he taught at the New Vienna Conservatory. In 1931, he worked at the Federal office for the protection of monuments, focusing on the preservation and restoration of organs in Austria. In 1934, he started to give early-music concerts at the Albertina Museum in Vienna. In 1937 and 1938, he taught at the Vienna Music Academy. Despite the fact that Josef Mertin was « married to a half-Jewish woman », there were no concerns about his membership to the « Reich » Chamber of Music in 1938. This enabled him and his family to survive in Vienna until the end of the War. He gave public organ concerts at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian until at least 1941. Professor at the « Musik-Hochschule » (1946-1978) and the « Collegium Musicum » in Vienna. An early-music pioneer, he set-up (from around 1950) the « Concentus Musicus », the « Musica antiqua », and the « Capella academica » .

**Anton Nowakowski**, German organist, conductor and composer : born on 10 February 1897 in Langenau near Danzig ; died on 3 January 1969 in Stuttgart. 1916-1917 : studied organ and church music in Vienna ; pupil of Alexander von Zemlinsky and Max Springer (counterpoint) . 1920 : worked in Prague as organist at the church of the Benedictine monastery of Emmaus. 1921 : continued his music studies in Prague with Fidelio Friedrich Finke (composition) , and worked as a teacher. Studied in Berlin with Fritz Heitmann (organ) and in Leipzig with Karl Straube (organ) . 1927 : went to Essen in the Ruhr valley, where he was appointed department director at the Folkwang University of the Arts. 1934-1942 : thanks to the support of Wilhelm Furtwängler, he achieved considerable fame in Danzig and Berlin as an opera conductor. 1936 : Furtwängler's musical assistant at the Bayreuth Festival. 1942 : returned to Prague as professor of organ (until 1945) ; director of the Choral Society at the German Academy of Music. Permanent guest-conductor of the German Philharmonic Orchestra in Prague. 1948 : worked as organ professor, organist, conductor and writer for music magazines in Stuttgart ; director of the church music department at the State University of Music. Guest-conductor with famous European orchestras. He was a sought-after organ interpreter of the works of Johann Sebastian Bach, Max Reger and Johann Nepomuk David. Composed mainly organ, orchestral and chamber music.

**Felix Oberborbeck**, musicologist, university teacher, conductor and composer : born on 1 March 1900 in Essen in the Ruhr valley ; died on 13 August 1975 in the town of Lohne (Oldenburg) in the district of Vechta, Lower-Saxony. Graduated in musicology in Bonn in 1923. He was appointed general music-director of the town of Remscheid in 1925. Taught at the State Music University of Weimar from 1934 to 1939. Then, he came to Graz with the mandate of establishing the University of Music Education in Graz-Eggenberg, and the music school system in Styria. He was drafted into military service in 1945, and was taken as prisoner-of-war in Norway. He taught on the youth campus of the Westfalian town of Vlotho on the Weser River, and, from 1949 to 1964, at the University of Education in the district of Vechta. He has been a member of the Music Committee of the German Singing Association since 1935. He was named Chairman of the Commission for music education of the Society for Music Research in 1952.

**Eberhard Preußner**, German music historian and pedagogue : born on 22 May 1899 in Słupsk in the Pomeranian Voivodeship, northern Poland ; died on 15 August 1964 in Munich. The second of 3 children of Oskar and Jenny

Preußner, he spent his childhood and youth in Stettin, Pomerania, where his father was director of the Bismarck High School. He attended the « Gymnasium » of the Marian monastery in Stettin. From 1916 to 1918, he served as a soldier in the First World War. After the war, he studied in Berlin at the University of the Arts and the Humboldt University, where he received his doctorate in 1924 with the dissertation entitled « The methodology in school singing in the Protestant Latin schools of the 17th Century » (« Die Methodik im Schulgesang der evangelischen Lateinschulen des 17. Jahrhunderts ») . He dedicated himself to music education. In 1928, he became editor of « Die Musik » in Berlin, and worked until 1934 with Leo Kestenberg at the Central Institute for Education and Teaching. He was the editor, from 1930 to 1944, of « Die Musikpflege » , a monthly magazine dedicated to music education, music organization and choral singing. After the seizure of power by the Nazis, he became a member of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. In 1939, he went to the « Mozarteum » in Salzburg, where he was appointed lecturer and managing director, and also headed the city's Concert Office. In 1945, he first worked at the Public Community College, but continued to teach as a lecturer in music history and music education at the « Mozarteum » , where he was named « extraordinary professor » in 1949 after he had accepted the Austrian citizenship. In 1959, Preußner became full-professor, President of the Academy for Music and Performing Arts, director of the International Summer Academy of the « Mozarteum » , secretary-general of the European Association of Conservatoires and editor of the music pedagogical bibliography. In addition to several guest-professorships in the United States, he became a member of the board-of-directors of the Salzburg Festival in 1960.

**Hermann Reutter**, German composer and pianist (worked as an academic teacher, university administrator, recitalist, and accompanist) : born on 17 June 1900 in Stuttgart ; died on 1 January 1985 in Stuttgart. He took singing lessons in Stuttgart with Emma Rückbeil-Hiller. He moved to Munich in 1920 and studied until 1925 at the University of Music with Karl Erler (singing) , Franz Dorf Müller (piano) , Ludwig Mayer (organ) , and Walter Courvoisier (composition) . He took part in the Donaueschingen Festival from 1923 and made contacts inside the « Donaueschingen circle » , especially with Paul Hindemith. From 1926, he was a frequent composer at the annual festival of the « Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein » , for several world-premieres of his works. He began his career as pianist and lied accompanist in 1929, which brought him together with all the important conductors and interpreters of his time. Between 1930 and 1936, he toured the United States 7 times as the accompanist of the operatic contralto Sigrid Onégin. He became a member of the Nazi Party. In 1932, he was appointed principal professor of composition at the Music Academy in Stuttgart until 1945. In 1936, he was named director of the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt-am-Main, which was renamed State University of Music and the Performing Arts after 1938. After the end of the War, he returned to Stuttgart and took part in 1946 in the inaugural Summer courses for International New Music. From 1952, he was professor of composition and lied interpretation at the Stuttgart Music Academy, taught master-classes regularly there but also at universities in the United States, Europe, and Japan. Named director of the Stuttgart Music Academy in 1956, and director « emeritus » in 1966. In 1955, he became a member of the Academy of Arts in Berlin, and the Bavarian Academy of Fine-Arts in Munich. In 1956, he was a juror at the ARD International Music Competition (in singing) ; and then elected Chairman of the jury. He travelled to the United States regularly from 1960 onwards, where he gave interpretation courses on different university campuses. Held a master-class in lied singing at the Munich Music Academy from 1966 to 1974. He founded in 1968, in Stuttgart, the International Hugo Wolf Academy, serving as President until his death. Reutter received numerous prizes and honours for his compositional and pedagogical activities, including the Ludwig Spohr Prize, the Federal Distinguished Service Cross (with star) , an honorary doctorate

from the University of San Francisco and the Hugo Wolf Medal of the International Hugo Wolf Society.

**Roman Schimmer** : Violinist. Made recordings with Carl Schuricht and the « Radio-Sinfonieorchester Stuttgart des SWR »

**(Friedrich) Wilhelm Schleuning**, conductor : born on 16 March 1902 in Berlin ; died on 17 November 1966. Worked in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden-Baden and Hamburg. He was appointed general music-director of the Freiburg Philharmonic and Theatre Orchestra in 1945, and « Kapellmeister » at the Dresden State Opera in 1951.

**Gerhard Schwarz**, German church musician, organist and composer : born in 22 August 1902 at the teacher's house of the town of Reussendorf (Rusinowa) in the Waldenburg county, Silesia ; died on 13 October 1995 in the community of Imshausen in the district of Bebra, Hessen. Already fascinated by tones and sounds as a child, he discovered music on his own. He intensively learns to play the piano and organ by himself, largely without professional guidance. After attending the « Gymnasium » (grammar school) in Waldenburg, he studied philosophy and musicology at the Academy for Church and School Music in Berlin-Charlottenburg from 1923 to 1928, where he received a qualified training as an organist and composer. 1928-1929 : organist at the New Church in Berlin. 1929-1935 : director of the Protestant School of Folk-Music, founder of the School for Church Music at the Evangelical Johannes Abbey in Berlin-Spandau. 1 November 1932 : joined the N.S.D.A.P. (membership card-number : 1.467.044) . After the rise to power of the National-Socialists, he edited the flag-song of the N.S.D.A.P. and subsequently composed various pieces of popular music in the spirit of National-Socialism. In 1934, he became a clerk at the « Reich » Youth Parish. In addition, he was music advisor for the Hitler Youth « Kurmark » , but was removed from office in 1936 due to suspicion of homosexuality. 1940 : organist in Düsseldorf. Active in the singing movement, and as a composer until 1941. 1944 : titular organist for a short time at St. Bernhard Church in Breslau, Silesia. 1941-1945 : drafted into the « Wehrmacht » . Served as a corporal in the Silesian Riflemen Battalion 590 and was deployed, among others, in Schweidnitz to guard prisoners. After the War, he worked as an organist in Waldenburg, until his expulsion in 1947. 1947-1948 : worked as regional choir-master in the ecclesiastical province of Berlin-Brandenburg, and as a lecturer at the music academies in Berlin and Leipzig. 1949 : organist at St. John's Church in Düsseldorf, and music-school director at the Rhenish Evangelical Church. 1950-1967 : lecturer on organ playing and improvisation at the University of Music in Cologne, where he was appointed professor in 1961.

**Adolf Steiner**, German cellist and university professor : born on 12 April 1897 in the town of Schwäbisch Hall in the valley of the Kocher river ; died in 1974 in Karlsruhe. Played with his brother Heinrich (violin) in the Steiner Quartet, which « provided a musical framework for the speeches of Josef Gœbbels » (Fred K. Prieberg. « Handbuch Deutsche Musiker, 1933-1945 ») . Adolf Steiner recorded Sergei Prokofiev's Concerto in E minor for cello and orchestra, Opus 58 ; also, Eugène d'Albert's Concerto No. 2 in C major for cello and orchestra, Opus 20, with Hermann Abendroth and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra of Leipzig. D'Albert's very worthwhile 3 movement Cello Concerto is a tuneful, energetic work with a busy, difficult cello part. Soloist Adolf Steiner struggles a little with some awkward sounding passage work and is occasionally below pitch, but plays well overall. He is recorded in a natural sounding balance with the orchestra. Starting in 1940, magnetic tape replaced shellacs and made it possible for the Central German Broadcasting Corporation (« Mittel-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » , or MIRAG) to record longer works in far superior sound. However, the

advances in recording technology coincided with increased conscription into the military, the centralization of broadcasting in Berlin, and severe cuts to Leipzig's radio budget. By 1941, « Gewandhaus » broadcasts had stopped. In 1942, the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda ordered the Leipzig radio station completely shut down, and, in early-1944, the « Gewandhaus » concert-hall was hit by aerial bombs. Soon thereafter, with concert activity officially discontinued, both the Dresden « Staatskapelle » and the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » orchestras were re-organized as « radio orchestras ». The performances of the d'Albert Cello Concerto and Engelbert Humperdinck's « Moorish Rhapsody » come from recording sessions held in an unheated, cramped ball-room in the Leipzig suburb of Gohlis, with some of the musicians playing borrowed instruments. Microphone cables led to an outside broadcasting unit in the street, and listeners could tune-in to a Friday evening program at 5:15 pm called, unironically, one supposes, « Music for the Twilight Hour » .

**Karl (Jacob Franz Karl) Tutein**, conductor, general music-director, choir-director, arranger : born on 26 August 1887 in Mannheim ; died on 19 December 1984 in Munich. 1904 to 1908-1909 : studies at the Music Conservatory of the town of Sondershausen in Thuringia. 1909-1910 : second « Kapellmeister » and choir-director at the Municipal Theatre of Colmar in Alsace. 1910-1911 : « Kapellmeister » at the Municipal Theatre of Graudenz in Pomerania. 1911-1912 : « Kapellmeister » and choir-director at the « Komische Oper Berlin » . 1912-1914 : « Kapellmeister » and choir-director at the Municipal Theatre of Augsburg in Swabia. Summer 1914 : « Kapellmeister » at the Municipal Theatre of the spa-town of Bad Kissingen in Lower-Franconia. 1914-1918 : serves in the War. After his military service ... 1917-1928 : first « Kapellmeister » at the Augsburg Opera, next to municipal « Kapellmeister » Josef Bach (1919-1931) . 1928 : first « Kapellmeister » at the Municipal Theatre of Augsburg. From 1928 : first « Kapellmeister » at the Municipal Theatre of Graz in Styria. 1930-1932 : opera-director at the Municipal Theatre of Graz in Styria. 1932-1940 : « Kapellmeister » (from 1933, State « Kapellmeister ») at the Munich State Opera (while also guest-conducting in Augsburg) . 1940-1945 : general music-director in Danzig. 1924-1943 : « Kapellmeister » at the Forest Opera (« Waldoper ») , an open-air amphitheatre located in Sopot, Poland. After being liberated by Soviet forces, permanent guest-conductor at the Bavarian State Opera in Munich since 1951. Guest-conducting in Germany and on the international scene. 1966 : receives the Federal Republic Cross of Merit, first class.

**(Gustav) Hermann Unger**, German composer : born on 26 October 1886 in Kamenz, Saxony ; died on 31 December 1958 in his apartment in Cologne-Bayenthal. The son of the travelling theatre-director Fritz Unger (1858-1922) and his wife Maria, born Stein. Unger attended the « Gymnasium » of St. Augustine, then studied German, archæology, musicology and Classical philology at the Universities of Freiburg, Leipzig and Munich. During his studies in Munich, his music teachers were Edgar Istel and Joseph Haas. The latter sent him to Max Reger at the Meiningen Court Orchestra in 1911. Unger did his military service in Meiningen with the Music Regiment. In 1910, he received his doctorate in Munich from Otto Crusius with a thesis on the use of the dactylic hexameter in the ancient Greek comedy. In 1913, Unger came to Cologne as editor of the « Rheinische Musik- und Theater-Zeitung » . During the War, he was first sent to the Champagne region in France. Then, Unger was transferred to the war theatres in the Ottoman Empire and served in Aleppo and Constantinople. After returning in Germany - via Russia - in 1918-1919, he directed the Cologne Public Library and gave lectures at the University of Cologne. From 1927, Unger was professor at the Rhenish Music School in Cologne, which, since the restructuration of 1925, had been transformed into a State College of Music (master-classes for instrumental playing and singing, composition, music theory, music history, rhythmic, opera school,

and the departments for Protestant and Catholic church music and school music) and the municipal Rhenish Music School (preparatory classes for the orchestra school, the opera-choir school and classes for lay and youth music) with separate statutes and examination regulations. After the National-Socialists seized power, the university director, composer Walter Braunfels, was dismissed. The Music School director, Hermann Abendroth, was also expelled from office one year later. In 1935, Martin Karl Hasse took over the management of the University. Unger was appointed director of the Rhenish Music School, and became Hasse's deputy. Although Unger was still a journalist polemicising against the accumulation of offices and mismanagement in Cologne before 1933, he accepted after the seizure of power 16 offices which were close to the system. In January 1949, the denazification main committee of the city of Cologne classified Unger under « category IV » (hanger-on) without blocking accounts and assets.

**Otto (Hermann) Volkmann**, German composer, conductor, municipal music-director : born on 12 October 1888 in Düsseldorf-Gerresheim ; died on 25 September 1968 in Bonn. The son of Hermann Volkmann, a postmaster (born on 21 January 1860) , and Kunigunde Heyn (born on 16 May 1857) . Volkmann attended the « Real-Gymnasium » (secondary academic school) in Essen in the Ruhr valley. 1909 : studied music theory with Fritz Volbach at the University of Tübingen. 1910-1914 : studied music theory with Walter Courvoisier and piano with Anna Hirzel-Lehmann at the University of Munich. 1913-1914 : conducted the « Fridericana » Academic Choral Society of Halle in Saxony. 1920-1924 : conducted the (Gustav) Rebling Choral Society of Magdeburg, as well as guest-appearances with the Municipal Symphony Orchestra performing for the first time works by contemporary composers Rudi Stephan and Paul Hindemith. 1924 : music-director of the town of Magdeburg in Lower-Saxony, director of the local Conservatory ; also gave music seminar in the town of Osnabrück. 1926-1927 : music-director of the Magdeburg Municipal Theatre. Building on the achievements of his predecessor Fritz Kauffmann, Volkmann conducted very successful performances featuring the combined forces of the Rebling Choral Society and the Municipal Orchestra. 1933 : general music-director of the town of Duisburg in Wetsfalia.

**Helmut Wobisch**, Austrian trumpeter and cultural manager : born on 25 October 1912 in Vienna ; died on 28 February 1980 in Vienna. He studied philosophy and chemistry at the University of Vienna and, at the same time, attended the Music Academy, where his teachers included Engelbert Lax and Franz Dengler. He illegally joined the N.S.D.A.P. on 1 May 1933 (membership card-number : 1.529.268) , participated in the 1934 « July plot » and became a member of the « Waffen-SS » in November, reaching the rank of « Waffen-Unterschar-Führer » . In 1936, he was appointed first trumpet in the Vienna State Opera, playing the incidental music repertoire. After the « Anschluß » , Wobisch received the title of « chamber musician » . In 1939, he joined the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, and was now allowed to play the operatic repertoire. During National-Socialism, he was put in charge in the Vienna district of training wind instrument players of the Hitler Youth. The Nazi authorities considered him as a « well-informed » spy for the Security Service (« Sicherheits-Dienst » , or SD) . Baldur von Schirach, the « Reich » Governor of the District of Vienna (who was convicted in Nuremberg in 1946) , was in post when the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1942. With his help, the musicians were released from military service, and Schirach received the Philharmonic Ring of Honour for this reason. The street between the Opera House and the Hotel Sacher was renamed « Philharmoniker-Straße » . After the War, Wobisch was dismissed from the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, but was reinstated in 1950. He held a teaching position at the Vienna Music Academy from 1953, then received the title of « Professor » in 1958. He was appointed managing director of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra from 1954 to 1968.



Received the Great Decoration of Honour for services rendered to the Austrian Republic in 1967. Together with Jakob Stingl, Wobisch founded the Carinthian Summer Music Festival of Ossiach in 1969, and stayed director until his death. The archives of the Vienna Philharmonic clearly showed Wobisch's involvement in the Nazi regime, which is why the City Council of Villach revoked the May 1979 Honorary Ring award to Wobisch on July 31, 2013. The streets bearing his name were also renamed.

**Frank (Barnim Robert) Wohlfahrt**, German musician, music pedagogue, music-critic and composer : born on 15 April 1894 in Bremen ; died on 3 October 1971 in Hamburg. 1910 : studied with Max Loewengard (composition) and Conrad Hanns (piano) at the Vogt Conservatory in Hamburg. 1913 : studied with Wilhelm Klatte (music theory) and Bruno Eisner (piano and composition) at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin. 1916-1917 : first piano concerto performances in Davos, Ragaz and Bern (where he studied with Ernst Kurth) . 1920 : returned to Berlin. 1923 : lived mostly in Florence. 1929-1943 : music-critic for the Munich « Neuesten Nachrichten » and the Berlin-based « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » . 1943 : author of « Anton Bruckners sinfonisches Werk. Stil- und Formerläuterung. Sonderdruck : Siebente Sinfonie. » , edited by the Leipzig « Musicological Publishers » . 1946 : taught music theory at the Hamburg State School for Music and Theatre. 1950 : received a professorship when the School for Music and Theatre was recognized as a « state university » . 1964 : received the Johannes Brahms Medal from the city of Hamburg.

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**Between mid-December 1942 and mid-February 1943** : Rehearsals and auditions for the new « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (« Reichs-Bruckner-Chor der Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft Leipzig ») .

Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig, is responsible for assembling the top-forces originating from the disbanded choirs.

The radio employees' newspaper « Das leere Haus » (The Empty House) reports comprehensively and favourably on the start of the choir's rehearsals in Leipzig. The handful of radio employees left in Leipzig are pleased that the broadcasting studio on the market-square has come to life again.

At the same time, the Leipzig public and press are rather suspicious of the new choir.

The founding of a new choir in Leipzig at a time of all-out War may have seemed particularly odd given that the Riedel Choral Society and the Teachers' Choral Society had only recently moved into the city and Leipzig could hardly be described as a stronghold for the preservation of the Bruckner tradition !

Some Leipzig residents even complained to the Public Employment Office about the establishment of the Bruckner Choir, prompting the Office's director, named Handrik, to obtain written documents from the highest authority before allowing the choir to continue its work.

Drawing on documents from the archive of the monastery of St. Florian, Hanns Kreczi quotes the Director, as saying :

« What really matters at the moment : guns or singing ? »

As a result of these events and enquiries by the public, the press is instructed to report only on the « Bruckner Choir's » artistic work.

The following explanation of the ensemble's formation and development is approved for circulation in the press :

« The Broadcasting Corporation has disbanded its choirs at the “ Reich ” radio stations. Selected members of these choirs have been merged into an “ élite ” choir that has been named the “ Bruckner Choir ”. »

This development does not amount to the founding of a new ensemble and should rather be seen as the setting of new objectives in the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation's choral work.

By releasing this statement, Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig, who had been instructed by the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier' to see to the practicalities of forming the choir, implies a link between the disbandment of the radio choirs and the creation of the « Bruckner Choir » .

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**Thursday, 17 and Monday, 21 December 1942** : « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » - auditions among the best candidates take place in Professor Günther Ramín's apartment.

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**Friday, 18 December 1942** : From a radio speech by Hans Fritzsche made on his daily program called « Hans Fritzsche speaks » (« Es spricht Hans Fritzsche ») :

« The fate of Jewry in Europe has turned out to be as unpleasant as the “ Führer ” predicted it would be in the event of a European war. After the extension of the war instigated by Jews, this fate may also spread to the New World, for it can hardly be assumed that the nations of this New World will pardon the Jews for the misery of which the nations of the Old World did not absolve them (...) »

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**Thursday, 31 December 1942** : Termination of contract for radio choir singers in Germany.

An inventory is drawn up by the care-taker of the disbanded radio station in Leipzig on the orders of the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier. This list is later used in the relocation of all performance resources to the monastery of St. Florian.

Under the circumstances, the only solution is to set-up the « Bruckner Choir » in Leipzig, and to move it to Linz at a later date.

The city of Linz counts 52,000 workers (mostly guest-workers) who live in 135 communal camps established in 128 factories, which include 137 kitchens and 81 medical doctors.

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**1942-1943** : On behalf of « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier, Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg designs from Berlin the idea of a « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra of Linz, and acts as Glasmeier's orchestra's program director and his personal advisor concerning all music matters for the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Schulz-Dornburg is supposed to set-up a radio transmitter inside the monastery in the final phase of the War.

The real stereo-capable machines (based on a « AEG K7 Magnetophon » with a synchronous capstan motor and 2-channel recording and play-back amplifiers using separate power supplies) are operational.

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**1943** : Director Günther Ramin finally leaves the Berlin Philharmonic Choir. The official declaration based on the fact that it is impossible for Ramin to work simultaneously in Berlin and Leipzig (cities particularly vulnerable during the war) seems questionable. At that time, rumours were circulating about the possible merger of the Berlin Philharmonic Choir and the Bruno Kittel Choir (the latter placed under the sponsorship of Nazi leaders) .

Whether it was the, or whether there was even a rift (Ramin had played the organ at Göbbel's wedding in 1935) - or whether the approaching war events actually played a role, stays open.

Whether it was the threatening merger with the "Kittel'scher Chor" promoted by the Nazi leadership, or whether there had even been a rift (Ramin had still played the organ at Göbbel's wedding in 1935) - or whether the approach of the war actually played a role remains open.

A bust of Anton Bruckner is placed in the administrative office of « Gauleiter » August Eigruber in Linz (State Parliament on « Landhaus-Platz » ?) .

A bust of Anton Bruckner is placed in the administrative office of « Gauleiter » August Eigruber in Linz (State Parliament on « Landhaus-Platz » ?) .

A procedure begins at the Personnel (« Pers. ») Department of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin concerning the draw-up of the contract for the formation of the « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra.

The term « Festival » is banned by the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, and replaced by the Salzburg « Summer of Theatre and Music » (« Salzburger Theater- und Musik-Sommer ») .

The Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») appoints sound-engineer Helmut Krüger « head of the experimental department » (« Leiter der Probe-Abteilung ») to conduct testing of stereophonic recording. Krüger regularly produces magnetic tape recordings of symphonic concerts from the « großer

Sende-Saal » with the newly-upgraded AEG magnetic tape-recorder which runs at 30 in/sec. (77 cm/sec.) in which high-frequency premagnetization - or AC bias (recently patented by Weber) - is used, affording far better performance compared to contemporary recording machines. Over the next 2 years, Krüger, along with Doctor Ludwig Heck and his associates, will make over 250 stereophonic recordings at the Broadcasting Corporation facility. « Herr » Krüger was nicknamed by his radio colleagues « Krüger-Krüger » , in witty reference to his habit to record everything in stereo.

The brunt of the Allied air campaign is now beginning to take its toll on Berlin. Some AEG and I.G. Farben production facilities, in and around Berlin, have already been destroyed. Consequently, the AEG decides to move its central laboratory for research and development to a more obscure location in Kosten, Wartheland, about 150 miles east of Berlin (now, Poland) . The stereo recordings are put into boxes, labeled « for archival purposes only » , and shipped off to this location.

Kosten is a spa-town (« Lazurus-Stadt ») with a dark past. Shortly after the 1939 invasion of Poland, the SS have taken over the psychiatric hospital, brutally killed over 600 citizens and patients, and turned the facility into a military hospital. The new AEG laboratory, adjoining the rehabilitation hospital, also performs a service to the « Reich's » military, offering music as a healthy cure. During 1943 and 1944, Doctor Hans Joachim von Braunmühl personally hosts several « stereo listening sessions » for the benefit of doctors, hospital staff, convalescing soldiers, and the general public. In retrospect, moving the stereophonic tapes to Kosten was an ill-fated decision.

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**January 1943** : « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier's service villa in Berlin-Dahlem falls victim to the first bombing of the city.

He sets up his personal office and appartement in the prelate wing of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian, where he now lives with his family. However, he still keeps a residence in Berlin until the end, as he constantly commutes between the capital of the « Reich » and St. Florian. This works reasonably smoothly, especially because he has exceptionally competent and loyal close employees at both locations.

In St. Florian, these collaborators are, above all, the radio technician at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin, Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, as well as Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer, who had already worked for Glasmeier as a broadcast director at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne.

In Berlin, Glasmeier is represented by his personal adjutant, Oskar Haaf, a well-tried and well-tested radio expert who also played an important role in the history of broadcasting after the First World War.

Initial in-house presentations of « space depth recordings » at the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

The home of the Seiler family is also destroyed.

Because of the unrest, the special radio department for early-music, headed by Emil Seiler, is evacuated to Austria.

Seiler hand-picks a few musicians to accompany him to the « Bruckner Monastery St. Florian » :

Walter Gerwig (lute) , Lisedore Häge (harpsichord) , Thea von Sparr and Werner Tietz (recorder) .

In his autobiographical notes, Seiler points out that none of his colleagues were members of the National-Socialist Party.

For his negative attitude towards the Party, Seiler was criticized by « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Glasmeier.

During this time, numerous recordings of early-music were produced, mainly for the « Deutschlands-Sender » in Prague, but new compositions were played as well. The composer Johann Nepomuk David, whom Seiler knew from performances of David's works in Berlin, had moved from the bombed-out city of Leipzig to his birth-place, Eferding, near Linz.

He repeatedly visited Seiler at the « Bruckner Monastery » , where he had spent his youth as a choir-boy.

While listening to the early-music performances, he remarked :

« I'll write early-music myself, but very different. »

Seiler, in his notes, recalls an interesting incident that was talked and laughed about in St. Florian :

In the 1940's, the German rulers felt offended by the fact that the director of the Leipzig « Musik-Hochschule » , Johann Nepomuk David, had a surname from the Old Testament. So, the major of Leipzig approached David with the urgent recommendation to give-up his name and adopt the name of « Hitler's much-admired Richard Wagner » . Needless to say, the Austrian composer rejected this approach.

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**Monday, 11 January 1943** : Letter from Franz-Xaver Müller, the « Kapellmeister » of the Linz Cathedral, to the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier :

« Dom-Kapellmeister » Müller gives an expert opinion on the « Bruckner Organ » in St. Florian.

Bruckner identified himself completely with Matthias Mauracher's 1875 conversion of the instrument.

Müller speaks out against any major changes. He is in favour of keeping the sonic character of this period.

The Master loved the old Krismann organ, and often said :

« Nothing stands up about the Florian organ ! »

(« Über die Florianer-Orgel steht nichts auf ! »)

The instrument with 74 voices distributed on 3 manuals was built from 1770 to 1774 by the Slovenian builder Franz-Xaver Krismann (1726-1795) , who created a monumental work for its time.

Because of early problems in the wind supply, there were several modifications of bellows - since 1783, the bellows had received 17 releatherings ! At the time when Anton Bruckner was a choir-boy in the 1830's and 1840's and later monastery organist, the instrument was still in almost the same state of the Krismann organ-building.

Under Prelate Ferdinand Moser, the monastery of St. Florian chose in 1873 for a re-building of the church organ by the Salzburg builder Matthias Mauracher. He replaced not only about one third of Krismanns pipes by new ones, to meet a more romantic sound ideal, but also the disposition was extended to 78 registers and added a fourth manual. In addition, the central front of the façade has been transformed from 8' to 16' in length. Furthermore, several registers were re-voiced.

On Monday, 18 October 1875, Josef Seiberl and Anton Bruckner played on the monastery organ on the occasion of the Colloquium Festive Day. The instrument was officially inaugurated on Friday, November 15.

Until 1886, the instrument was the largest organ of the Danube Monarchy. Numerous reports of traveling scholars at the beginning of the 19th Century have drawn attention to the exceptional power of the sound, but also to the sweetness of the voices. The original console is now on display at the Bruckner Museum in Ansfelden.

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**Monday, 11 to Thursday, 14 January 1943** : « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » - more auditions among the best candidates take place in Professor Günther Ramín's apartment.

After the radio choirs had been disbanded, Johannes Rietz moves from Stuttgart to Leipzig, and assumes the role of second music-director of the « Bruckner Choir » , alongside Professor Ramín.

Rietz enables the « Bruckner Choir » to continue its work at times when Ramín is absent due to his duties as Cantor of St. Thomas Church, compounded by the turmoil of War.

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**Sunday, 24 January 1943** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary symphonic concert given for the Hitler Youth.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Opus 67.

### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Monday, 25 January 1943** : Professor Max Auer confirms, on the basis of previous discussions with Josef Mauracher and Carl Aigner, that the conversion work on the organ of St. Florian monastery was carried out in 1875 in agreement with Anton Bruckner.

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**7:30 pm** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Repeat of yesterday's extraordinary symphonic concert given for the Hitler Youth.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

## Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Opus 67.

### *Intermission*

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Wednesday, 27 January 1943** : Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig, reports that the selection process for the « Bruckner Choir » has now been completed.

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**Saturday, 30 January 1943** : On the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the seizure of power, Adolf Hitler awards to Heinrich Glasmeier the Gold Medal of Honour of the N.S.D.A.P. as well as the War Merit Cross, First Class.

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**Tuesday, 2 February 1943** : Dating of the preface to the 5th edition of Professor Max Auer's biography on Anton Bruckner with reference to the « Encyclopedia of Jews in Music » (« Lexikon der Juden in der Musik ») . The « Encyclopedia of Jews in Music » was a Nazi-sponsored encyclopedia first published in Germany in 1940, which listed individuals involved in the music industry who were defined under Nazi racial laws as « Jewish » or « half-Jewish » . It was edited by Herbert Gerigk and Theophil Stengel, and published in Berlin in 1940 by Bernhard Hahnefeld, with official support from the Nazi Party's « Institute for Study of the Jewish Question » . The book's subtitle declared that it was produced « on behalf of the national leadership of the Nazi Party for official reasons, partly officially certified documents » .

The encyclopedia appeared in the context of Nazi policies which repressed Jewish individuals involved in music and forbade the performance of works by Jewish composers. A similar encyclopedia by Hans Brückner, entitled « Musical ABC of Jews » , had previously been published in 1935.

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In addition to the entertainment radio programs, the coverage of the War is taking a large part in the broadcasting schedule of the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin. The current reports of the High Command of the German « Wehrmacht » are read out several times a day. There are also other radio news reports with and without military references. Special messages with specially composed fanfare sounds for recognition are no longer used after the defeat in Stalingrad on **February 6, 1943**.

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**Saturday, 13 February 1943** : Concert given by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger on the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Perger Prelude in C major for organ (**WAB 129**) .

Anton Bruckner : Adagio from the Seventh Symphony in E major arranged for organ (**WAB 107**) .

Ludwig Daxspurger : Improvisations on Richard Wagner's opera « Parsifal » (WWV 111) .

Are attending : Matthäus Mauracher III (1885-1954) , Professor Josef Mertin, and Viennese conductor Hermann Haböck.

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**Wednesday, 17 February 1943** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary symphonic concert placed under the sponsorship of the National-Socialist War Victim's Care (« National-Sozialistische Kriegsoferversorgung » , or NSKOV) .



Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra in works composed by fallen contemporary composers.

## Programme

Rudi Stephan : Music for orchestra.

Karl Maria Löbl : Sinfonietta.

Helmut Bräutigam : Orchestral music, Opus 8.

Helmut Jörns : Elbinger Music (1940) - Toccata ; Passacaglia ; Fugue.

The NSKOV is a social welfare organization established in 1934 (affiliated to the Nazi Party) for seriously wounded veterans as well as front-line fighters of World War I.

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**Thursday, 18 February 1943** : As the tide of World War II is turning against Nazi Germany and its Axis allies, the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Gœbbels, gives a fiery speech at the « Berlin Sport-Palast » to a large, carefully selected audience.

The setting of the speech places the audience behind and under a big banner bearing the all-capitals words « TOTALER KRIEG - KÜRZESTER KRIEG » (Total War - Shortest War) along with Nazi banners and Nazi swastikas.

The « Staats-Oper » is closed.

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**Monday, 22 February 1943** : A teletype message from Heinrich Glasmeier's « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation to all local broadcasters whose choir-members had been engaged in the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » is clear proof that these singers were technically regarded as « delegates » and their employment contracts were therefore not deemed to have ended.

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The best singers that were selected by Professor Günther Ramín in Leipzig receive an official letter from the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier :

« **Effective March 1, 1943.**

I am appointing you to the “ Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ”.

The choir will first meet in Leipzig to be trained by the Cantor of St. Thomas Church, Professor Günther Ramín.

During the preparation period, concerts in Leipzig, Linz and St. Florian will provide the choir with the necessary tuning.  
»

A first list of « Bruckner Choir » members is approved by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

It follows that the « Bruckner Choir » must be seen as the direct successor of the radio choirs, and the radio choirs had been disbanded only for the purpose of filling the « Bruckner Choir » with the most suitable singers as quickly as possible.

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As ordered by Glasmeier, the singers selected by Professor Ramín arrive in Leipzig in **early-March 1943**.

### The Leipzig contingent of the « Bruckner Choir »

About half of the members of the choir of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig were engaged in the « Reichs-Bruckner-Chor » . The Leipzigers met their former member Elly Volkenrath again in the « Bruckner Choir » . The Leipzig soprano Irmgard Røehling joined the « Reichs-Bruckner-Chor » as a freelance singer and, from then on, kept her connection to the « Leipziger Rundfunk-Chor » .

Although Maria Trautner and Waltraute Groch-Männel later left the « Bruckner Choir » (while Albert Schwarzbürger joined) , the 14 singers from Leipzig's Radio Choir represented by far the largest contingent, followed by Stuttgart and Frankfurt-am-Main (each with 9 members) and Munich (with 8 members) .

Around half of all the members of Leipzig's Radio Choir are enrolled into the « Bruckner Choir » :

### Sopranos

Eva Anschütz (from Leipzig) .

Dorothea Förster (from Breslau) .

Hildegard Gaul (from Cologne) .

Margarete Hanstein (Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Maximiliane Harras (from Munich) .

Hilde Heinicke (from Leipzig) .

Gertrud Huber (from Stuttgart) .

Cäcilie von der Hude (from Pinneberg) .

Käthe Jena (from Leipzig) .

Helma Kolbe (Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Lieselotte Mann (from Cologne) .

Margarete Møelter (from Munich) .

Ingrid Müller-Feldmann.

Emma Reinhardt (from Stuttgart) .

Irmgard Røehling (from Leipzig) . She had frequently sung as a soloist in the programmes of the Central German Broadcasting Company (MIRAG) and the radio station in Leipzig, including the Bach cantata series that was broadcast from the « Thomas-Kirche » . It follows that her name must have been known to Ramín.

Marianne Sauer (from Dresden) .

Clothilde Schmidt (from Schongau) .

Erna Schikowski.

Erika Schnorrenpfeil (from Stettin) .

Elise Schæzel (from Breslau) .

Ursula Thate (from Leipzig) .

Käthe Stephanow.

Eliy Volkenrath (from Wilna) .

Hildegard Webersinke (from Dresden) .

Erika Winkler (from Breslau) .

Ruth Ziolkowsky.

Altos

Emmy Dæhne (from Leipzig) .

Adelheid Berger.

Leonore Eichhorn (from Leipzig) .

Maria Engelhard (from Munich) .

Eleonore Essich (from Stuttgart) .

Luise Fütterer.

Waltraute Groch-Männel (from Leipzig) .

Charlotte Hein (from Leipzig) .

Else Jæp (from Berlin) .

Thusnelda Jensen (from Prague) .

Marie-Käthe Herre (from Leipzig) .

Margarete Kötz (from Leipzig) .

Hertha Leichmann (from Berlin) .

Toni Meyer-Schuch.

Lina Rauscher (from Munich) .

Alexandrine Schnäckel (from Berlin) .

Sophie Schreiner (from Munich) .

Dorothea Schröder (from Leipzig) .

Maria Trautner (from Leipzig) .

Elisabeth Trappe (from Munich) .

Hedwig Ulrich (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Mathilde Wickler.

Käthe Wurst (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

### Tenors

Heinz Hoersch (from Cologne) .

Walter Kretschmar (from Leipzig) .

Franz Legrand (from Cologne) .

Clemens Maxweiler (from Stuttgart) .

Emil Niedermann (from Stuttgart) .

Kurt Pohl.

Erich Purfürst (from Leipzig) .

Ludwig Rauch.

Hermann Schulz (from Stuttgart) .

Karl-Heinz Schulz (from Stuttgart) .

Ernst Stein (from Ulm) .

### Bass

Emil Bartholmes (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Georg Dröll (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Otto Ebelmann (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Karl Eckmeier (from Munich) .

Willy Gentgen (from Stuttgart) .

Karl Hauser (from Stuttgart) .

Paul Hauser (from Ulm) .

Georg Langheinicke.

Ernst Lüttger.

Erhard Neukirch (from Leipzig) .

Karl Schneider (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Albert Schwarzburger (from Leipzig) .

Ludwig Storck (from Frankfurt-am-Main) .

Fritz Westermann (from Munich) .

### Other singers

Antonia Bax.

Käthe Grundmann.

Elfriede Täschner (from Munich) .

The reason for the high-number of Leipzig Radio Choir singers in this ensemble is not difficult to ascertain. Firstly, the Leipzig Choir was not a small one, comprising around 30 members ; secondly, it may of course have particularly appealed to those singers based in Leipzig to carry on, at least initially, doing the same job as before in their native city and for their local radio station. Since it was not possible to make-up all the parts with former radio choir-members, Professor Ramin also recommended some freelance female singers for the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » and vouched for their quality. This contingent included soprano Irmgard Genzel-Røhling (Hanns Kreczi however misread this name as Rochling) . She had frequently sung as a soloist in the programmes of the Central German Broadcasting Corporation (MIRAG) and the radio station in Leipzig, including the Bach cantata series that was broadcast from the « Thomas-Kirche » . It follows that her name must have been known to Ramin.

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Johannes Rietz continues to work in Linz as the assistant of Michael Schneider, the newly-appointed music-director of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » . Since Schneider, who is also the organist at St. Florian, is considered as a freelancer, Rietz, who was hired on a permanent basis, will sometimes conduct the choir single-handedly.

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**Sunday, 28 February 1943** : First of a series of joint organ concerts featuring the organists Walter Kraft (from Lübeck) and Ludwig Daxspenger, which takes place at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Professor Daxspenger improvises on themes by Anton Bruckner.

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**Monday, 1 March 1943** : Emil Seiler and his early-music ensemble (« Spielgemeinschaft Seiler ») arrives in St. Florian. The 5 virtuosos - Emil Seiler (violinist, violist, viola d'amore player, musicologist, pedagogue, composer and conductor) , Walter Gerwig (lutenist, choral conductor and composer) , Lisedore Häge (harpsichord) , Thea von Sparr (flute, recorder) and Werner Tietz (recorder) - are committed to preserve and perform the music of the old Masters. They will have the privilege of using the most valuable historical instruments taken from the extensive collection acquired at the instigation of « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier throughout Germany and abroad.

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Unlike the second choir-director Johannes Rietz, the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation did not employ Professor Michael Schneider permanently as the new choir-master, but only as a freelancer.

**Tuesday, 2 March 1943** : First meeting of the newly-founded « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (« Reichs-Bruckner-Chor der Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft Leipzig ») under Professor Günther Ramín (with the assistance of choir-master Johannes Rietz) at the « MIRAG-Haus » , the home of the « Reichs-Sender » .

The « MIRAG-Haus » studios are located at the « Barthels Hof » on « Markt » Number 8.

They perform the « Kyrie » from the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) .

What is striking about this timeline is the extremely short period of 2 months that fell between the legal disbandment of the radio choirs and the inception of the « Bruckner Choir » , and also the immediate succession of events.

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**Sunday, 7 March 1943** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 6 in F major, « Pastorale » , Opus 68.

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) .

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**Monday, 8 March 1943** (7:30 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 6 in F major, « Pastorale » , Opus 68.

### Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

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**Saturday, 13 March 1943** : Rehearsal in Berlin of the Mass in F minor (WAB 28) with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir (re-inforced by members of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig ») under the direction of Professor Günther Ramín.

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**Sunday, 14 March 1943** : Professor Günther Ramín conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir (re-inforced by members of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig ») .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28) . Soloists : Anna Maria Augenstein (soprano) , Lore Fischer (alto) , Heinz Marten (tenor) , Friedrich Dalberg (bass) .

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**Thursday, 18 March 1943** : Letter from the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft ») to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

The RRG consents to the contracts for Georg-Ludwig Jochum and Professor Günther Ramín for the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » .

...

Membership for the new symphony orchestra in Linz stands at 79 musicians. The « Führer » insists that the orchestra must be in a class of its own.

The « un-musical » Glasmeier is more than successful in setting-up the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra and Choir » .



An impressive accomplishment when one takes into account the very short time that is available to him. Standing-up against the resistance of many Party officials, he succeeds in recruiting the best forces from all the German orchestras to St. Florian by offering top-salaries but also an exceptional working space in the Upper-Danube region, which, until then, has been largely spared from any acts of war.

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**Spring 1943** : « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier sends a birthday present to the « Reichsführer SS » Heinrich Himmler.

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**Thursday, 1 April 1943** : As an orchestra trainer, Georg-Ludwig Jochum begins rehearsals in Linz with the 80 musicians of the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Among the orchestra members ...

Herbert Schimmelpfennig : first violin.

C. Steiner : violin.

Heinz Kirchner : viola.

Hermann (Josef Anton) Körber : viola. Born on 16 July 1909 in Munich - died on 4 February 1964 in Gauting, Bavaria. Körber studies violin and viola at the « Akademie der Tonkunst » in Munich. He is hired as violist by the Orchestra of the « Reichs-Sender » in Munich. He joins the N.S.D.A.P. on May 1, 1933 (membership card-number : 3.527.345) . He is selected to play with the « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra of St. Florian in 1943 and 1944.

Walter Noack : viola. Born on 29 January 1909 in Charlottenburg. Viola player in Berlin. He joins the N.S.D.A.P. on May 1, 1933 (membership card-number : 2.640.296) . He becomes a member of the Orchestra of the « Reichs-Sender » in Breslau, then returns to Berlin in 1936. He is selected to play with the « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra of St. Florian in 1943.

A. Reimann : violoncello.

Richard Falb : violoncello. Born on 14 July 1896 in Donawitz, Upper-Austria - died on 25 December 1976 in Herford, Westfalia. He joins the N.S.D.A.P. on March 1, 1932 (membership card-number : 1.007.045) , and becomes Party Councillor in Leipzig. Permanent employee of the MA of the Cultural Office of the N.S.D.A.P. and the Leipzig branch of the National-Socialist Cultural Community. Named district representative and representative of the local music association of the « Reich » Chamber of Music. Cellist in the Leipzig Symphony Orchestra, then in the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra. He later goes to Munich to play with the Bavarian Symphony Orchestra, and is elected orchestra chairman. Since 1943, he is a member of the « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra of St. Florian ; he is also elected orchestra

chairman. He is known in St. Florian as a liaison officer for the Security Service (« Sicherheits-Dienst » , or SD) . Falb is interned by the Allied occupying forces in 1945. Once liberated, he first returns to the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra, and then in Herford, to play in the North-West German Philharmonic Orchestra. After his retirement, he runs a concert management agency.

Fritz Westermann : double-bass.

W. Wossek : double-bass.

Franz Hammerla : first clarinet with the Leipzig (until 1941) and Munich (until 1944) Radio Symphony Orchestras.

Albert Heinke : clarinet.

« Herr » Günther : flute.

Otto Pischkittl : bassoon.

Friedhelm Döhler : former horn player with the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra.

F. Straub : horn.

P. Graener : ?

...

Peter (Paul) Kreuder, German-Austrian pianist, composer and conductor.

Kreuder is born on 18 August 1905 in Aachen - the son of a chamber singer. He enrolls as a piano student at the Cologne Conservatory in 1910 - where he performs his first concert one year later - and at Music Academies in Munich, Berlin (under Ferruccio Busoni) and Hamburg. After World War I, he works as a composer of musical performances at the Hamburg Chamber Theatre, at the Munich State Theatre on « Gärtner-Platz » , as well as of several cabaret and revue productions. In the meantime, he continues his studies, taking his examinations at the Munich Academy of Music in 1924. He is employed as « Kapellmeister » at the « Deutsches Theater » in Munich in 1925, and conducts theatre ensembles ; first in Munich and then in Berlin, where he works with Max Reinhardt. In 1930, he meets with Friedrich Holländer, whom he assists arranging the music-score of Josef von Sternberg's film « The Blue Angel » starring Marlene Dietrich. Kreuder joins the Nazi Party in 1932, however, he resigns his membership in 1934. He is named music-director of the Bavarian State Operetta House from 1937 to 1939, then works as a freelance for the stage and the film industry. He emigrates to Sweden in 1939, but returns to Germany 2 years later after threats against his relatives were launched by the Nazi authorities. During the 1930's and 1940's, he becomes one of the most sought-after German musical film composers. His compositions adds to the intended development of a «

German » light-music genre as contrasted to the American « big band » style, though they contain a large deal of jazz and swing elements. His credits amounts to some 150 movies. Several songs, performed by stars like Zarah Leander or Marika Röck, are popular. In May 1945, Kreuder is appointed music-director of the Bad Aussee Symphony Orchestra in Styria, whose musicians come essentially from the disbanded « Reich » Bruckner Orchestra of St. Florian. But in the fall of that year, he is forbidden to conduct by the U.S. occupation authorities. He then adopts the Austrian citizenship and conducts radio orchestras in Brazil and Argentina (Buenos Aires) . In the second half of the 1950's, he is sometimes the pianist of Joséphine Baker. He dies in Salzburg on 28 June 1981 and is buried at the « Ost-Friedhof » in Munich (Group 5 ; Row 19 ; Grave 2) .

...

Heinrich Glasmeier's style is evident in the dedication ceremony held to inaugurate the year-long training program that began on **1 April 1943**.

Glasmeier, an old hussar officer and devout Catholic, developed a great fascination for the monastic life. He apparently felt more and more integrated into its centuries-old traditions. He often showed himself in the robes of his « predecessors », the expelled abbot monks, and even celebrated their birthdays with great pomp, having wreaths laid in the crypt to celebrate the death of the late ones. He maintained close, some even believe, friendly contacts with the last provost, Doctor Vinzenz Hartl, who headed the Abbey of Pulgarn while in exile.

Glasmeier even ordered a garment based on a painting of the Dutch philosopher Erasmus of Rotterdam (Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus) . He was in the habit of welcoming prominent guests with a glass of wine standing by the gateway to the monastery, sometimes to the sound of fanfare coming from the church tower.

The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin kept ridiculing the actions of the new « Abbot » of St. Florian.

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**Saturday, 3 April 1943** : First public appearance, albeit in a regional context, of the newly-founded orchestra.

Solemn concert under the supervision of Heinrich Glasmeier featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (choir-master : Günther Ramín) given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery. The need to ritualize Bruckner's work coincided with a fashion for performances in cathedral acoustics, St. Florian presenting itself as the ideal Bruckner space.

### Programme

« “ Intrada ” after Anton Bruckner » , played from the church tower.

Poem entitled : « Organ : the Manes of Anton Bruckner » (« Orgel - den Manen Anton Bruckners ») based on a text by Josef Weinheber.

« Andante » , posthumous movement for the String Quintet in F major (Intermezzo ?) .

Organ improvisation by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger on themes by Bruckner.

### On Josef Weinheber

The N.S.D.A.P. publishers Langen-Müller introduced the Austrian lyric poet, narrative writer and essayist Josef Weinheber to the lucrative German market, and he was invited on extensive reading tours in the « Alt-Reich » (Old Empire) and awarded a valuable prize for foreign German writers. After the « Anschluß » of 1938, Weinheber wrote numerous Nazi propaganda poems, such as « Hymnus auf die Heimkehr » (Hymn to Austria's return) , « Dem Führer » (To the « Führer ») or « Ode an die Straßen Adolf Hitlers » (Ode to the streets of Adolf Hitler) , and became the most-read contemporary poet in Nazi Germany. He received numerous honours and awards, and was included by Adolf Hitler on the 36 page « Gottbegnadeten-Liste » (Important Artist Exempt List) composed of 1,041 prominent Nazis who were exempt from war service on account of their cultural importance. Weinheber committed suicide by morphine overdose on April 8, 1945, a few days before the defeat of Nazi Germany.

In the poetry collection intended for chamber music by Weinheber, published in 1939, the poem entitled « Organ » bears the meaningful sub-title : « the Manes of Anton Bruckner » .

Already in the first line, the « Creator » is called upon :

« Let it raise, Creator, according to your will ! »

In other words, the « pregnant » first note « comes up from below » , whereby the contrast between heavenly and earthly spheres is marked for the first time. All human « strife and pain » stand opposite the « wings and flutes » of the angels. In this sense, the text stands constantly between the inexpressible, the divine, the inexplicable and, on the other hand, the questioning, the pleading and the (sometimes in vain) search for words.

...

As reported by Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project » , 72 musicians from the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » and members of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » , who are escorted by torch-bearing uniformed « Waffen-SS » men, assemble in the crypt for a special wreath-laying ceremony, at which Glasmeier personally addresses Bruckner's sarcophagus (while SS-men stand on either side with flickering torch-light playing over the thousands of skulls) , swearing allegiance to ... both « Geniuses » .

« Anton Bruckner, sublime Master of Music, we are gathered here. To praise you and our “ Führer ” Adolf Hitler as

well as the Greater German “ Reich ” and to swear that we are always ready to proclaim your works. »

(« Anton Bruckner, erhabener Meister der Töne, wir sind hier versammelt. Dir und unserem Führer Adolf Hitler sowie dem Groß-Deutschen Reich zu geloben und zu schwören, daß wir alle Zeit bereit sind, Deine Werke zu verkünden. »)

Glasmeyer apparently receives a confidential tip-off to the effect that Adolf Hitler could come to visit him in St. Florian, tomorrow !! If true, this event would prove to be the high-point of his career.

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**Sunday, 4 April 1943** : Adolf Hitler visits the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz. The same day, the newly-built gas chamber V opens at Auschwitz.

At **11:00 am**, the « Führer » arrives at the monastery of St. Florian, accompanied by his Minister of Armaments Albert Speer and several « Gauleiter » (regional Party leaders) and army generals.

« Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeyer has the opportunity to give to Hitler a vivid description of his far-reaching plans for St. Florian in order to transform the site into the most important cultural institute in Europe. Hitler discusses with great enthusiasm the idea of annual Bruckner Festivals and the establishment of an adjoining training-school (as Richard Wagner had wished for Bayreuth at the end of his life) . The « Bruckner Monastery » should be expanded in the greatest possible way with considerable financial resources from the « Reich » .

The most important works of art, taken from the monastery collection, are presented to Hitler. Because the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, August Eigruber, is unable to answer his detailed and sophisticated questions in a satisfactory manner, Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, who acts as the key-keeper, steps in and becomes « de facto » the official tour-guide of the Baroque complex for a full one and a half hours.

Hollnsteiner is the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » . On January 21, 1941, the monastery was confiscated by the Linz « Gestapo » for the benefit of the « Reich » administrative regions (« Gaues ») of the State of Austria, and was re-named the « Historical Research Institute of the “ Reich ” Region of Upper-Danube » which holds the manuscript and archive collections from all the monasteries of the « Land Österreich » .

The Seiler Early-Music Ensemble (« Spielgemeinschaft Seiler ») - Emil Seiler (viola) , Walter Gerwig (lute) , Lisidore Hage (harpsichord) , Thea von Sparr and Werner Tietz (recorder) - offers to Hitler a short concert in the music-room.

In the Collegiate Church, Hitler listens to a short piece played on the « Bruckner Organ » by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger. (Georg-Ludwig Jochum, the music-director of the « Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester » of Linz, considers Daxspurger to be the best organist in the Upper-Danube region.)

Doctor Hollnsteiner (a former concentration-camp political inmate from Dachau !) leads the « Führer » into the crypt to commune with the Master's remains.

Hitler visits the Library where Hollnsteiner shows treasured archival material including manuscripts related to the composer.

While Hitler appreciates the expertise of the former Brother of the Augustinian Order, Doctor Franz Danzer - the High-Officer of State in charge of Local Politics and the German Local Council - complains 3 weeks later about « the “ stair joke ” that the old friend of (Chancellor Kurt von) Schuschnigg, Hollnsteiner, was allowed to “ lead ” the “ Führer ”- of all people ! » .

On the occasion of the re-organization of the documents of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » , or RRG) in the archives of the monastery of St. Florian and the recent discovery of Hollnsteiner's estate, which is now in private hands, astonishing puzzle-pieces of his fate came to light.

The former broadcast director at the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » (WERAG) in Cologne and close collaborator of Glasmeier, Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer, who was also very enthusiastic about the result of the visit, remarked in a letter the following day :

« The “ Reich ” Intendant has gained a completely unassailable position through this visit, which was extremely positive, and can rightly feel that he is the victor. »

The term « victor » apparently referred to the power struggle between Glasmeier and his inner-Party opponents (which included « Gauleiter » Eigruber) who are all very critical of his « baroque » manners and his reckless spending.

Doctor Josef Gœbbels comments in his diary :

« He (Hitler) visited St. Florian and received the best impression there. Glasmeier, too, gave him pleasure with his calm consistency and sober fanaticism. He (Hitler) wants me to make the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” in Linz one of the first-class orchestras in the “ Reich ”. »

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Excerpts from August Kubizek's book, « The Young Hitler I Knew : The Memoirs of Hitler's Childhood Friend » (1955) : Hitler and Kubizek visited the monastery of St. Florian somewhere between 1904 and 1908 :

« We would stand in front of the simple grave-stone let into the floor beneath the choir, where the great Master had been buried 10 years earlier.

The wonderful monastery had aroused my friend to the heights of enthusiasm.

He had stood in front of the glorious staircase for an hour or more - at any rate, much too long for me.

And how much did he admire the splendour of the library !

But the deepest impression was made on him by the contrast between the over-decorated apartments of the monastery and Bruckner's simple-room.

When he saw its humble furniture, he was strengthened in his belief that on this earth genius almost always goes hand in hand with poverty.

Such visits were revealing to me, for Adolf was by nature very reserved. »

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**Tuesday, 6 April 1943** : The first 2-channel recording is produced in the « Radio Free Berlin » (« Sender Freies Berlin ») concert-hall.

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**Wednesday, 7 April 1943** : 58,300 refugees from other administrative regions in the « Ostmark » are now in the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Thursday, 15 April 1943** : The « Reich » Marschall of the Greater German « Reich » , Hermann Göring, visits his « Nibelungen » armament factories located in Steyr, Linz and St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz.

August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, is promoted to the rank of « SS-Obergruppen-Führer » , a rank equivalent to Lieutenant General (which is not connected with any real powers) , like Ernst Kaltenbrunner, and just below that of Heinrich Himmler's special rank of « Reichs-Führer SS » . Eigruber also serves on the Board of Directors of Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG.

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**Tuesday, 20 April 1943** : Adolf Hitler's 54th Birthday. A special concert was supposed to take place at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Since it was not heated and the orchestra could not play in these ice-cold conditions, the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier planned to regulate the temperature of the site, a week earlier, by temporarily installing stoves. But due to the lack of heating equipment and the exorbitant cost of these measures, the event was stopped by the authorities of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

Hans Fritzsche, the « head of Radio Broadcasting » at the Culture Ministry sends to the « Führer » a copy (on magnetic tapes) of the recording at the old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » , on 25-28 October 1942, of

Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

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**Tuesday, 27 April 1943** : Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , to Herbert Ziebland from the « Reichs-Sender » in Linz :

« The first public event (of the “ ' Reich ' Bruckner Orchestra ”) is to be on Anton Bruckner's birthday (September 4th) . »

Ziebland owned a music and radio store in Linz. He was familiar with the technical side of the business from his time in the Navy and from his profession, but had no journalistic experience. During the Nazi era, he was director of the District headquarters for broadcasting and technology at the « Reich-Gau » Propaganda Office in Linz.

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**End of April 1943** : The public presentations in Berlin of « space depth recordings » demonstrate the wide spectrum loudspeakers newly-developed by the RRG engineer, Hans Eckmiller.

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**Mid-May 1943** : 6 weeks after the April 3 concert featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » at the Collegiate Church of the monastery, 9 other musicians arrive in St Florian.

Most of the members of the « Bruckner » Orchestra have been delegated by radio orchestras or broadcasters.

The local « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig supplied 11 musicians.

The local « Reichs-Sender » in Stuttgart supplied 7 musicians.

The local « Reichs-Sender » in Berlin supplied 7 musicians.

The local « Reichs-Sender » in Hamburg supplied 6 musicians.

Of the now 80 musicians or so, only 8 never had a permanent contract with a broadcasting company.

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**Monday, 17 May 1943** : Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , to the German church musician, organist and composer Gerhard Schwarz :

« (...) Allow me to ask one additional question : due to the formation of the “ Bruckner Orchestra ”, we are in some need of good musicians in other German radio orchestras. The Ministry and the “ Reich ” Intendant (Glasmeier) agreed to accept a small number of impeccable prisoners-of-war, especially French. Since you happen to be in a camp, you



might be somewhat aware of this matter and could give me a tip. (...) »

Apparently, Schulz-Dornburg was not aware that, earlier in the year, the « Reich » Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin and the management of the French Labour Mission came to an agreement on the basis of which the music department of the Paris propaganda squadron is authorized to help German orchestras by supplying musicians from French orchestras who are presently incarcerated in camps.

Gerhard Schwarz is drafted into the « Wehrmacht » from 1941 to 1945. He serves as a corporal in the Silesian Riflemen Battalion 590 and is deployed, among others, in Schweidnitz to guard prisoners.

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**Tuesday, 1 June 1943 (7:30 pm) :** Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Peter Cornelius : Overture from « Der Barbier von Bagdad » , Comic-Opera in 2 Acts (original version) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1889 version (WAB 103) .

### Intermission

Engelbert Humperdinck : Prelude from Act 3 of the fairy-tale Opera « Königskinder » (King's children) .

Hugo Wolf : « Harfenspieler » Nos. 1 to 3, based on poems by Goethe, for voice and orchestra. Soloist : Herbert Alsen, bass.

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I from the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

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**Tuesday, 8 June 1943 :** Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Professor Max Auer :

Procurator Wendler talks about her (past or up-coming) visit to the new facilities of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian (see : June 30) . She will leave the site happily convinced ...

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**Thursday, 10 June 1943 :** First local concert of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » under Professor Günther Ramín - given in partnership with the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Psalm 150 » for soprano, mixed-choir and orchestra (WAB 38) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28) .

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**Summer 1943 to mid-1944** : The priority targets of the Allies are the armement factories of Vienna, Linz and Steyr, which are part of the conglomerate which bears the name « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » headquartered in Berlin.

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**Sunday, 20 June 1943** : August Eigruber speaks in Linz as « Reich » Commissioner for State Defense in front of 14,000 men of the newly-formed « garrison militia » (military training defense group) of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Wednesday, 23 June 1943** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels forbids unnamed Party officials to be interested in the ancestry of « Frau » Karajan, which means that Adolf Hitler had settled the matter by offering a pardon.

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**Saturday, 26 June 1943** : Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube (which is stationed in Linz) .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

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**Night of Monday, 28 to Tuesday, 29 June 1943** : The « Funkhaus » of the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne on « Dagobertstraße » is victim of Allied air-strikes.

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**Wednesday, 30 June 1943** : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to

Professor Max Auer :

Wendler talks about her visit to the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Friday, 2 July 1943** : Concert given at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located at « Landstraße » Number 49 (« Bismarck-Straße » Numbers 1-3) in the inner-city of Linz.

Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » and the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programmed works among others

Anton Bruckner :

3 Pieces for orchestra in : E-flat major, E minor, and F major (**WAB 97**) .

March in D minor for orchestra (**WAB 96**) .

Overture in G minor for orchestra (**WAB 98**) .

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**Saturday, 3 July 1943** : Performance of the Adagio from the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) during the official reception in honour of the Italian Ambassador to Germany, Edoardo (Dino) Alfieri, which takes place at the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier as welcomed Ambassador Alfieri by offering him a glass of wine by the gateway to the monastery.

Alfieri was Italy's envoy to the Holy-See starting 7 November 1939, and, 5 months later, to Nazi Germany (where he often met Adolf Hitler) . While there, he was constantly helping out Italian workers and consulate staff. As the War progressed and Italy needed help, he attempted to solicit material aid from Germany but, despite assurances, little came of it. When the War began to deteriorate for the Axis, he wrote communiqués and expressed verbally to Benito Mussolini that the Germans simply saw Italy as a buffer state from the encroaching allies and urged the Duce to seek peace with the Allies while simultaneously assuring the Germans that Italy was not betraying them. He was urgently called to Rome in 1943 by members of the Grand Council in order to participate in a meeting. It is unclear as to whether he truly realized what was being proposed at the meeting. A member of the Grand Council of Fascism, he supposedly supported Dino Grandi's « coup d'état » in July 1943, that led to the fall from power of the Italian Fascist government after 21 years and the arrest of Mussolini. When the « Wehrmacht » occupied Italy, Alfieri fled to Switzerland to save his life. In January 1944, he was sentenced to death « in absentia » by a kangaroo court during the Verona trial. The Swiss government did not give him political asylum, but tolerated his attendance in Switzerland.

On 12 November 1946, an Italian court stated his innocence ; on 6 February 1947, an inquiry of the Italian Foreign Ministry ended. Then, he was officially pensioned off.

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**Monday, 5 July 1943** : The « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » and the « (Berliner) Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » report on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Tuesday, 6 July 1943** : The « Leipziger Nachrichten », the « Zwickauer Zeitung » and the « Berliner Börsen-Zeitung » (with Herbert Caspers) report on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Friday, 9 July 1943** : The « Straßburger Neuesten Nachrichten » reports on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

...

Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks », to conductor Oswald Kabasta :

« You have already heard about a new task for the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany, which is summarized with the name :“ Bruckner Monastery, St. Florian ”. According to the wish of the “ Führer ”, starting on April of the coming year, the noblest music will resound in all its colours from this unique site.

We are now in the middle of the consolidation phase. While Professor Ramón is training the newly-formed “ Bruckner Choir ” in Leipzig, the Emil Seiler ensemble is working on developing early classical music, the organs of the Collegiate Church are being rebuilt, the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” under Georg-Ludwig Jochum has been performing in the city of Linz since April 1. It can already be said, with all reservations, that this orchestra is developing extremely well ; the first private concerts in front of wounded soldiers are the proof of this. I have now ordered that the new ensemble be further trained during the 1943-1944 concert-season through public performances held in Linz, which, however, will not be broadcast. In order to achieve this goal, I would also like to invite some guest-conductors who have something special to convey and who are the right educators for an orchestra with such future tasks. I would also like to thank you, “ Herr ” Professor, for your cooperation, which I hope you will not deny me. (...) »

(« Sie werden bereits von einer neuen Aufgabe des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks gehört haben, die in dem Namen “

Bruckner-Stift St. Florian ” zusammengefaßt ist. Von dieser einzigartigen Stätte wird dem Wunsch des Führers gemäß vom April des kommenden Jahres ab edelste Musik in allen ihren Farben erklingen.

Wir sind nun mitten in den Aufbauarbeiten. Während Professor Ramín in Leipzig den neu zusammengestellten Bruckner-Chor schult, die Spielgemeinschaft Emil Seiler frühklassische Musik erarbeitet, die Orgeln in der Stiftskirche umgebaut werden, musiziert in der Stadt Linz seit dem 1. April das Bruckner-Orchester unter Georg-Ludwig Jochum. Schon jetzt darf mit allem Vorbehalt gesagt werden, daß dieser Klangkörper sich äusserst erfreulich entwickelt ; erste interne Konzerte vor Verwundeten beweisen das. Ich habe nun angeordnet, daß der neue Klangkörper in der Konzert-Saison 1943-1944 durch öffentliche Konzerte in Linz, die jedoch nicht gesendet werden, weiter geschult wird. Dazu möchte ich auch einige Dirigenten zu Gast bitten, die Besonders zu sagen haben und für ein Orchester mit solchen Zukunftsaufgaben die richtigen Erzieher sind. Auch an Sie, sehr verehrter Herr Professor, ergeht meine Bitte zur Mitarbeit, die Sie mir hoffentlich nicht versagen werden. (...) »)

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**Monday, 12 July 1943** : Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , to Hermann Reutter, German composer and pianist. Schulz-Dornburg commissions Reutter to write several brass music pieces to be performed at the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian :

« You have surely heard of our major plans for the establishment of a new cultural centre in the “ Bruckner Monastery ” of St. Florian. I am currently busy establishing the music programming. From April 1944 onwards, we want to broadcast music of all kinds, but only the best and the noblest, and, for this purpose, we are now expanding individual ensembles such as orchestras, choirs, chamber players, and organs, all of which are already making music diligently. From the Baroque splendour of the monastery, brass music in the style of the old tower music, festive calls and intrades of all sorts should now also sound from the towers, from the church balcony and on the wide galleries of the staircases and aisles.

On behalf of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation, I now come to you with the heartfelt request to write us something ; at first, perhaps short music pieces instrumented for 3 or 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, bass-tuba and drums. However, we leave the choice of instrumentation to you. (...) »

(« Sie werden von unseren großen Aufbauplänen für einen neuen Kultur-Sender im Bruckner-Stift St. Florian gehört haben, mit dessen musikalischem Gesamtaufbau ich beschäftigt bin. Wir wollen von dort etwa vom April 1944 ab Musik jeder Art, aber nur gute und edelste senden und bauen nun zu diesem Zweck die einzelnen Gruppen wie Orchester, Chöre, Kammerspiel-Gruppen, Orgel aus, die alle schon intern fleißig musizieren. Aus der barocken Herrlichkeit des Stifts sollen nun auch von den Türmen, von der Empore der Kirche und auf den breiten Emporen der Treppen und Gänge Bläsermusiken in Art der alten Turmmusiken erklingen, festliche Rufe und Intraden jeder Art.

Ich komme nun zu Ihnen mit der herzlichen Bitte, im Auftrag der Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft uns etwas zu schreiben, zunächst vielleicht auch kürzere Musiken in einer Besetzung von etwa 3 und 4 Trompeten, 3 Posaunen, Bass-Tuba und Schlagzeug. Jedoch überlassen wir diese Besetzung durchaus Ihnen. (...) »)

...

Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, program-director of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , to Walter Stumme, supreme leader of the Hitler Youth on music matters :

(« (...) In the meantime, I have made another revision of the “ glorious moment ” and have actually been able to make some passages even more suitable for music, others even more timeless. But then, I convinced the quite excellent harpsichordist, “ Fräulein ” (Lisedore) Häge(-Praetorius) , who also moved to St. Florian as a “ Collegiate Lady ”, to compose the arrangement of a harpsichord part for the “ Prolog ”, which, of course, can also be used at the same time as a piano reduction for rehearsals of the choirs. In addition, I will soon complete the new libretto for Beethoven’s amazing cantata “ On the Death of Emperor Franz-Josef ” - I have to play this for you, a shocking “ Requiem ” for our Fallen Soldiers, whose words I have taken from Schiller’s poetry. (...) »)

(« (...) Ich habe mich inzwischen an eine nochmalige Überarbeitung des “ glorreichen Augenblicks ” gemacht und einige Stellen tatsächlich als noch musik-gerechter, andere als noch zeitloser gestalten können. Dann habe ich aber die ganz ausgezeichnete Cembalistin, Fräulein (Lisedore) Häge, die ja auch als “ Stifts-Dame ” nach Florian eingezogen ist, für die Einrichtung einer Cembalo-Stimme für den “ Prologo ” gewonnen, die natürlich gleichzeitig als Klavierauszug für die Einstudierung der Chöre benutzt werden kann. Außerdem bin ich bald mit der Neu-Textierung der geradezu verblüffenden Kantate Beethovens “ auf den Tod Kaiser Franz-Josefs ” fertig - das muß ich Ihnen dann mal vormusizieren, ein erschütterndes “ Requiem ” auf unsere Gefallenen, dessen Worte ich mir aus Schiller scher Dichtung geholt habe. (...) »)

Ludwig van Beethoven’s « Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II » in C minor (WoO 87) for soprano, bass, mixed-choir (SSATB) and orchestra (2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, and strings) is based on a libretto by Severin Anton Averdonk (1768-1817) .

The work is in 7 movements :

Coro. Largo - Larghetto (in C minor) .

Recitativo. Presto (in A minor) .

Aria. Allegro maestoso - Allegro assai (in D major) .

Aria con Coro. Andante con moto (in F major) .

Recitativo. Largo (in D minor) .

Aria. Adagio con affetto (in E-flat major) .

Coro. Largo - Larghetto (in C minor) .

Written in 1790, it was intended for a memorial service to be held in Bonn for the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II. Composed when Beethoven was 19, it was neither published, nor apparently performed until it premiered in Vienna in November 1884, 57 years after Beethoven's death, and it was first printed in an 1888 supplement to the Complete Works. It remains one of Beethoven's lesser-known works.

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**Wednesday, 14 July 1943** : The « National-Zeitung Essen » , the « Bayrischen Ostmark » and the « Bamberger Tagblatt » report on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Thursday, 15 July 1943** : The « Brüner Tag-Blatt » and the « Kärntner Zeitung » report on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**Friday, 16 July 1943** : The « Krakauer Zeitung » reports on the performance at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) with Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducting the Choir of the German educators of the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube.

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**July 1943** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier hires the Seiler Players (« Spielgemeinschaft Seiler ») on a permanent base.

The ensemble appears at events, both inside and outside the monastery of St. Florian. Troop support performances alternate with chamber music recordings at various « Reich » radio stations. For example, the « Community Hours » (« Gemeinschafts-Stunden ») honouring fallen young artists and the « Celebration Hours in the monastery » (« Feier-Stunden im Stift ») .

...

Fourth special concert of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Conductor : « SS-Ober-Sturmführer » Franz Schmidt, music advisor at the headquarters of the SS.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

The performance and rendition by the Philharmonic receive the immediate applause of Herbert von Karajan, who is in the audience.

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According to a 1991 interview with sound-engineer Helmut Krüger, almost all of the stereophonic experiments were carried out in the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») with the « Großes Berliner Rundfunk-Orchester » , with one notable exception : on **July 1943**, they travelled to Bayreuth to record Wilhelm Furtwängler conducting Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » on the **15th** at the « Festspielhaus » . This experimental recording has never been found. (Furtwängler will also conduct « Die Meistersinger » on July 18, 21 and 25.)

### Cast

Hans Sachs, cobbler, mastersinger : Jaro Prohaska (baritone) .

Veit Pogner, goldsmith, mastersinger : Josef Greindl (bass) .

Kunz Vogelgesang, furrier, mastersinger : Benno Arnold (tenor) .

Konrad Nachtigall, tinsmith, mastersinger : Helmut Fehn (bass) .

Sixtus Beckmesser, town clerk, mastersinger : Eugen Fuchs (baritone) .

Fritz Kothner, baker, mastersinger : Fritz Krenn (bass) .

Balthasar Zorn, pewterer, mastersinger : Gerhard Witting (tenor) .

Ulrich Eißlinger, grocer, mastersinger : Gustav Rödin (tenor) .

Augustin Moser, tailor, mastersinger : Karl Krollmann (tenor) .

Hermann Ortel, soap-maker, mastersinger : Herbert Gösebruch (bass) .

Hans Schwartz, stocking weaver, mastersinger : Franz Sauer (bass) .

Hans Foltz, coppersmith, mastersinger : Alfred Dome (bass) .



Walther von Stolzing, young knight from Franconia : Max Lorenz (tenor) .

David Erich, Sachs's apprentice : Erich Zimmermann (tenor) .

Eva, Pogner's daughter : Maria Müller (soprano) .

Magdalena, Eva's nurse : Camilla Kallab (mezzo-soprano) .

A night watchman : Erich Pina (bass) .

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**From 13 August 1943 up until the end of War** : Approximately 120,000 tons of high explosive and incendiary bombs are dropped on Austria.

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**Tuesday, 17 August 1943** : As part of the « Schweinfurt-Regensburg strategic mission » , the Allies are bombing the Messerschmitt Bf 109 aircraft factory and an oil refinery located in the vicinity of the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich.

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**Sunday, 5 September 1943** : Article by Wilhelm Loibner entitled « Gedanken über Bruckner » (Thoughts on Bruckner) published in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » :

The music-critic reports on the pre-season concert called « Bruckner memorial hour in St. Florian » , honouring Anton Bruckner's birthday, by the « Bruckner-Orchester Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » given at the Collegiate Church.

Welcome speeches given by the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, August Eigruber, and the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

## Programme

Georg Friedrich Händel : Organ Concerto. Soloist : Günther Ramín (playing from the « Bruckner Organ ») .

Anton Bruckner : Intermezzo in D minor for String Quintet (**WAB 113**) .

## *Intermission*

Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Wednesday, 8 September 1943** : The « Linzer Tages-Post » reports on the pre-season concert called « Bruckner memorial hour in St. Florian » given on September 5.

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**Thursday, 16 September 1943** : First subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

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**Saturday, 18 September 1943** : Reviews by Hugo Ruth in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » and Vinzenz Müller in the « Linzer Tages-Post » of the first subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») on September 16, 1943.

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**Sunday, 19 September 1943** : Speaking to an audience of farmers, August Eigruber discovers that 22,000 farms in the Upper-Danube region have been discharged since the « Anschluß » (March 1938) .

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**Autumn 1943** : First concert-season of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Presentation of a series of 10 orchestral concerts in Linz with Georg-Ludwig Jochum and guest-conductors Oswald Kabasta, Carl Schuricht, Joseph Keilberth and Hans Knappertsbusch.

For the moment, the concert activities are confined to Linz.

The program, the management of most of the symphony concerts and the engagement of renowned guest-conductors are Jochum's responsibility. His work met with a consistently positive response in the press and in public, and guest-tours also added to the company's reputation.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum (the best candidate available) becomes the first music-director, but the officials of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany in Berlin made it known that they were hoping to attract the services of someone with greater prestige. Clemens Krauß, from Munich, is said to have been entrusted by Adolf Hitler

with the task of training a « really good conductor » for Linz.

Although the efforts to replace Jochum with another conductor never completely disappeared, it must be said that the man had character and authority. It was not easy for Jochum to meet the cultural functionaries of the « Gaus » and the city of Linz (including the Lord Mayor and the « Gauliers » themselves) , all fighting over policies and directorship of the Municipal and Theatre orchestras. Assistant « Kapellmeister » Willy Wickenhäuser, who had to bear the main burden of the rehearsals, contributed to Jochum's relief at the « Landestheater » .

The 2 men were also responsible for conducting subscription-concerts and non subscription-concerts, including chamber concerts, recordings in the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian, performances for the « Wehrmacht » and concerts for various « Reich » celebrations.

Wilhelm Furtwängler (who was part of the discussions for the position of music-director) , Hans Knappertsbusch, Karl Böhm, Oswald Kabasta, Carl Schuricht, Joseph Keilberth and the ambitious Herbert von Karajan were hired as guest-conductors.

Jochum remained at his post until 1945 thanks to the help of influential advocates such as Furtwängler. For a while, Karajan, already famous but without any real top-position, attempted to become the « Direktor » . A scheme was planned that would have transferred Jochum to the « Wehrmacht » and the War front, but Furtwängler uncovered the plan and intervened to prevent it. « Reich » Minister Josef Goebbels, on his part, tried to curb Karajan's ambitions. Robert Haas, general-editor of the « German Bruckner Society » of Vienna, considered Karajan to be the best performer of the Master's Symphonies.

Even if Adolf Hitler's « vision » was never fully-implemented and the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » did not achieve the desired international reputation, under the leadership of Jochum, it became a cultural prestige project of the Nazi regime.

There continues to be violent disputes with the Foreign Ministry. Apart from various other matters, the main focus is on propaganda in occupied France. Doctor Josef Goebbels intervenes after the « Wehrmacht » High Command has ordered the transfer of a substantial number of responsibilities of the « Wehrmacht's » propaganda department in France to the Foreign Ministry in **November 1943**. He sends the former « Reich » broadcasting chief, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, to Paris as his special representative, who manages for the time being to prevent the transfer from happening.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg rejoins in the fall the « Luftwaffe » , and is named adjutant in the 77th Fighter Squadron (« Jagdgeschwader » 77, or JG 77) - nicknamed : « Ace of Hearts » (« Herz As ») .

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**Saturday, 2 October 1943** : Concert given by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger on the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

## Programme

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Anton Bruckner.

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**Sunday, 3 October 1943** : Symphonic concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (conductor unspecified) .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (**WAB 104**) .

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**Monday, 4 October 1943** : Concert given by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger on the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. (Repeat concert from October 2 ?)

## Programme

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Anton Bruckner.

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**Sunday, 10 October 1943** : Special anniversary-concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian honouring the death of the composer.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Monday, 11 October 1943** : Concert given by Professor Ludwig Daxspurger on the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. (Repeat concert from October 2 ?)

## Programme

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Anton Bruckner.

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**Sunday, 3 to Friday, 15 October 1943** : Concert-tour of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra with guest-conductor Hermann Abendroth.

Kraków, Bucharest, Kronštadt, Budapest and Agram (Zagreb) will be the visited cities.

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**Tuesday, 12 October 1943** : Music-critic of the Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**) by Hugo Ruth of the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » performed on the occasion of the Memorial Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian honouring the death of the composer.

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**Wednesday, 13 October 1943** : During a first salvage trip, Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » in St. Florian, brings 4 boxes of precious documents, including 2 (or 6 ?) autograph manuscripts by Anton Bruckner, to the town of Steinberg in the Styrian region of Altaussee.

The salt mines of Altaussee has a long and storied history. It all began during the High Middle-Ages, in the mid-12th Century : salt mining in Altaussee was first chronicled in 1147. Between 1334 and 1449, medieval salt production in Aussee reached its zenith under the leadership of the private Hallinger company, later being nationalized by Emperor Friedrich III in 1449.

The Ausseerland region is part of the so-called Alpine fortress. The extensive complex of salt mines serves as a huge repository for art stolen by the Nazis, but also as a last refuge for Nazi Party, government and army staffs. Several high Nazi and SS officials, like August Eigruber, Hugo Jury, Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl and Anton Burger, try to go into hiding in the village at the end of the war.

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**Tuesday, 26 October 1943** : Third subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (conductor unspecified) .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (**WAB 109**) .

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**Wednesday, 27 October 1943** : Third subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (conductor unspecified) .

Repeat concert from October 26.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

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**Thursday, 28 October 1943** : The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra is on tour with guest-conductor Hermann Abendroth.

Among the performed works ...

Bernhard Hamann : Concerto for violoncello and orchestra in D minor, Opus 5 (Ries & Erler Musikverlag, 1938-1939) .

**Soloist : Adolf Steiner.**

The German violinist and composer Bernhard Hamann was born on 21 June 1909 in Hamburg and died on 27 January 1968 in Hamburg. Founder of the Hamann Quartet. From a young age, he played as a soloist under Karl Muck, Eugen Papst, Arnold Fiedler, Hans Rosbaud and Hermann Abendroth. In 1931, he was signed by Doctor Muck as first concert-master of the « Philharmonisches Staatsorchester Hamburg » . 1934 : first concert-master at the « Reichs-Sender » in Hamburg. 1942-1945 : first concert-master at the Dresden Philharmonic. 1945-1955 : first concert-master at the NWDR (« Nord-West-Deutscher Rundfunk ») Symphony Orchestra in Hamburg. 1956-1968 : first concert-master at the NDR (« Nord-Deutscher Rundfunk ») Symphony Orchestra in Hamburg.

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**November 1943** : During a second salvage trip, Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » , brings 26 autograph manuscripts by Anton Bruckner to the town of Steinberg in the Styrian region of Altaussee.

A Bruckner portrait (IKO : Iconography 72) produced by Heinrich Schönchen, and owned by Martha Thyll, is offered as a gift to the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Leipzig.

The salt mines of Altaussee has a long and storied history. It all began during the High Middle-Ages, in the mid-12th Century : salt mining in Altaussee was first chronicled in 1147. Between 1334 and 1449, medieval salt production in Aussee reached its zenith under the leadership of the private Hallinger company, later being nationalized by Emperor Friedrich III in 1449.

The Ausseerland region is part of the so-called Alpine fortress. The extensive complex of salt mines serves as a huge repository for art stolen by the Nazis, but also as a last refuge for Nazi Party, government and army staffs. Several high Nazi and SS officials, like August Eigruber, Hugo Jury, Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl and Anton Burger, try to go into hiding in the village at the end of the war.

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**Friday, 5 November 1943** : Heinrich Glasmeier is appointed by the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Gœbbels, propaganda agent of the « Reich » for all the occupied French territories.

« SS Reichs-Führer » Heinrich Himmler brusquely rejects a request by Gœbbels to promote Glasmeier from « SS Ober-Sturm-Führer » (corresponding to the rank of a colonel) to « SS Brigade-Führer » (General-Major) . Himmler does not consider Glasmeier worthy of promotion. The Minister of Propaganda is informed briefly and concisely by Himmler's office.

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**Saturday, 6 November 1943** : Second local concert of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » under Professor Günther Ramín.

Contributing to the war effort, Ramín organizes a free « a cappella » concert at the « Städtisches Kaufhaus » (« Kaufmannshof ») located at Numbers 9-19 « Neumarkt » in the city-centre of Leipzig. The first model trade-fair building in the world.

### Programme

Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa : 4 Italian Madrigals.

Ernst Pepping : 5 songs from the cycle entitled « Das Jahr » (The Year) for 4-part mixed-choir (SATB) , based on 12 poems by Josef Weinheber entitled « O Mensch, gib acht » (O man, pay attention) (1940) .

Folk-songs for mixed-choir.

Anton Bruckner : « Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 11**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Os justi meditabitur sapientiam » (The mouth of the righteous) , sacred motet in F major (Lydian mode) for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 30**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 23**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) , sacred motet in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 52**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (**WAB 6**) .

The edifice, which includes an idyllic inner court-yard, is the prototype of a specialized sample fair building : a building type very common in Leipzig's inner-city. Unlike the other sample fair buildings (or « fair palaces » , as they were called) , the « Städtisches Kaufhaus » retains the 15th Century Baroque architectural style of the former « Gewandhaus » library.

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**Monday, 8 to Saturday, 13 November 1943** : « University week » in Linz, placed under the sponsorship of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna.

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**Saturday, 13 November 1943** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels notes in his diary :

« (...) Glasmeier has gone to work in Paris. He is meeting with great difficulties there. The OKW (“ Ober-Kommando der Wehrmacht ”) had really intended to throw the Paris propaganda section into the lap of the Foreign Office. By sending Glasmeier, I anticipated this move. Keitel has now hit on the typical way out by submitting the question to the “ Führer's ” decision. I'm not worrying about that decision. »

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The Anhalter train-station, like most of Berlin, is devastated by British and American bombs, and Soviet artillery shells.

**Night of Monday, 22 to Tuesday 23 November 1943** : A massive bombing raid on the Anhalter train terminus causes so much damage to rail infrastructure further out that long-distance trains can no longer run, except for a few local services.

When Wilhelm Furtwängler returns to Berlin from a concert-tour abroad, he is informed that the « Philharmonie » has been bombed.

The façade has been badly damaged, and so has the front-rooms in which the irreplaceable music library has been kept. Important letters, files, documents, original scores - everything has been destroyed.

The concert-hall itself remains intact, but the windows have been blown-out, and glass, at the time, is not available.

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**End of 1943** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels credits Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry, with having resuscitated Berlin's musical scene after one year of severe British air-attacks.

The President of the « Reich » Chamber of Music, conductor and musicologist Professor Peter Raabe, has to postpone his plans to retire to private life « in order to write a couple more books » .

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Until late-1943, there was little threat of aerial bombings to the city of Leipzig. However, on the morning of 4 December 1943, the British Royal Air Force dropped over 1,000 tons of explosives, resulting in the death of nearly 1,000 civilians. This bombing was the largest up to that time. Due to the close proximity of many of the buildings hit, a fire-storm occurred. This prompted fire-fighters to rush to the city ; however, they were unable to control the fires. Unlike the neighbouring city of Dresden, this was a largely conventional bombing with high explosives rather than incendiaries. The resultant pattern of loss was a patch-work, rather than wholesale loss of its centre, but was nevertheless extensive.

...

The city of Leipzig was the target of an attack. The air route of this attack had been planned in a way to keep the German Air Defense in the dark about the attack's objective for as long as possible. Because the Germans did not expect an assault at this time, the Royal Air Force launched its attack in the early morning hours.

The route the bomber squadrons were following crossed over the continental coast-line at the Zuiderzee, continued eastwards to Northern Germany and Berlin and turned southwards over the area of the city of Brandenburg. Between 3:50 and 4:25 am, 442 bombers dropped a total amount of almost 1,400 tons of explosives and incendiary bombs. At 3:39 am, the air-raid warning had been raised, with the all-clear following at 5:39 am. In the city-centre, where the buildings were densely crowded, the air-raid caused a fire-storm. Hans Rumpf, the general-inspector of fire-fighting, happened to be in Leipzig during the attack. He said the fire-storm was even more intense than the one in Hamburg during Operation « Gomorrah » .

Fire-fighters had to be called from the hinterland, as the fire-brigade of Leipzig had had to send half of their own forces to Berlin. These external forces were often not able to fight the flames, because their hoses did not fit the custom-made connections to the hydrants in Leipzig, of which only 30 % had been standardized. Moreover, the water supply broke down quickly.

More than 1,800 people were killed in the attack. This is a small number for such a heavy attack, because many inhabitants did not follow the instruction to stay in the cellars until the all-clear was given, and so escaped the fire-storm flames.

In the city-centre, many historical buildings fell victim to the attack, namely the Old and the New Theatre, the New Trade Exchange, the nave of St. John's Church (« Johannis-Kirche ») , the Old Balance (« Alte Waage ») , St. Matthew's Church (« Matthäi-Kirche ») , the Museum of Fine-Art, the « Café Zimmermann » (a favourite of Johann Sebastian Bach) , and the « Augusteum » , the main-building of the University of Leipzig. The roof truss of the Old Town-Hall burned out ; a concrete ceiling that had been installed at the beginning of the 20th Century during a renovation prevented a burning-out of the storeys below. As another consequence of the attack, the destruction of 1,067 commercial buildings, 472 factory buildings, 56 schools, 29 fair-buildings and 9 churches was recorded. 58 out of 92 departments of the University were hit and partially destroyed, including the first psychology laboratory, founded by

Wilhelm Wundt.

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Until the end of the War, Professor Günther Ramín goes along with the rest of his accomplished colleagues in the realms of the church and concert-halls. He conducts « “ Requiems ” for Heroes » and « German Masses » .

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**Tuesday, 2 December 1943** : Third local concert of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » under Professor Günther Ramín - given in partnership with the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra.

### Programme

Hermann Simon : « Requiem in Bello » - Celebration of the Dead in Time of War, based on poems by Ruth Schaumann, for soprano, 4 part mixed-choir and string orchestra (1942) .

Hans Pfitzner : « Fons salutifer » , hymn for mixed-choir, orchestra and organ, Opus 48 (1941-1942) .

Max Reger : « Der 100. Psalm » in D major for mixed-choir and orchestra, Opus 106 (1909) .

Increased bombing made it too dangerous for the choir to remain in Leipzig, prompting a swift relocation to Linz, where the choir will be introduced on Sunday, 30 April 1944.

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**Friday, 3 December 1943 (7:00 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 36.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, 1877 version (**WAB 102**) .

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**Early morning hours of Thursday, 4 December 1943** : Extensive strikes by the British Royal Air Force severely damage the « Städtisches Kaufhaus » .

The complex was built in 3 phases, from 1893 to 1901 :

1) Reconstruction of the library-wing of the original « Gewandhaus » .

2) 1895-1896 : Demolition of the arsenal-wing on « Universitäts-Straße » which includes a concert-hall dating from the 18th Century (where Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Franz Liszt performed) .  
Construction of a new neo-Baroque building.

3) 1899 to 1901 : Construction of a new wing on « Neumarkt » .

Destruction of Leipzig's Graphic Quarter :

A rain of explosive bombs and incendiaries laid waste the centre of Germany's book industry in just under 2 hours. More than 1,800 people died that night ; 114,000 of Leipzig's citizens became homeless and 15,000 buildings were hit. The biggest publishing firms - including F. A. Brockhaus Verlag, Verlag Philipp Reclam junior and Breitkopf & Härtel, the world's oldest music-publisher - were burnt out together with an estimated 50 million books. The German Museum of Books and Writing, the world's oldest book museum, was a ruin, the headquarters of the German Book Traders' Association destroyed, the « Deutsche Bücherei » badly damaged : the Allied offensive dealt the final blow to Leipzig's centuries-old reputation as the « City of Books » , a reputation which had already been shaken to its foundations during World War I.

In his diary for 4 December 1943, Arthur Luther, literary scholar, head of department at the « Deutsche Bücherei » and survivor of the bombing raid, wrote :

« The drone of planes ... The ceiling collapses with a terrible crash, I fall on my back ... glasses gone, hat gone ... The crashes and shooting finally stop. We venture outside. First impression : flames everywhere, people screaming. I go into the library. The east-wing is badly damaged. All windows shattered. Smoke is rising from the basement. The window frames in the east-wing looking out onto " Deutscher Platz " are burnt out. The great reading-room is full of broken fragments, debris and rubble. The wall-painting by L. Hofmann has vanished. The whole building is icy cold, as not one window has been left intact. The post-office, Museum, University, Opera House are on fire or have been reduced to rubble. The " Brühl " destroyed, the Old Theatre a ruin ... Worst of all, however, the whole Book-Traders' Quarter has been razed to the ground : all the big publishers, all the big printers, the Book Dealers' House, the Book Museum, etc. »

The Book Museum, now called the German National Library's German Museum of Books and Writing, was housed in the prestigious « Buchhändler-Haus » (Book Dealers' House) , in which the museum had ideologically exploited and celebrated the 400th birthday of « German hero » Johannes Gutenberg 3 years previously. During the night of 4 December, the museum lost 90 % of its collection. Just before the bombing, the most valuable artefacts had been relocated to the Erz mountains, where they survived the War. During the months immediately following the War, they were then taken by the Soviet Army to Moscow, where they are still kept today.

The German National Library's German Museum of Books and Writing has placed one of the few objects that could be retrieved - bearing traces of powder - from the ruins of the « Buchhändler-Haus », early in December 1943, at the centre of an installation : a granite slab weighing several hundred kilograms that bears Chinese characters dating back around 3,000 years.

Traces of the War can still be seen in Leipzig's former Book Dealers' Quarter today : large areas of wasteland and the derelict ruins of houses bear witness to the havoc wrought during World War II. Most of all, however, present-day visitors will see numerous new building projects, some incorporating the remains of historic buildings - as with the reconstruction of the former Book Trade House (« Buchgewerbe-Haus ») .

Founded in 1884 as the « Deutsches Buch-Gewerbe-Museum » (German Book Trade Museum) , it is the oldest museum in the world in the field of book culture, and also one of the most important with regard to the scope and quality of its holdings.

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**December 1943** : The first Allied air-strike to have a direct impact on the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz comes from the capital, Berlin. The headquarters of the « Reich » Chamber of Theatre are a total loss.

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**Friday, 10 December 1943** : Military ceremony in Linz by the « Waffen-SS » men from the Standard 37th Division.

Performance by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum ?) .

Finale of the Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (**WAB 105**) - including a second brass choir.

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**Tuesday, 14, and Sunday, 19 December 1943** : Allied bombings on the city of Linz make a total of 339 victims.

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**Wednesday, 15 December 1943** : Recording sessions in Vienna of the Fourth Symphony (« Romantic » , **WAB 104**) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » which will be use for the sound-track of the cultural film entitled « Die Heimat Anton Bruckners » (The Homeland of Anton Bruckner) produced by the Prague Film Society.

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**Thursday, 16 December 1943** (12:30 pm to 1:30 pm) : Afternoon live-concert given at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

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**Sunday, 19 December 1943** : 2 public concerts at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz (one in the morning, and one in the evening) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (WAB 108) .

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**Tuesday, 21 December 1943** : Review by Vinzenz Müller of the « Linzer Tages-Post » of the Sunday performance(s) at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108, hybrid version of 1887-1890, Robert Haas, 1935-1939) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

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**Wednesday, 22 December 1943** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber is looking for a new Lord Mayor for Linz. He offers the office to the highly-esteemed Franz Langoth, who accepts this new prestigious position. Langoth thus succeeds Doctor Leopold Sturma, who is named President of the Higher Regional Court of Linz.

In this capacity, Langoth makes a major contribution to the maintenance of National-Socialist rule until May 5, 1945, accepting civilian casualties in the process.

He also takes charge of the Youth and Welfare Office, which, up to now, persecuted « anti-social activities » and ordered forced sterilization.

Langoth states in his memoirs :

« Of course, the “ Führer ” principle also applied to the city administration. (...) The decision was ultimately up to me alone. »

...

Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Professor Max Auer :

Wendler talks about the disastrous consequences of the night air-strikes by the British Royal Air Force on Thursday, 4 December 1943 (between 3:39 and 5:32 am) on the general-headquarters of the Society. It also damaged the Oskar Brandstetter Company, the official printer and editor of the « Musicological Publishers » .

The « Publishers » have enough publishing stock in an out-of-town warehouse. Invaluable documents and manuscripts have all been saved in a secure basement. (see : February 2, 1944) .

« Thank God, our warehouse in the suburbs was saved, and we can at least provide the orchestras with Bruckner scores and other performance materials. (...) Documents and manuscripts have all been stored in the lowest cellar. »

(« Wir haben Gott sei Dank ein auswärtiges Lager gerettet und können daraus wenigstens die Orchester mit Bruckner- und anderen Aufführungsmaterialien versorgen. (...) Dokumente und Manuskripte sind im tiefsten Keller alle gerettet worden. »)

The increasing uncertainty in Leipzig will lead to the plan to move the « Musicological Publishers » to the town of Braunau-am-Inn near Linz, on the border with Germany : the birth-place of Adolf Hitler. The publishing-house will then be renamed « Bruckner-Verlag GmbH » .

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**Thursday, 23 December 1943 (7:00 pm) : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.**

Symphonic concert celebrating the « Führer » Ring (which is attributed to the leaders of the Hitler Youth) .

General music-director Leopold Reichwein conducts the « Gau » Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Gau-Symphonieorchester Niederdonau ») . Concert-master : Willi Boskovsky.

Introductory words from Professor Reichwein.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 2 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72a.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Concerto No. 4 in D major for violin and orchestra (KV 218) .

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 4 in E minor, Opus 98.

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**Winter 1943** : Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » , makes a third salvage trip to the town of Steinberg in the Styrian region of Altaussee.

The salt mines of Altaussee has a long and storied history. It all began during the High Middle-Ages, in the mid-12th Century : salt mining in Altaussee was first chronicled in 1147. Between 1334 and 1449, medieval salt production in Aussee reached its zenith under the leadership of the private Hallinger company, later being nationalized by Emperor Friedrich III in 1449.

The Ausseerland region is part of the so-called Alpine fortress. The extensive complex of salt mines serves as a huge repository for art stolen by the Nazis, but also as a last refuge for Nazi Party, government and army staffs. Several high Nazi and SS officials, like August Eigruber, Hugo Jury, Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl and Anton Burger, try to go into hiding in the village at the end of the war.

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**Monday, 27 December 1943** : Article by Hermann Mayer in the Düsseldorf newspaper « Der Mittag » entitled « Landscape in pictures and music. A cultural film provides valuable inspiration. » (« Landschaft in Bild und Musik. Ein Kultur-Film gibt wertvolle Anregungen ») .

Mayer reviews « Die Heimat Anton Bruckners » (The Homeland of Anton Bruckner) produced by the Prague Film Society. Recording of the Fourth Symphony (« Romantic » , **WAB 104**) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » was used for the sound-track.

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**1944** : The building complex of the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz now serves as a camp for the displaced Germans from Bessarabia. Towards the end of the War, it will be used as a reserve military hospital for the German « Wehrmacht » .

The politicization of the first « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») intensifies toward the end of World War II. Although this project remains incomplete due to the dismissal of Robert Haas as chief-editor, scores of all the 9 numbered Symphonies **but the Third** are published.

The political climate in the Third « Reich » had been a major factor in the establishment of the ideological and theoretical foundation for the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » . These multi-faceted grounds ultimately manifested themselves in their text-critical principles. The most important one was their consistent rejection of the first printed editions as inauthentic. This position was quickly legitimized. Post-War discussions appraising the legacy of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » have centered on Haas's questionable editorial work based on his text-critical principles. Haas's decision to reject the first printed editions collectively was from the outset problematic. This decision led to questionable editorial determinations. This indicates that while their fundamental editorial policy remained unchanged, its application had to be adjusted on an individual basis. The degree and character of each revision of Bruckner's Symphonies vary because each of them was made with a different motivation, purpose, and background. Therefore, it was no wonder Haas

needed justification for his editorial doctrine as he was facing increasing difficulty in editing scores in the later stages of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » .

The « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » (« Musicological Publishers ») of Leipzig is renamed « Bruckner-Verlag GmbH » .

German broadcasting is unthinkable without high-frequency « Magnetophons » .

Doctor Josef Gæbbels institutes several changes of personnel within the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. These are prompted not least by the need to counter his rivals in the field of propaganda. He replaces his State Secretary, Leopold Gutterer, with whose performance he has been unsatisfied for some time, with his old office chief, Doctor Werner Naumann, who returns to the ministry from service in the « Wehrmacht » . He compensates Gutterer by appointing him director general of « UfA GmbH » with « a huge salary » .

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is named major, military service officer and headquarters' commander.

Robert Hohlbaum returns to Vienna and tries unsuccessfully to obtain the post of director of the City Archives. He spends his summer holidays - as in his years in office - at his house in Freiwaldau.

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**January 1944** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier has spent around 4.5 million « Reich » Marks on the « St. Florian project » .

2.4 million of which were on furnishings alone ; all of them of high artistic or antiquarian value.

Only 130,000 « Reich » Marks has been spent for the maintenance of the building complex.

Herbert von Karajan recalls :

« They will buy furniture for him in Paris. He will also get a carriage with 6 assorted horses, with the interior in damask blue. »

The most precious furniture and art-objects are procured from France and other countries. For Glasmeier's dining-room, the furniture must be custom-made (hand-carved work) . Covers and carpets are woven according to special patterns. Unfortunately, he does not like them, so he immediately gets rid of them. After a plate from the Vienna Museum, a complete table service for 50 people is commissioned, each piece bearing the coat-of-arms of St. Florian and the « swastika » of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany, along with the coat-of-arms of the Glasmeier family from the town of Dorsten in Westphalia on the back. A table cutlery made of hand-forged silver, solidly gold-plated, cannot be missing. Glasmeier manages through Adolf Hitler that the scarce precious metal is released shortly before the end of the War.



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**Saturday, 15 January 1944** : Letter from conductor Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer :

Hausegger is looking forward to the new « Critical Edition » of the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) , since Robert Haas is aware that his printed score essentially corresponds to the original 1885 autograph manuscript.

Haas attempted to remove the influence of Arthur Nikisch, Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe in order to retrieve Bruckner's original conception of the Symphony. Haas used some material from the 1883 autograph but because this autograph also includes later changes much of his work was the product of conjecture. The most prominent feature of Haas's edition is the absence of cymbals, triangle and timpani in the Adagio movement : Haas asserted that Bruckner decided to omit the percussion.

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**Sunday, 23 January 1944** : Herbert von Karajan conducts in Bucharest a symphonic concert with the George Enescu Philharmonic Orchestra.

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**Thursday, 27 January 1944** : Herbert von Karajan conducts in Bucharest a symphonic concert with the George Enescu Philharmonic Orchestra.

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**Sunday, 30 January 1944** : Afternoon concert held at the old Berlin « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » :

Recital by Germany's foremost lyric baritone, Heinrich Schlusnus.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : « Winterreise » (Winter Journey) , song-cycle based on a setting of 24 poems by Wilhelm Müller (D. 911) .

...

Important rally in Vienna celebrating the anniversary of seizure of power by the National-Socialists :

Opening address by the « Reich » Governor Baldur von Schirach.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Opening march with banners.

Karl H. Pilss : Festive fanfare for 7 wind instruments.

Franz Liszt : « Les Préludes » , Symphonic-poem No. 3 after Alphonse de Lamartine (S. 97) .

Honour to the « Führer » (« Führer-Ehrung ») .

« Song of the Nation » (« Lieder der Nation ») , a double-anthem consisting of the first verse of the « Lied der Deutschen » followed by the « Horst-Wessel-Lied » .

Closing march with banners.

...

On **Monday, 30 January 1933**, the National-Socialists assumed power in Germany. Within a very short time, they managed to gain control of all important positions in government and society.

The regime imposed this policy of « Gleichschaltung » by means of intimidation and force. « Persona non grata » and political opponents were arrested. It was obvious from the deprivation of the Jewish population's rights that racism and anti-Semitism had become key-elements of Nazi policy.

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**Night of Sunday, 30 to Monday 31 January 1944** : 11th anniversary of the accession of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of the « Reich » .

The city of Berlin is the main target of an air-raid : 440 Lancasters, 82 Halifaxes, 12 Mosquitos (534 aircrafts) are dispatched to Berlin. The RAF losses represent 33 aircraft - 6.2 % of the total. The western and southern districts are hit in the most concentrated attack.

Phosphorus bombs fall on the old « Philharmonie » on « Bernauerstraße » when the Anhalter Train Station (railway terminus) , near the concert-hall, is the target of a British-American air squadron.

Concerts can no longer be given because high-piles of rubble cut-off the concert-hall from the outside world.

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**Wednesday, 2 February 1944** : Report by procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig : Since no copies of the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) could be salvage after the British air-raid on the head-office of the Society (during the early morning hours of December 22, 1943) , Robert Haas is now preparing

engraving plates at the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company, based on a score published by Universal-Edition. On his part, Doctor Friedrich Werner dissuade Wilhelm Furtwängler to announce that his next concert performance of the work is based on the original 1885 version which includes cymbals, triangle and timpani in the Adagio movement.

After the destruction of the inventory of the « Musicological Publishers », the affiliate « Bruckner-Verlag » located on « Wilhelminen-Straße » in Wiesbaden temporarily takes over the production and reprints of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works.

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**Friday, 4 February 1944** : Special concert given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

The appointed guest-conductor Hans Knappertsbusch conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (**WAB 104**) .

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**Sunday, 6 February 1944** : Review of Friday's symphonic concert given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») by Vinzenz Müller in the « Linzer Tages-Post » .

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**February 1944** : The « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, August Eigruber, feels compelled to clarify things in a letter to the Lord Mayor of Linz, Franz Langoth :

« The “ Bruckner Orchestra ” of the Great German Broadcasting Corporation is a “ Reich ” orchestra which is based in St. Florian or currently in Linz and is, by no means, to be addressed as a municipal or regional orchestra. »

The musical sound-track of the cultural film entitled « Die Heimat Anton Bruckners » (The Homeland of Anton Bruckner) produced by the Prague Film Society is completed. The Fourth Symphony (« Romantic » , **WAB 104**) was selected, and recorded by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Allied air-strikes on the aircraft and ball-bearing industrial plants in Steyr.

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**February 1944 to April 1945** : Around 250 prisoners from the Mauthausen sub-camp II near Linz located in the « Märzenkeller » building in Linz are employed in constructing air-raid shelters and defusing unexploded bombs after air-raids.

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Apart from the fundamental questions of food and shelter, the citizens of Leipzig soon started to wonder whether the Americans would facilitate the renewal of the cultural life, so important to the city's self-conception. Leipzig's cultural institutions, wherever possible, continued throughout the War and even after the bombings of the city. Leipzig's « Gewandhaus » Orchestra played its last concert 6 days before the American arrival, the University, despite a lecture stop, was still handling qualifications, the « Reichsgericht », Germany's Supreme Court, only ceased proceedings with the American take-over. Yet, all suffered from the ideological isolation and politicization of the Nazi years and hoped the Americans would support a reconstruction of the city and its culture. No one knew that less than a dozen weeks after the American arrival, the occupation would switch to the Soviet forces.

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During « Operation Argument », also called « Big Week », the city of Leipzig is one of the first targets that are attacked by British and American bombers.

**Sunday, 20 February 1944** (between 3:15 am and 4:20 am) : Royal Air Force Bomber Command launched a major bombing raid against the German city of Leipzig at the beginning of the so-called « Big Week ». It was to prove to be the most costly, in terms of losses for the RAF, of the War so far. Leipzig was attacked in an attempt to destroy 4 Messerschmitt aircraft factories where Bf109 fighters were built, and a ball-bearing plant located in the city.

A total of 823 RAF bombers were sent-out to attack Leipzig : 561 Lancasters, 255 Halifaxes and 7 Mosquitos. The German fighter controllers did not take the bait of the diversionary mine-laying raid to Kiel, or the 15 Mosquitos that mounted a diversionary raid on Berlin. They marshalled their forces well ; the bomber stream was under constant attack by night-fighters from the Dutch coast all the way to the target and back, and also experienced heavy « flak » (« Flug-Abwehr-Kanone » : anti-aircraft unit) attacks . There were further difficulties at the target because the winds were not as forecast and many aircraft reached the Leipzig area too early and had to orbit to await the Pathfinders. 4 bombers were lost by collision and approximately 20 were shot down by « flak » . Leipzig was cloud-covered and the Pathfinders had to use sky-marking. The bombing appeared to be concentrated in its early stages but became scattered later.

Of the 823 RAF aircraft sent to Leipzig, 78 failed to return (44 Lancasters and 34 Halifaxes) almost 10 % of the force. For the Halifaxes, the loss rate amongst those that had not turned back early with problems was almost 15 % . The Halifax Mk IIs and Mk Vs, powered by Rolls-Royce Merlin engines, were permanently withdrawn from operations over Germany after this raid. Some 420 RAF aircrew were killed and a further 131 became prisoners-of-war. This was the heaviest Bomber Command loss of the War up to this point.

Residential areas in the south (Connewitz) as well as residential and industrial areas in the south-west of Leipzig (« Schleußig » and « Großschocher ») were hit. More than 700 bombers, which dropped about 2,300 tons of bombs, were used.

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**Sunday, 20 February 1944** (afternoon) : More than 200 bombers of the 8th U.S. Air Force attack industrial facilities in the north-east of the city, using about 700 tons of bombs. In total, about 970 people have died, most of them during the British night-raid.

Amongst others, the second « Gewandhaus » Concert Hall (designed by Martin Gropius) , located on the south-side of the « Karl-Marx-Platz » (opposite the main-entrance to the University Library) , is almost totally destroyed (the roof having collapsed completely) as a result of the incendiary bombings. Valuable orchestral instruments, the organ and the sheet-music archive are destroyed by the flames. The marble bust of Anton Bruckner (the first on German soil) , executed in 1931 by the sculptor Fritz Zalisz (commissioned by Doctor Emil Theodor Anton Armbruster) , has miraculously survived !!

The air-raids on Leipzig erased the city's printing and publishing quarter, and thus, the material manifestation of the « City of Books » , damaged most of its University facilities and destroyed the « Bürger » built Opera House and world-famous « Gewandhaus » Orchestra Concert Hall. The archives of most of Leipzig's cultural institutions suffered greatly : the « Gewandhaus's » burned in the building's destruction, St. Thomas's was transferred to the city archive, and the University archive fell prey to political manoeuvres.

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**Monday, 21 February 1944** : Air-raid on some of the bombed factories are damaged severely. 65 % of the « Erla Maschinen-Werk » in Heiterblick is destroyed.

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**Tuesday, 22 February 1944** : Sixth subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

Wilhelm Furtwängler is in the audience.

...

Letter from August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, to the (Nazi) Lord Mayor of Linz, Doctor Leopold Sturma (Eigruber sets the guide-lines for the acting Linz orchestras) :

« The “ Bruckner Orchestra ” of the Greater German Broadcasting Corporation is a “ Reich ” orchestra, which is based

in St. Florian or currently in Linz, and is, by no means, to be addressed as a municipal or “ Gau ” (regional) orchestra.

The “ Bruckner Orchestra ” will, in the future, be entrusted with the task of performing the symphonic music broadcasted on the Greater German Radio, then take part in the Bruckner Festivals and, as an orchestra of the “ Reich ”, will give a large number of guest-concerts at home and abroad, and will only be available to the city of Linz as a symphony orchestra on a case-by-case basis.

The city of Linz can therefore, by no means, fulfill its needs with this orchestra (i.e. , « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra ») .

It follows from “ point one ” that the existence of the Symphony Orchestra of the city of Linz is absolutely necessary, and that this orchestra will undergo further expansion. The Symphony Orchestra of the city of Linz remains under the responsibility of the Lord Mayor, and has the task of fully meeting the musical needs of the city of Linz.

The orchestra is used for guest-performance tours in the “ Gau ”, especially at tourist destinations during the summer months.

The Municipal Symphony Orchestra also performs all the operas and operettas featured at the “ Landestheater ”. The agreement with the theatre-director about the performance schedule must be maintained. A separate theatre orchestra is out of the question.

The Municipal Symphony Orchestra must expand its repertoire and improve its quality level because it will, one day, form the basis, as an opera orchestra, for the new opera-house in Linz. The final arrangement will be made at a later date. »

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A major producer of arms and military vehicles during the War, the city of Steyr becomes a target of Allied bombing raids to knock out its factories. 2 major attacks by the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force will take place on February 23 and 24, during the so-called « Big Week » .

**Wednesday, 23 February 1944** : First air-raid by the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force over the Upper-Danube region : the target is the military-industrial complex of the city of Steyr. Much of the town is badly damaged. The historical Johannes Gate (« Johannestor ») , located on the « Johannesgasse » , is seriously affected. However, the factories will continue to function until near the end of the War.

...

Fourth and last local concert of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » under Professor Günther Ramin. Site : the « Thomas-Kirche » .

The concert was originally intended to take place in the concert-hall of the « Gewandhaus », but the destruction of the building during the bombing raid, last Sunday, forced to re-schedule the event.

## Programme

Giuseppe Verdi : « Messa da Requiem » (in memory of Alessandro Manzoni) for 4 soloists, double-choir and orchestra.

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Since the St. Thomas Choir had left the city of Leipzig for safety reasons and continued its activities in the nearby town of Grimma at 25 kilometers (16 miles) , it had become increasingly difficult for Professor Ramín to carry on directing the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » . This situation would have been exacerbated even further by the choir’s inevitable relocation to Linz. For this reason, Ramín did not extend his contract.

...

Increased air-bombing made it too dangerous for the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » to remain in Leipzig, prompting a swift relocation to the city of Linz.

Work initially continued under the baton of Johannes Rietz, who had successfully assisted Professor Ramín on previous occasions.

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**Wednesday, 1 March 1944** : Doctor Friedrich Castelle who is in charge of the inventory of all the written and pictorial documents related to Anton Bruckner, sends to the « Reich » Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier his new essay entitled « Anton Bruckner in contemporary European musical life » based on newspaper clips of concert performances.

Due to illness, Castelle leaves St. Florian and returns to Luxembourg to manage the local « Reichs-Sender » , and a press and news department.

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The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier understands that the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » can only aspire to join the top German symphony orchestras by reaching out for the most illustrious conductors.

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**Tuesday, 7 March 1944** : Doctor Otto Benecke, the Councillor of the German Association of Municipalities, suggests to invite the distinguished young conductor of the Prussian State Orchestra in Berlin, « Reich Kapellmeister » Herbert von Karajan, to conduct a special concert of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » in the

city of Linz.

After a conversation with Karajan, Benecke is convinced that a call from Lord Mayor Doctor Leopold Sturma will soon follow. Indeed, the city of Linz informs « Reich » Intendant Glasmeier that the Maestro has been hired to conduct a concert on July 23 in St. Florian.

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**Thursday, 9 March 1944** : The exhibition entitled « Der Luft-Terror » (Terror from the Sky) opens in Linz.

Seventh subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

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**Monday, 13 March 1944** : Heinrich Glasmeier's youngest child and only son, Elmar, dies suddenly at the age of 5. Glasmeier seems to have returned to Berlin or St. Florian.

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**Monday, 13 and Tuesday, 14 March 1944** : Berlin. The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

#### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Piano Concerto No. 23 in A major (K. 488) . Soloist : Erik Then Berg.

#### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

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**Friday, 31 March 1944** : The contract of Professor Günther Ramín in Leipzig has expired.

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**April 1944** : The preparation work in St. Florian, Linz and Leipzig are sufficiently advanced for the members of the « Reich » Bruckner Choir of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » to move to Linz and St. Florian. Until now, they have worked almost exclusively at home.



Until the fall of the Nazi regime, the choir is used almost exclusively for « Wehrmacht » and reserve military hospital concerts but never existed in full-strength, fluctuating from 40 to around 80 singers. The ensemble is now directed by 3 different choir-masters : Professor Michael Schneider, Johannes Rietz and the choir tenor Walter Kretschmar.

The « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » begins to function as a real broadcasting orchestra.

...

The letters from Professor Ramín and the Chairman of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig », tenor Erich Purfürst, to Johannes Rietz, and the documents evaluated by Hanns Kreczi in the archive of St. Florian Monastery prove that the second choir-director was very highly-regarded among the members of the choir and by the choir-masters Ramín and Schneider. Rietz, for his part, felt strongly attached to the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » .

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**Between April 1944 and March 1945** : The « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » will make 97 broadcast recordings.

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**Sunday, 2 April 1944** : Another Allied air-raid on the military-industrial complex of the city of Steyr.

Sunday radio series produced by the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » in Berlin entitled « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister ») . The festive, blaring trumpet fanfares from Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is always used as the opening theme. Today, the featured work is the second Act of Richard Wagner's musical drama « Tristan and Isolde » which includes the great love-duet. In the main roles, we will have the privilege to hear Paula Buchner (soprano) , Max Lorenz (« Heldentenor ») , Magarete Klose (mezzo-soprano) and Ludwig Hofmann (bass) . The Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » will be placed under the direction of State « Kapellmeister » Professor Robert Heger.

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**Tuesday, 4 April 1944** : Doctor Josef Gœbbels, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, asks the « Reich » authorities of the N.S.D.A.P. whether Herbert von Karajan should remain a Party member despite the fact that he is married to a « quarter-Jewish wife » .

Gœbbels's State Secretary at the time is Leopold Gutterer (1941-1944) .

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**6 April 1944** (Maundy Thursday) : Studio recording at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall I) of the « Reichs-Sender » («

Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna. of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) with the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

Jochum is **not allowed** to use the 1885 original version edited by Albert J. Gutmann, which includes cymbals, triangle and timpani in the Adagio movement - attributes which are expected by the concert-goer.

The planned grand premiere public performance of the « new top world orchestra » on Adolf Hitler's 55th birthday is now considered a delicate political matter. Music-director Jochum sees the opportunity to be part of this historical event fail miserably.

The tape-recording will be first broadcast on April 20 and re-broadcast on July 4 so that the « Führer » can finally have the opportunity to hear it.

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**Tuesday, 11 April 1944** : For security reasons, August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, cancels the project of staging a public concert celebrating Adolf Hitler's 55th birthday at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian featuring Wilhelm Furtwängler conducting the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

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**Saturday, 17 April 1944** : The « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » sings movements of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) to welcome the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier (in St. Florian ?) .

In humorous allusion to the affected behaviour of the « Reich » Director-General and the « glass » element of his name, the members of the choir nicknamed Glasmeier « Scherbelheinrich » - roughly translated : « sharp-tongued Heinrich » !!

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While the War claims its victims everywhere in the « Reich » , Glasmeier continues to lead an extravagant life - thriving on reckless spending that is no longer appropriate at that time.

The project to build a swimming pool below the eastern wall of the monastery (which Glasmeier promotes as an emergency water basin for the fire-fighters from the nearby station, but, in reality, is solely reserved for himself and for his distinguished guests) only fails because of the fierce opposition of the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Gœbbels.

The purchase of a silver table-service, bearing the coat-of-arms of the « Reich » Intendant (which he probably intended as the crowning glory of his private collection) , will only be prevented by the end of the War.

Glasmeyer, frustrated by professional defeats while in Berlin, created a refuge for himself in St. Florian.

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**Tuesday, 18 April 1944** (or Tuesday, 25 April ?) : Report by procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, on the occasion of the recent studio recording of the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » :

Georg-Ludwig Jochum asked the permission to use the original 1885 version of the Symphony. All conductors, including his brother Eugen, would be outraged if the cymbals crash was omitted.

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**Wednesday, 19 April 1944** : The « Führer » decides that the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » will henceforth be under his protectorate, and be re-named the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » . On his order, the orchestra is preparing to hold its first major concert to be broadcast live on radio throughout the « Reich » .

Special evening concert organized by Doctor Josef Goebbels and the Nazi Party at the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » in Berlin on the eve of Adolf Hitler's 55th Birthday.

Goebbels's radio broadcast speech to the German people is still promising victory, somehow the « Führer » will achieve this despite the apocalyptic scenes facing Germany.

The speech is reproduced in German newspapers the day after, on April 20, casting Hitler's role as a pseudo-religious « saviour » :

« He will be the man of this Century - who was sure of himself despite terrible pain and suffering - who showed the way to victory. He is the only one who remained true to himself, who did not cheaply sell his faith and his ideals, who always and without doubt followed his straight path toward his goal. That goal may today be hidden behind the piles of rubble that our hate-filled enemies have wrought across our once-proud continent, but which will once again shine before our burning eyes once the rubble has been cleared.

(...)

Once more, the armies of the enemy powers storm against our defensive fronts. Behind them is the slaving force of International Jewry that wants no peace until it has reached its satanic goal of world destruction. But its hopes are in vain !

As he has done so often before, God will throw Lucifer back into the abyss even as he stands before the gates of power over all the peoples. A man of truly timeless greatness, of unique courage, of a steadfastness that elevates the hearts of some and shakes those of others, will be his tool.

Who will maintain that this man can be found in the leadership of Bolshevism or plutocracy ? No, the German people bore him. It chose him, it by free election made him “ Führer ”. It knows his works of peace and now wants to bear and fight the war that was forced upon him until its successful end. »

...

One man who had a different view of Adolf Hitler was junior « Wehrmacht » officer Gerhardt Boldt, who had recently had an audience with Hitler in his « bunker » :

« Hitler stands alone in the centre of the huge room, turned towards the ante-room. They approach in their order of entry, and he greets nearly everyone by a hand-shake, silently, without a word of welcome. Only once in a while, he asks a question, which is answered by “ Yes, my Führer. ” or “ No, my Führer. ”

I remain standing near the door and wait for the things that are bound to come. It is certainly one of the most remarkable moments of my life. General (Heinz) Guderian speaks with Hitler apparently concerning myself, for he looks in my direction. Guderian beckons, and I approach Hitler.

Slowly, heavily stooping, he takes a few shuffling steps in my direction. He extends his right hand and looks at me with a queerly penetrating look. His hand-shake is weak and soft without any strength. His head is slightly wobbling. (This struck me later on even more, when I had the leisure to observe him.) His left arm hangs slackly and his hand trembles a good deal. There is an indescribable flickering glow in his eyes, creating a fearsome and totally unnatural effect. His face and the parts round his eyes give the impression of total exhaustion. All his movements are those of a senile man. »

...

Herbert von Karajan conducts a symphonic concert with the « Grand orchestre de Radio-Paris » at the « Théâtre des Champs-Élysées » .

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Georg-Ludwig Jochum will soon create the Bruckner festival in St. Florian. Although the efforts to replace him with another conductor never completely disappear, he remained the music-director of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » until 1945.

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**Thursday, 20 April 1944** : Adolf Hitler's 55th birthday.

**Berlin** : Although Wilhelm Furtwängler already assured he will conduct the St. Florian gala-concert (he even approved the elaborate menu of the opening dinner) , the event is canceled due to the unfavourable war situation.

**Linz** : The armament factories (« Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works ») are no longer spared from the hail of bombs.

**Monastery of St. Florian** : A simple stew dinner is served to the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier by 6 « Waffen-SS » men coming from the Nazi concentration-camp of Mauthausen, which is located around 20 kilometers (12 miles) east of Linz.

Instead of the planned special anniversary-concert, the tape-recording produced at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna on Thursday, April 6 of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum is broadcast nation-wide.

But Adolf Hitler is not able to listen to the transmission (« Führer-Geburtstags-Sendung ») because of a reception for the supreme « Wehrmacht » leadership, which is why the initial aim was to repeat the programme at a time when « the “ Führer ” must have the opportunity to listen » .

According to information originating from a press-conference held by the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, the live event must be postponed to a later date and to a location which remains to be determined : the aim is to avoid any air-strikes on the monastery complex.

The popular saying « Holy Florian, spare our house, set fire to others. » saved the « Bruckner Monastery » , but not the city of Linz.

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**Thursday, 20 April 1944** : The Royal Air Force sets a new record for a single air-raid, dropping 4,500 tons of bombs.

German housewife Dorothea von Schwanenflügel describes the circumstances in Berlin at the time :

« Friday, April 20, was Hitler's 56th birthday, and the Soviets sent him a birthday present in the form of an artillery barrage right into the heart of the city, while the Western Allies joined in with a massive air-raid.

The radio announced that Hitler had come out of his safe bomb-proof bunker to talk with the 14 to 16 year old boys who had “ volunteered ” for the “ honour ” to be accepted into the SS and to die for their “ Führer ” in the defense of Berlin. What a cruel lie !

These boys did not volunteer, but had no choice, because boys who were found hiding were hanged as traitors by the SS as a warning that, “ he who was not brave enough to fight had to die ”. When trees were not available, people were strung up on lamp posts. They were hanging everywhere, military and civilian, men and women, ordinary citizens who had been executed by a small group of fanatics.

It appeared that the Nazis did not want the people to survive because a lost war, by their rationale, was obviously the fault of all of us. We had not sacrificed enough and, therefore, we had forfeited our right to live, as only the government was without guilt.

The “ Volkssturm ” was called up again, and, this time, all boys age 13 and up, had to report as our army was reduced now to little more than children filling the ranks as soldiers. »

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**Friday, 21 April 1944** : Letter from Wilhelm Furtwängler to Paul Heigl, the general-director of the Austrian National Library :

As a representative of the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») , Furtwängler asks Robert Haas, the head of the music-collection, to be exempted of the air-raid night duty so that work on the « Complete Critical Edition » can proceed more quickly.

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The core of « Todt Organisation's » team left over from the « GB Bau » group formed from the outset within Albert Speer's Ministry of Armaments and War Production, is an « awkward squad » who finds it hard to get onto friendly terms with their new boss. One of the first stag evenings held for senior colleagues from all of Speer's offices almost threatened to turn into a brawl. The Minister finds he has to make a special effort, by holding memorial ceremonies and in speeches, to pay homage to Fritz Todt's memory. All in all, he has scant success, for when in the **Spring of 1944** severe illness meant a long absence from his desk, the construction staff leaves the Ministry in droves. During this period, the head of the technical office, Karl Otto Saur, makes a name for himself as a slave-driver for the armaments projects that are close to Adolf Hitler's heart, and is well on the way to easing Speer out of his post.

The Minister's limited ability to win over his staff is not solely a matter of his lack of warmth and camaraderie. Speer makes his first attempts to do something about this in the **Spring of 1944**, when his political star is again on the wane and the Ministry is threatening to fall apart, by using irony and symbolic gestures ; a « joke bonus » is, for instance, instituted in meetings of the top-ranks, and as the highest internal commendation (a kind of Knight's Cross) , the presentation of green ties to members of his staff displaying special optimism. His ascetic lifestyle helps him cope with the stress of his « concentrated workload » .

The « Chronik » comments :

« All the time during which the others waste energy when work is over-smoking, drinking, and swapping jokes [the allusion is to the social get-togethers that accompanied conferences and meetings of his staff] , Speer uses for resting ; it is this that explains his enormous capacity for work, and why this work does not get him down. »

During Armaments Conferences, Speer would prefer, instead of throwing a party, to put on (as the « Chronik » records) a formal programme of Anton Bruckner's music played under a Baroque ceiling, with something like a one-off

exhibition on « the synthesis of Art and War » .

His problem was that he had repeatedly to make it clear that the Armaments Ministry could only ever be a emergency solution made necessary by the War.

This offered no prospect of an attractive career for ambitious officials, who could see in their chief an example of how one ruthlessly achieved top-ranking positions of power.

None of the other ministries was, besides, so heterogeneous in its make-up : his staff included career civil servants, serving officers from the « Ober Kommando der Wehrmacht's » armaments authorities, Party functionaries, engineers, and technicians, together with industrialists on short-term contracts or working for him unpaid. In circumstances like these, it was certainly no simple matter to work-up any real « esprit de corps » ; Speer achieved this most in his work with the technical specialists and company managers, helped along by the sporadic attacks from the Party and the SS. When these attacks intensified in the **Spring of 1944** and Speer, politically at bay, had to defend his empire, he made sure that if any misdemeanours were committed within the arms industry community, a committee made-up of industrialists could form a judgement on the accusations before the courts or SS dealt with them.

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**Saturday, 22 April 1944** : Victim to Allied bomb damage, the Johannes Gate (« Johannestor ») of the city of Steyr is blown up.

Fred Hamel reviews in the Berlin « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » the nation-wide broadcasting of the tape-recording produced by the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna on Thursday, April 6, 1944, of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) featuring the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

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**Tuesday, 25 April 1944** : Report by procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, on the occasion of the recent studio recording of the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) by the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » :

Georg-Ludwig Jochum asked the permission to use the original 1885 version of the Symphony. All conductors, including his brother Eugen, would be outraged if the cymbals crash was omitted.

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**Sunday, 30 April 1944** : Inaugural concert in St. Florian of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » (who just moved from Leipzig) given from the balcony of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » .

Choir-master Johannes Rietz as programmed sacred choir works by the Master.

This special event includes an opening speech by « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier directly from the crypt where the members of the choir swear allegiance in front of Anton Bruckner's sarcophagus.

...

Letter from Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to the « Bruckner-Verlag GmbH » (previously named « Musicological Publishers ») in Leipzig :

Glasmeier commissions the Austrian-German librarian and playwright Robert Hohlbaum to write an illustrated novel about Anton Bruckner's life for the visitors of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**May 1944** : Air-strikes on the airfield of Wels. The U.S. 15th Air Force attacks the cities of Linz and Wels with 467 bombers.

Dating of Robert Haas' preface to the score of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) in the 14th volume of the « Complete Critical Edition » published in Wiesbaden.

The « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » makes its national breakthrough with 2 big concerts at the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Adolf Hitler is heartened to read about the positive press reaction.

Live-recordings produced by the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation will be made in St. Florian, Salzburg, Linz and Vienna.

Professor Michael Schneider, one of the finest organists in Germany, is persuaded to take-up the position in Linz. The need for an organist who can play the « Bruckner Organ » at the monastery of St. Florian is one of the reasons for his appointment.

Schneider has just been deployed in an air-defence unit in Berlin. The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier sees to it that Schneider is transferred to a « flak » (« Flug-Abwehr-Kanone ») unit in Linz where he is able to work with the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » in his free time.

Herbert von Karajan records Beethoven's « Eroica » Symphony for the first time. The orchestra : his « Preußische Staatskapelle » . The site : the « Großer Sendesaal » of the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin.

The months between **May 1944** and the end of the War are a very difficult time for Professor Schneider, the choir-members and Johannes Rietz, who carry on as the new choir-master's assistant.

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**Tuesday, 2 May 1944** : Tenth subscription-concert of the season given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Wednesday, 3 May 1944 (or Friday, 5 May ?)** : Official welcome ceremony at the « Bruckner Monastery » in St. Florian celebrating the arrival of the members of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » to the city of Linz.

Address by August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, to the members of the choir.

Words of thanks from Professor Günther Ramón, the founding choir-master.

The « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir of the “ Reich ” Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » will be named from now on the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

(A sound document, dated May 3, shows how perplexed even the official authorities in Linz are at the time.)

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**Thursday, 4 May 1944** : Herbert von Karajan conducts a symphonic concert with the « Grand orchestre de Radio-Paris » at the « Théâtre des Champs-Élysées » .

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**Tuesday, 9 May 1944** : Choral concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

An opening ceremony celebrates the official beginning of the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Fritz Westermann, double-bass player in the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , describes the scene in a letter to his wife :

« While the “ Bruckner Organ ” played overhead, choir members descended to the crypt, where Glasmeier gave the “ German greeting ” over Bruckner’s coffin, members of the SS, carrying lighted torches, standing on either side. The flickering torchlight played over the thousands of skulls, all to reminiscent of Heinrich Himmler’s rites in the

Wewelsburg Castle. »

(Westermann's description of the scene as « very interesting » is somehow inadequate.)

Meanwhile in Vienna ...

Extraordinary concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » organized by the Society of Friends of Music.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Wednesday, 10 May 1944** : Sixth subscription-concert of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») at the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

At short notice, Georg-Ludwig Jochum and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » (who gave a concert yesterday at the « Musikverein ») substitute for Oswald Kabasta and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (WAB 108) .

...

Letter from Professor Franz Schütz, the President of the of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , to Doctor Josef Gæbbels, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture :

Professor Schütz reports to the Minister on yesterday's extraordinary concert featuring Georg-Ludwig Jochum and the « " Reich " Bruckner Orchestra » .

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Since Günther Ramín is unable to reconcile his role as choir-master of the « " Reich " Bruckner Choir of the " Reich " Broadcasting Corporation of Leipzig » with his duties as Cantor of St. Thomas Church after the choir moved to the

Austrian city of Linz, the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») is keen to persuade Michael Schneider to take on the job.

Schneider is considered one of the finest organists of his time and it is, therefore, hoped that he can be swayed to direct the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » and play the « Bruckner Organ » of the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

The problem is that Professor Schneider has been conscripted to serve in a « flak » (anti-aircraft canon) unit in Berlin. However, the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier sees to it that Schneider is transferred to a « flak » unit in Linz.

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**Friday, 12 May 1944** : Letter from the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to the « Reich » Minister :

Doctor Glasmeier reports on the exceptional quality of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » along with commentaries, among others, by Herbert von Karajan and Wilhelm Furtwängler.

« Reich » Music Examination Office of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. (Sheets 85-88)

...

Memo from Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry :

Meeting including Heinz Tietjen (Prussian State Councillor and managing director of the « Deutsche Oper Berlin ») and others about the performance of a work that Herbert von Karajan refused to conduct.

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**Saturday, 13 May 1944** : Organist Michael Schneider is officially inducted as choir-master of the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

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**Monday, 15 May 1944** : After the resignation of Professor Günther Ramin (who decided to return to his post as Cantor of the « Thomaner-Chor » at the « Thomas-Kirche » in Leipzig), Michael Schneider is able to work with the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » and play the « Bruckner Organ » in his free time (when he does not have to report to his « flak » (anti-aircraft canon) unit in Linz) .

The Düsseldorf architect Franz Schneider, in charge for the renovation at the monastery, designs a wooden case for the storage of the Bruckner Medals to be donated. The side-walls show, in relief, the Master's birth-place in Ansfelden, the monastery of St. Florian, and his last residence, the « Kustodenstöckl » (pavilion of the game-keeper), located on the

Upper-Belvedere.

Doctor Friedrich Bayer reviews in the « Völkischer Beobachter » Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor which was performed on May 10 at the « Musikverein » during the sixth subscription-concert of the Society of Friends of Music.

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**Tuesday, 16 May 1944** : Letter from the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier to the « Reich » State Secretary Leopold Gutterer :

« Herbert von Karajan hat vorgeschlagen, hervorragende ausländische Musiker in das Bruckner-Orchester zu berufen. Meiner Meinung nach muss das " Orchester des Führers " rein deutsch bleiben. Seine Mitglieder sind bisher nicht nur nach künstlerischen, sondern auch nach weltanschaulich-charakterlichen Gesichtspunkten ausgesucht. Das hat sich gut bewährt. Ein Abweichen von dem bisherigen Grundsatz scheint mir nicht unbedenklich. Müsste nicht ein Entscheid des Führers eingeholt werden, bevor Ausländer verpflichtet werden ? (...) »

Es handelte sich um das von Karajan uraufgeführte Orchesterkonzert.

Reichsintendant Dr. Glasmeier informiert Staatssekretär Gutterer über Karajans Vorschlag, hervorragende ausländische Musiker in das Bruckner-Orchester zu berufen, und distanziert sich zugleich davon aus politischen Gründen.

Der Minister entschied im Sinne Doktor Glasmeiers.

Doctor Glasmeier talks about Herbert von Karajan's proposal to appoint outstanding foreign musicians to the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

« Reich » Music Examination Office of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. (Sheet 79)

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**Thursday, 18 May 1944** : The « Führer » talks of the high-quality of the « Bruckner-Orchester St. Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

« Reich » Music Examination Office of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. (Sheets 91-94)

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**Friday, 19 May 1944** : Letter from the « Reich » State Secretary Doctor Werner Naumann to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry :

« The Minister has taken note of Doctor Glasmeier's letter and considers that, in principle, no foreigners should be admitted in the " Bruckner Orchestra ". (...) »

« Reich » Music Examination Office of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. (Sheet 78)

...

Werner Naumann studied political economics. He joined the Nazi Party in 1928, and became a member of the S.A. where he rose to the rank of « Brigade-Führer » by 1933. Thereafter, he joined the « Waffen-SS ». In 1938, he was made the personal aide of Doctor Josef Goebbels and, in 1942, became his assistant-secretary. His official title was « Under-Secretary and Chief of the Minister's Office in the Propaganda Ministry ». In April 1944, Naumann was named State Secretary in the Propaganda Ministry. He was a member of the « Freundeskreis Reichsführer SS » around Heinrich Himmler and served in the « Waffen-SS » during the War. Naumann was appointed head of the Propaganda Ministry by Adolf Hitler in his last will and testament after Doctor Goebbels was promoted to « Reich » Chancellor. Naumann was present in the « Führer-Bunker » in late-April 1945.

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**Sunday, 21 May 1944** : Professor Michael Schneider is in charge of the organ concerts at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Thursday, 25 May 1944** : Studio recording at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall I) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (WAB 105, 1876-1878 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935) with music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducting the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Label « Tahra » , CD : TAH 166.

At the height of its short history, the orchestra had more than 100 members.

...

The « Reich » authorities of the N.S.D.A.P. replies to Doctor Josef Goebbels, the President of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture :

According to the « Reich » records, Herbert von Karajan joined the Nazi Party at the local branch in Salzburg on May 1, 1933, under membership card-number 3.430.914. He is currently listed as a member of the local branch in Aachen.

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**28 May 1944** (Pentecost Sunday) : Special concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Music-director Johannes Rietz conducts the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 11**) .

« Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) , sacred motet in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 52**) .

« Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (**WAB 6**) .

...

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » :

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, edition published by Robert Haas in 1944 (**WAB 107**) .

That same day, world-premiere at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of the operetta « Linzer Torte » (an Austrian torte with a lattice design on top of the pastry) by Ludwig Schmidseder - based on a libretto by Ignaz Brantner and Hans Gustl Kernmayr, with lyrics by Aldo von Pinelli and Ignaz Brantner. The « Linzer Torte » is said to be the oldest cake in the world. It was first served in the 18th Century.

Anton Bruckner was 61 when writing the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) , and according to Professor Max Auer, in love « zu einem jungen, schönen, kaum der Schule erwachsenen Mädchen » (a pretty young girl barely out of school) or « kaum dem Kindesalter entwachsene Marie Demar » (hardly more than a child, Marie Demar) - although, giving no reference, Constantin Floros says she was 20 years old. They met up during the intervals in the fourth gallery at the Vienna Court Opera, where they would discuss together the Richard Wagner Opera and he would ply her with « Linzer-Torte » (reputedly one of the oldest cakes, for which Linz is famous and of which the « Bakewell Tart » is a distant relative.) She was obviously very musical to have gone willingly to the Opera and, later, a student at the Conservatory, and was apparently very taken with Bruckner, no doubt much flattered that the famous organist, University professor and composer should take time-out to talk with her.

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**Tuesday, 30 May 1944** : First Allied air-raid on the city of Wels.

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**Wednesday, 31 May 1944** : Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of Pentecost Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

...

Letter from Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project », to Doctor Müller in Berchtesgaden (Bavarian Alps) :

Professor Schwaiger pushes for the establishment of a powerful radio station in Obersalzberg, where Adolf Hitler's « Berghof » is located. He also suggests that the April 6 nation-wide broadcast of the tape-recording of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) , featuring the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, be re-broadcast, so that the « Führer » would finally have the opportunity to listen to it.

(Hitler first visited the Obersalzberg region in 1923. 4 years later, he settled there, gradually re-shaping the area as his Party rose to power. During the War, this idyllic mountain-side became, in many ways, the epicentre of Nazi might, serving as a private retreat for both Hitler as well as members of his inner-circle.)

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**Tuesday, 6 June 1944** : Doctor Johannes Hollnsteiner, the director of the archive and art-collections, and the librarian of the former « Stiftsbibliothek » , makes a fourth and ultimate salvage trip, this time to the town of Erbstollen in the Styrian region of Altaussee. It mostly consists in hand-written documents from Anton Bruckner's estate of St. Florian.

The salt mines of Altaussee has a long and storied history. It all began during the High Middle-Ages, in the mid-12th Century : salt mining in Altaussee was first chronicled in 1147. Between 1334 and 1449, medieval salt production in Aussee reached its zenith under the leadership of the private Hallinger company, later being nationalized by Emperor Friedrich III in 1449.

The Ausseerland region is part of the so-called Alpine fortress. The extensive complex of salt mines serves as a huge repository for art stolen by the Nazis, but also as a last refuge for Nazi Party, government and army staffs. Several high Nazi and SS officials, like August Eigruber, Hugo Jury, Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl and Anton Burger, try to go into hiding in the village at the end of the war.

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In the years after the confiscation of the monastery of St. Florian by the « Gestapo » on March 1938, the convent is painfully decimated : 14 monks have died by **June 1944** - 3 of them in the War.

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**Wednesday, 7 June 1944** : General appeal to the population of the Upper-Danube region to seek air-raid shelters.

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**Saturday, 10 June 1944** : Death in exile at the Abbey of Pulgarn near Steyregg of Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian. He was 72.

The promise of the Nazi authorities to have him buried in the crypt of the Collegiate Church as the « last Abbot of St. Florian » has been revoked.

At least, Doctor Hartl is allowed to be buried in the priests' cemetery of the monastery.

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**Saturday, 15 June 1944** : Funeral ceremonies of Vinzenz Hartl, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian.

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier is allegedly strictly forbidden by Doctor Josef Gœbbels himself to attend the burial (as he had intended) which takes place in the priests' cemetery of the monastery. According to witnesses, Glasmeier followed the event from a window.

Immediately after, in the Prelate's sacristy, Leopold Hager is appointed the 54th member of the ecclesiastical Chapter in front of all the elected members under the direction of Convisor Alipius Joseph Linda, the former Provost of the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

Linda was Provost from 1937 to 1953, and Abbot General from 1946 to 1953. He led the community during the difficult years of the War. He and the community were heavily abused with slander and aggression by the Nazis and eventually were thrown out of their house. Fortunately, they were able to return after the War and found the canonry intact despite the fact that it had been occupied by the Russians.

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**Saturday, 17 June 1944** : Hans Fritzsche, the head of Radio Broadcasting at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, arranges for a copy consisting of 5 individual boxes (taken from the holdings of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany) of the April 20th evening broadcast of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) by the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum to be sent by secured courier from Berlin to the « Berghof » near Berchtesgaden. Adolf Hitler could then play these magnetic tapes on his « AEG K5 Magnetophon » (a personal gift from Doctor Josef Gœbbels) before returning to the « Wolfs-Schanze » (Wolf's Lair) headquarters on Friday, July 14. (Instead of the planned special anniversary-concert, the tape-recording of the Seventh Symphony produced at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna on Thursday, April 6 was broadcast nation-wide.)

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**Wednesday, 21 June 1944** : Herbert von Karajan's up-coming recordings for the Berlin Sunday radio series :

« (...) The recordings with Herbert von Karajan for the “ Immortal Music of German Masters ” are scheduled on June 26, 27 and 28. “ Herr ” Director Fritzsche would like to be notified in advance in order to get acquainted with “ Herr



” von Karajan. He hopes that this will facilitate the cooperation.“ Herr ” Director Fritzsche has taken note of the authorized fee for Karajan by the special trustee. Karajan is to be notified of this only after the recording sessions. (...)  
»

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**Thursday, 22 June 1944** : Leopold Hager is consecrated in the parish church of Linz-Kleinmünchen as the new Provost of the monastery of St. Florian by Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließer, the Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Linz.

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**Friday, 23 to Monday, 26 June 1944** : The « Great German » Armament Conference is held in Linz.

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**Friday, 23 June 1944** : Albert Speer, the Minister of Armaments and War Production, is the spokesperson for the « Music Conductors’ Conference » which takes place in St. Florian.

Speer attends the concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » featuring the « “ Reich ” Bruckner-Chor » under music-director Michael Schneider.

#### Programmed work among others

Anton Bruckner : « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major for 7 un-accompanied voices « a cappella » (SAATTBB) (WAB 6) .

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**Saturday, 24 June 1944** : A preview of the up-coming « Events of the Bruckner Monastery, St. Florian » shows around 40 concerts. Almost half of them are to be performed by the Seiler Players (« Spielgemeinschaft Seiler ») . However, these chamber music concerts are usually only played for the household community. The « Bruckner Organ » concerts are scheduled every Sunday and on public holiday. The « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and the « “ Reich ” Bruckner-Chor » are the most important sponsors of the musical events presented at St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 25 June 1944** : Albert Speer gives a speech on the closing-day of the « Great German » Armament Conference, which takes place in Linz.

Accompanied by high-ranking military and business representatives, he then visits (again) the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier welcomes the prestigious delegation with fanfare music (composed by Vinzenz Goller ?) performed from the tower of the Collegiate Church.

Concert performance in the afternoon :

Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic », 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1936 (WAB 104) .

(Photo) : Front-row, from left to right : August Eigruber, Albert Speer, Heinrich Glasmeier.

In the evening, music serenades are played from the Imperial staircase.

Until late into the night, guests sit together listening to light-music while tasting gourmet dishes in the Imperial Marble Hall (« Marmor-Saal ») .

Despite the unrelenting Allied bombing attacks designed to disrupt war production, Speer managed to increase armament production dramatically. In 1944, output reached 35,350 machines and 17,300 tanks. This impressive growth was achieved as a result of Speer's use of prisoners-of-war and civilian slave labourers in the munitions factories. By September 1944, some 7,500,000 foreigners worked as slave labourers and, in violation of the Hague and Geneva Conventions, Speer exploited 2 million prisoners-of-war in the production effort.

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**Saturday, 24 and Sunday, 25 June 1944** : The city of Linz is the host of the (last) « Great German » Armament Conference under « Reich » Minister Albert Speer.

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**Monday, 26 June 1944** : Studio recording at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 6 (WAB 106, 1881 version edited by Robert Haas in 1935) with music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducting the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Labels : « Urania », LP : UURLP-7041 / « Belter-Urania », LP : 30.011 / « Classics Club », LP : x141 / « Forgotten Records », CD : FR 297.

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**Wednesday, 28 June 1944** : Monophonic recording sessions at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) featuring the « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan and the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

Duration : First movement (lost) ; Second movement (16 minutes and 10 seconds) ; Third movement (27 minutes and 21 seconds) .

Sound-engineer : Helmut Krüger from the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » .

The Scherzo suffers nothing in comparison with the recordings to come. Its sheer vitality reconciles one to the loss of the first movement. The Adagio is self-assured in the extreme.

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**Thursday, 29 June 1944** : Recording session of Ludwig van Beethoven's Third Symphony (« Eroica ») conducted by Herbert von Karajan at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin for the Sunday radio series « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister ») produced by the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » .

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The thought of music-making continuing on in Berlin during 1944 seems hallucinatory, with Allied air-raids arriving each evening and a collapsing Eastern Front marking each day as one step closer to doom. In this charged situation, Karajan and his musicians did their jobs.

**Richard Osborne** : You must have known people who remembered Anton Bruckner.

**Herbert von Karajan** : My father remembered very well Bruckner concerts. He heard the Bruckner « Te Deum » . During the performance, the audience left bit by bit, banging the doors behind them. About half the audience had gone by the interval and, by the end, he was virtually alone. But Bruckner's music is primordial. Perhaps, you have to go to the church at St. Florian to understand why the music is as it is, with so many pauses and such great spaciousness.

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**Tuesday, 4 July 1944** : In the radio series « The Great Concert - Eternal Music of Europe » (« Das große Konzert - ewige Musik Europas ») , broadcast of the tape-recording of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) made at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

The press pays tribute with the highest praise.

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**Thursday, 6 July 1944** : Reviews in the Berlin newspapers : the « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » , the « Lokal-Anzeiger » (by Franz Josef Ewens) and the « 12-Uhr-Blatt » (by Heinrich Hofer) of the recording of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) made at the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, which aired during « The Great Concert - Eternal Music of Europe » on Tuesday.

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**Friday, 7 July 1944** : Review by Gerda Rudolphi in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of the recording of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) made at the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, which aired during « The Great Concert - Eternal Music of Europe » on Tuesday.

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**Sunday, 9 July 1944** : Morning chamber concert held in the summer refectory of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian featuring the joint forces of the Steiner String Quartet (Heinrich Steiner : violin ; Adolf Steiner, violoncello ; ...) and a wind octet ensemble composed of members of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » - all placed under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

### Programme

Johann Christian Bach : « Sinfonia » in B-flat major, Opus 18, No. 2.

Ottorino Respighi : « Trittico Botticelliano » (Botticelli Triptych, 1927) , 3 movements for orchestra inspired by Sandro Botticelli paintings in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence : « La Primavera » (Spring) , « L'Adorazione dei Magi » (The Adoration of the Magi) , « La nascita di Venere » (The Birth of Venus) .

Claude Debussy : « Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune » .

Adolf Steiner played with his brother Heinrich in the Steiner Quartet, which « provided a musical framework for the speeches of Josef Gæbbels » (Fred K. Prieberg. « Handbuch Deutsche Musiker, 1933-1945 ») .

...

Review by Gerda Rudolphi in the « Völkischer Beobachter » (Vienna) of the recording of Anton Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) made at the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») in Vienna with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum, which aired during « The Great Concert - Eternal Music of Europe » on Tuesday.

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**July 1944** : Preparations are underway for the relocation of the headquarters of the « Bruckner-Verlag GmbH » from Leipzig to the town of Braunau-am-Inn near Linz, on the border with Germany : the birth-place of Adolf Hitler.

The « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is now composed of exactly 45 singers.

First Allied air-strikes targeting the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » , located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz. Although St. Florian and Pulgarn near Steyregg are located not so far from Allied bombings which target the Linz area, both monasteries are spared from collateral damage. Plans to use camouflage

paint on the building complex of the monastery of St. Florian - as was the case for the Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz - are finally discarded. The presence of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation is probably protecting the site (with a few exceptions) from other harmful third-party use. Nevertheless, labourers from the Linz armament factories are quartered in the 12 Imperial Rooms of the monastery.

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**Sunday, 16 July 1944** : Following the « Bruckner Organ » recital at the Collegiate Church, a chamber music concert featuring members of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » is held in the Imperial Marble Hall (« Marmor-Saal ») of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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The « Gestapo » has compiled a huge dossier on Wilhelm Furtwängler, who is near the top of their black-list.

As Heinrich Himmler so delicately puts it :

« There is no Jew, filthy as he may be, for whom Furtwängler does not stretch out a helping hand. »

Himmler continuously requests that the conductor be sent to an internment-camp.

Under pretext of complicity in the failed **July 20th** plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler, Furtwängler is targeted for liquidation. Albert Speer, the Minister of Armaments and War Production (and an ardent admirer of the conductor) , warns Furtwängler that he has to flee for his life.

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In a letter to his mother Martha (born Marta Kosmač) , Herbert von Karajan writes :

« (...) the time has come to free oneself from the burden of earthly things and to bring music back to the spiritual heights from which it came. »

After a rehearsal in anticipation of the St. Florian concert, the Intendant of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier, decides to bring Karajan with him to the crypt of the Collegiate Church, where the remains of Anton Bruckner are resting in an impressive sarcophagus.

He says to the Maestro :

« You are now right under the area where the orchestra will play. Bruckner has never been able to hear his Eighth Symphony in person (which is a false statement by Glasmeier) . You have the opportunity to perform the work in his honour. I will now leave you alone with the Master for 10 minutes. »

So Glasmeier closes the door and leaves Karajan there, in the dark !

**Richard Osborne** : Is it true you were once locked into the vault under the church with Bruckner's coffin ?

**Herbert von Karajan** : No, no, not locked ! But I was taken to the vault before a concert in the church. It was during the War when the convent had been turned into a shrine for Bruckner by a man called (Heinrich) Glasmeier. The idea was that I should be in the right state of mind for the concert I was about to conduct.

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**Sunday, 23 July 1944** : « Bruckner Monastery » in St. Florian.

Guest-conductor Herbert von Karajan and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » perform from the balcony of the Collegiate Church, in front of the highest representatives of the Third « Reich » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (**WAB 108**) .

Heinrich Hofer from the « Völkische Beobachter » published a detailed review about this magnificent concert, which was taken up by all the major newspapers of the « Reich » and others, including the « Tremonia Zeitung » of Dortmund.

Hofer insisted on the connection between architecture, ambience, and interpretative approach :

« Here, in the solemn, devotional space of the church, between the starkly laid out altar and the towering rows of organ pipes, the meaning of Bruckner's musical architecture became particularly evident. The boldly arching and clearly delineated structural elements of the space call for monumental music. Karajan filled the space by grandly letting the music breathe, making it exert great serenity of spiritual introversion. »

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier is particularly disappointed by the poor press coverage restricted only to Hofer's review.

Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer reports about the Maestro :

« “ Reich Kapellmeister ” Herbert von Karajan and his wife attended (all the concerts in St. Florian) from July 17 to 24. On the day of the performance of the Eighth Symphony at the Collegiate Church, they were joined by Karajan's parents and his wife's mother and friends. »

The participation of the entire family proves that Karajan was fully-involved in the festival, the promotion of the music of Bruckner, the rapid rise of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » and the publicization

of the « St. Florian project » .

The Karajan concert will be reviewed in multiple newspapers :

**Tuesday, 25 July 1944** : « Steglitzer Anzeiger » (Berlin-Steglitz) , « Hamburger Fremden-Blatt » (Hamburg) , « Deutsche Post » (Troppau) .

**Wednesday, 26 July 1944** : « Brünnner Tageblatt » (Brünn-Prag) , « Hamburger Tageblatt » (Hamburg) , « Große Volkszeitung » (Wien) , « Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten » (Leipzig) , « Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung » (Königsberg) , « Donau-Zeitung » (Passau) , « Hagener Zeitung » (Hagen/Westfalen) , « Königsberger Tageblatt » (Königsberg) , « Tremonia, Ausgabe A » (Dortmund) .

**Thursday, 27 July 1944** : « Völkischer Beobachter » (Berlin) , « Kölnische Zeitung » (Cologne) .

**Friday, 28 July 1944** : « Völkischer Beobachter » (Berlin) , « Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden » (Amsterdam) , « Hofer NS-Zeitung » (Hof/Saale) .

**Saturday, 29 July 1944** : « West-Deutscher Beobachter » (Cologne) , « Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger » (Berlin) , « Die Zeit » (Reichenberg) .

**Sunday, 30 July 1944** : « Nürnberger Zeitung » (Nuremberg) .

**Monday, 31 July 1944** : « Der Freiheitskampf » (Dresden) , « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » (Berlin) , « Egerer Zeitung » (Eger) , « Dresdener Zeitung » (Dresden) , « Bamberger Tageblatt » (Bamberg) , « Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen » (Oslo) .

**Tuesday, 1 August 1944** : « Donau-Zeitung » (Belgrade) .

**Wednesday, 2 August 1944** : « Lübecker Zeitung » (Lübeck) , « Deutsche Adria-Zeitung » (Triest) .

**Friday, 25 August 1944** : « Regensburger Kurier » (Regensburg) .

**Saturday, 26 August 1944** : « Prager Illustrierte Wochenschau » (Prague) .

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**Monday, 24 July 1944** : After 5 and a half years at the front, the remnants of the « Linz Division » are back home. A new 45th Infantry Division (which was originally supposed to be called 546th Division) is created.

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**Tuesday, 25 July 1944** : First Allied air-raid on the city of Linz.

Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Guest-conductor Herbert von Karajan and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » performed Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) .

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**Tuesday, 25 July 1944 to Wednesday, 25 April 1945** : The city of Linz suffers under 22 air-raids that take the lives of 1,679 residents. 6,945 residential buildings are damaged, 602 of which have become uninhabitable. An estimated one-third of the dwelling space is rendered useless by the time the American troops arrive in the city on **May 5, 1945**.

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**Thursday, 27 July 1944** : Review by Heinrich Hofer in the Berlin « Völkischer Beobachter » of Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Guest-conductor Herbert von Karajan and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » performed Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) .

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**Saturday, 29 July 1944** : A week before the Salzburg « Summer of Theatre and Music » is to begin, an order arrives from the Propaganda Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels cancelling every festival in the « Reich » in reaction to the « 20 July plot » (Claus von Stauffenberg and other conspirators failed attempt to assassinate Adolf Hitler) .

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Wilhelm Furtwängler receives special dispensation from Berlin to conduct Anton Bruckner's Eighth Symphony in C minor (**WAB 108**) with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra on **August 14**.

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**August 1944** : Date of publication of the score of the Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) in the « Complete Critical Edition » published by Robert Haas - « Bruckner-Verlag Leipzig GmbH (Anton Bruckner : Sämtliche Werke, Band VII) » . Elsa Krüger is also involved in the revision of the score.

The high-importance attached to radio entertainment, at this time of extreme stress, is clear from a decision taken by Doctor Josef Gœbbels.

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**Tuesday, 1 August 1944** : The article by Heinrich Hofer in the Berlin « 12-Uhr-Blatt » talks about « Bruckner's artistic soul » and reviews Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Guest-conductor Herbert von Karajan and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » performed Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) .



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**Sunday, 6 August 1944** : In a speech given during the (cancelled) Salzburg « Summer of Theatre and Music » , where the topic of « German music and foreigners » is discussed, Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office connected to the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, once again calls into question the authenticity of the so-called « Original-Fassungen » of Bruckner's Symphonies :

« Let us now touch on the broad field of the double versions of Anton Bruckner's Symphonies which has lately been the subject of such passionate discussion. Whether the versions that appeared during Bruckner's lifetime represent the will of the Master only under the duress and influence of well-meaning friends or as freely made decisions arrived at in the course of discussions with them or whether the versions now published as " Ur-Fassungen " represent the only true picture of his artistic inspiration is not as easy to determine as claimed from certain quarters both pro and con. (...) It must be said that the question cannot be decided universally, since the situation is not the same for all the Symphonies nor can it be solved in one fell swoop like Alexander's sword through the Gordian knot, since, in certain cases, the earlier version cannot be replaced by a single " Ur-Fassung ", but rather corresponds to not fewer than sometimes a half dozen divergent readings of which the so-called " Urfassung " represents a thoroughly individual decision of the editor choosing between several possibilities. This (situation) will no doubt be seen as a source of further mistakes by future generations. »

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**Sunday, 13 August 1944** : Organ concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Performers : Michael Schneider (music-director and organist) , Käthe Herre, alto (member of the « Bruckner Choir ») and the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

The programme probably includes the « Ave Maria » (Hail Mary) in F major (**WAB 7**) .

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**Monday, 14 to Wednesday, 16 August 1944** : The Salzburg « Summer of Theatre and Music » is cancelled.

Clemens Krauß exploits his close ties to the Berlin regime in order to salvage at least the dress-rehearsal for the scheduled world-premiere of Richard Strauß's « Die Liebe der Danaë » (The Love of Danaë) featuring the Choir of the Vienna State Opera and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. The rehearsal before the private presentation duly takes place on **August 16**, with Viorica Ursuleac and Hans Hotter in the leading roles. The premiere is meant to honour the composer on his 80th birthday.

Strauß walks down to the orchestral rail in order to listen closely to the beautiful final interlude in the last act. Deeply moved, he utters his famous words to the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra :

« Gentlemen, I hope we shall meet again in a better world. »

## Cast

Viorica Ursuleac (Danæ) .

Irma Handler (Xanthe, the servant) .

Maud Cunitz (Queen Semele) .

Stefania Fratnikova (Queen Europa) .

Maria Cornelius (Queen Alkmene) .

Anka Jelacic (Queen Leda) .

Horst Taubmann (Midas, King of Lydia) .

Hans Hotter (Jupiter) .

Franz Klarwein (Mercury) .

Karl Ostertag (Pollux, King of Eos) .

Walter Carnuth (First King, nephew to Pollux) .

Joszi Trojan-Regar (Second King, nephew to Pollux) .

Theo Reuter (Third King, nephew to Pollux) .

Georg Wieter (Fourth King, nephew to Pollux) .

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**Monday, 14 August 1944** : Exceptional concert given at the « Festspielhaus » in Salzburg.

Having received a special dispensation from the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, Wilhelm Furtwängler is able to conduct the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, 1892 version edited by Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (**WAB 108**) .

...

Letter written by Herbert von Karajan from a sanatorium in the Bavarian spa-town of Bad Kissingen to « Reich » State Secretary Leopold Gutterer :

(Karajan did not send the letter directly to the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda but to post-office box number 08000, which was created to receive suggestions from the German people.)

« (...) The “ Reich ” Minister would like to authorize the “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra to be part of the series “ Immortal Music (of German Masters) ”. I recently conducted the orchestra and can absolutely make it perform at its best.

Here are the reasons : Increasing my appearances can significantly reduce the danger and disturbance caused by air-raid alarms during the broadcast. Furthermore, I think it would be in your best interest if I was invited more than once, since the series is aired over a period of almost a full year.

Dates are still available in the orchestra’s schedule. If the authorities agree, I will immediately get in touch with you.

With binding recommendations to the “ Reich ” Minister, and my best regards to you. »

(« (...) Der Herr Reichs-Minister möchte seine Genehmigung dazu geben, daß das Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester mit mir Aufnahmen für die “ Unsterbliche Musik ” macht. Ich habe das Orchester kürzlich dirigiert und kann es qualitativ absolut vertreten.

Gründe. Die größere Möglichkeit des Einsatzes und der Wegfall der Gefährdung oder Infragestellung der Aufnahmen durch Flieger-Alarm. Ausserdem glaube ich ist es in Ihrem Sinne wenn ich bei der nun bald einjährigen Dauer der Sendung öfters als ein einziges Mal zu Wort komme.

Orchester hat noch Daten frei. Bei positiver Entscheidung setze ich mich sofort ins Benehmen.

Mit verbindlichen Empfehlungen an den Herrn Reichs-Minister und besten Grüßen an Sie. »)

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier takes Karajan’s positive assessment and the extraordinary success of his St. Florian concert as a great opportunity to allow (probably with the Maestro’s benediction) the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester des Deutschen Rundfunks » to be part of the Sunday radio series produced by the « Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk » entitled « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister »), which is reserved for the best « Reich » orchestras who are so rich in tradition (Berlin Philharmonic, Vienna Philharmonic, Prussian State Orchestra, Saxon State Orchestra, Bavarian State Orchestra) . The admission of the Linz « Bruckner » Orchestra, which has been put together only 2 years ago, would mean absolute recognition or equal status. It is important to note that the radio program always opens with the festive, blaring trumpet fanfares from Anton Bruckner’s Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

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**Thursday, 17 August 1944** : Establishment of a District Commission in the Upper-Danube on the strategy of « Total War » , as declared by Doctor Josef Goebbels.

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**Wednesday, 23 August 1944** : Letter written by Herbert von Karajan from a sanatorium in the Bavarian spa-town of Bad Kissingen. The Maestro did not send the letter directly to the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda but to post-office box number 08000, which was created to receive suggestions from the German people.

The letter emphasizes that a decision by the « Reich » Minister regarding the use of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is still pending. Karajan would like to make recordings with the orchestra.

On the same day, the head of broadcasting in Berlin drafts a ministerial bill. Unfortunately, the name of Karajan is not mentioned by expert reviewers on quality recordings.

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**Thursday, 24 August 1944** : After a decree issued by Doctor Josef Goebbels, radio orchestras are the only ones still performing. As the War goes on, the problems worsen, as they do in the other 2 cultural sectors. Conscription leads to staff shortages, many transmitters must be shut down at night because of the air-raids while others cease operation entirely because they are destroyed and spare parts are very hard to come by in the occupied territories.

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**August-September 1944** : The names of Karl Böhm, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Eugen Jochum, Oswald Kabasta, Herbert von Karajan, Hans Knappertsbusch, Joseph Keilberth and Carl Schuricht are included to the 36-page « Gottbegnadeten list » (God-gifted List or Important Artist Exempt List) assembled by the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Goebbels, and approved by the « Führer » , Adolf Hitler.

(The other conductors are Hermann Abendroth, Hermann Diener, Karl Elmendorff, Robert Heger, Johannes Schüler, Rudolf Krasselt, Clemens Krauß, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, and Paul Schmitz.)

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**Sunday, 20 August 1944** : Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Music-director Michael Schneider conducts the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

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**Tuesday, 22 August 1944** : Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Music-director Michael Schneider conducted the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » in Anton Bruckner's Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (WAB 27) .

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**Sunday, 27 August 1944** : Music-director Michael Schneider conducts the « “ Reich ” Bruckner-Chor » and members of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » in a concert which takes place at the Imperial Marble Hall (« Kaiserliche Marmor-Saal ») of the secularized monastery of St. Florian.

Although his status as choir-master will not last long due to the War, Professor Schneider gives numerous concerts with the choir.

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**Thursday, 31 August 1944** : Johannes Schüler conducts Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's « Le Nozze di Figaro » . It is the last performance of a complete opera at the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » . But the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » continues to program symphonic and opera concerts.

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**Monday, 4 September 1944** : Doctor Friedrich Bayer writes an article entitled « Anton Bruckner zum 120. Geburtstag » (Anton Bruckner on his 120th birthday) in the « Völkischer Beobachter » (Vienna) .

About one year ago, the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») chose the trumpet fanfares from the Third Symphony (WAB 103) as the opening theme for the Sunday radio series « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister ») .

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**Tuesday, 5 and Thursday, 7 September 1944** : Recording sessions at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall 1) of the « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 in C minor (WAB 102, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938) with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » conducted by music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

Released after the War on a « Urania » LP (UR-402) . Later, the same recording was released by « Urania » in a pseudo-stereo pressing (US-5243) , duration : 59 min. 42 sec. Also released on « Saga » , LP : XID 5102/03 ; « Tahra » , CD : TAH 163, duration : 59 min 13 sec. ; « Dante » , CD : LYS 476/77, duration : 60 min. 25 sec.

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**Wednesday, 6 September 1944** : Daily program meeting at the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin in the presence of Hans Fritzsche, the head of Radio Broadcasting at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, concerning the planning of the October schedule of the Sunday radio series « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher

Meister ») produced by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

The topics on the agenda :

The participation of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is to be suspended until some questions are clarified.

Having only the « Bruckner Orchestra » in mind, « Reichs-Kapellmeister » Herbert von Karajan is neglecting his ongoing projects, including the final recording sessions of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) with the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » (which will take place on September 29) .

Is the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße » , nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie » , can be used for broadcasting ?

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**Early-September 1944** : The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin orders that the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is to be « decommissioned » , which essentially means that all the able-bodied men are to enlist for military service while the other singers are to serve in the munitions factories.

Johannes Rietz tries to prevent this from happening by every possible means. He talks on his own initiative with August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, and takes the same matter further in Berlin. The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier sees this as a lack of discipline and has Rietz dismissed.

Yet, the singers still manage to rehearse under music-director Michael Schneider in their free time.

Even those members who serve at military bases in the area around Linz attend the regular rehearsals when they are able to. The choir includes at the time 42 female singers.

Choir-members variously sang as soloists in Schneider's organ concerts or in chamber concerts conducted by him.

The private records of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Choir » list a total of 13 concerts conducted by Professor Schneider.

33 employees of the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») - actors, musicians and stage-hands - are pressed into overseeing concentration-camp prisoners in the Mauthausen sub-camps near Linz.

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**September 1944** : Eugen Hadamovsky joins the « Wehrmacht » . For a long time, Doctor Josef Goebbels has been accusing Hadamovsky of neglecting his work in the « Reich » propaganda directorate in favour of his literary ambitions.

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**Friday, 15 September 1944** : Symphonic concert given at the « Stefanien-Saal » in Graz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (**WAB 108**) .

The « Stefanien-Saal » (capacity : 1,100 persons) , which is often called the little brother of the « Goldener-Saal » of the Vienna « Musikverein » , was built between 1905 and 1908 according to the plans by Leopold Theyer. The hall has a rich stuccoed ceiling and presents portraits of 14 famous composers, in Grisaille style, painted by Julius Schmid.

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**Saturday, 16 September 1944** : Repeat of yesterday's concert given at the « Stefanien-Saal » in Graz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (**WAB 108**) .

Reviews of Friday's concert by Hans von Dettelbach in the « Grazer Tages-Post » and by Ewald Cwienk in the « Kleine Zeitung » .

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**Sunday, 17 September 1944** : Farewell public concert of music-director Michael Schneider conducting the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

Site : The large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located at « Landstraße » Number 49 (« Bismarck-Straße » Numbers 1-3) in the inner-city of Linz.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

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**Wednesday, 20 September 1944** : Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of Sunday's farewell public concert of music-director Michael Schneider conducting the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » which took place in the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the House of the Traders' Society located on « Landstraße » .

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**Thursday, 21 September 1944** : Letter from Robert Haas to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office :

Robert Haas protests against articles published on September 2 and 3 by German musicologist Hans Joachim Moser who raised serious doubts about the authenticity of the original versions of the « Complete Critical Edition » . Haas considers them to be totally unjustified. A thorough study of the plate engravings of the Fourth Symphony (**WAB 104**) , coming from the estate of conductor Ferdinand Löwe, is out of the question.

...

Moser's commitment to celebrating the German people, and to defending them from attacks of « degeneracy » , finally won him Nazi approval : in 1938, he was made musical representative for the Ministry of Propaganda, and later promoted to general-secretary. In addition to his active publishing career, Moser was also involved in the « Ahnenerbe » (German Ancestral Heritage Society) , a branch of the SS. This society was a multi-disciplinary movement dedicated to more fully-understanding the Germanic race ; in addition to writers, anthropologists, and folklorists, its ranks included several musicologists, who explored musical history through a racist lens. The society-run publishing-house was active, and Moser, along with many other musicologists, wrote extensively for it.

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**Autumn 1944** : St. Florian is increasingly caught up in the terrible reality of war.

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**Sunday, 24 to Tuesday, 26 September 1944** : St. Florian's sculptor Franz Seraph Forster has completed the preliminary clay model (started on September 4) which will be used to produce a bust of Anton Bruckner (Iconography : IKO 293a) . The work was commissioned by the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier. It will be on display in the Imperial Marble Hall (« Kaiserliche Marmor-Saal ») of the « Bruckner Monastery » .

Forster first studied at the Technical School in Hallstatt, then went to the Academy of Fine-Arts in Vienna, where he completed his studies with professors Edmund von Hellmer and Josef Müllner. In 1924, he returned to his home-town of St. Florian where he mainly executed, from of marble and wood, numerous portrait busts and reliefs, statues of famous personalities and saints, as well as monuments in public spaces. He created portraits of Anton Bruckner all his life.



## Works

**1923** : Portrait bust of Anton Bruckner (marble) , on display in the « foyer » of the Anton Bruckner Private University, Linz.

**1926** : Portrait bust of the Austrian dialect poet and priest Norbert Hanrieder (pear wood) , on display at the Upper-Austrian State Museum, Linz.

**1928** : Portrait bust of the Austrian doctor Alexander Brenner (bronze) , on display at the General Hospital, Linz.

**????** : Statue of St. Elisabeth on display at Elisabeth Hospital, Linz.

**1931** : Portrait bust of the Austrian priest and pomologist Joseph Schmidberger (bronze) , on display in St. Florian.

**1932** : Portrait bust of Bishop Rudolph Hittmair (bronze) , on display in front of the church of the Convent Hospital of the Brothers of Mercy at « Herrenstraße » Number 35, Linz.

**????** : Stations of the Cross on display at St. Mary's Cathedral (« Mariendom ») , Linz.

**1950** : Large portrait bust of Anton Bruckner (oak wood) , on display in Anton Bruckner School, at « Schulstraße » Number 2, Windhaag-bei-Freistadt.

**1951** : Reliefs of the new « Pummerin » (bell) of St. Stephen's Cathedral (« Stephansdom ») , Vienna.

**1987** : Last portrait bust of Anton Bruckner (bronze) .

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The « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») has an important influence on the development of stereophonic sound and its adoption to broadcasting.

**Friday, 29 September 1944** : Radio broadcast of the tape-recording of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938) featuring music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducting the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

...

Experimental stereophonic recording sessions at the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall I) of the « Haus des Rundfunks » on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin of the fourth movement (27:31) of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) with the « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan and the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

« RRG's » sound-engineer Helmut Krüger this time uses a stereo « AEG K7 Magnetophon » and installs additional microphones, without Karajan's knowledge.

Krüger's « unauthorized » experimental pioneering stereophonic audio recordings are (for all intents and purposes) bootleg recordings ! During regular monophonic recording sessions with orchestras, Krüger runs separate signal cables from his microphones and directs them to a small input console with 4 potentiometers, and then, to his « modified » AEG stereo recorder set-up inside an isolated room of the « Haus » . Krüger uses a spaced-array microphone pick-up (where one microphone is placed to the left of the conductor, another to the right, and a third in the centre) , which Krüger feeds to the left and right channels of the recorder. The microphones are 2 meters in front of the orchestra and one meter above the conductor's head.

The last movement (27 minutes and 34 seconds) is long-breathed, which always signifies mastery in Bruckner. The mood can be described as awe-inspiring and, at the same time, imbued with unshakable calm. It is astounding that at this dark hour, such a rendition could be so celestially peaceful. It is a testament to the enormous powers of self-control that Karajan was able to achieve.

Hans Fritzsche, the head of the radio department at the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, would have been well-advised to agree to Karajan's tricky efforts to re-record the first 3 movements - but this time in stereo.

The recording of the Eighth was apparently sent to the Soviet Union so the Nazi regime would not confiscate it. The Germans were a considerable way ahead on tape technology by 1944.

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The future of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » comes to nothing after Josef Goebbels's declaration of « Total War » shuts down the nation's opera-houses, including the « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » , and symphony orchestras.

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The planned 1944-1945 concert-season of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » is inevitably curtailed although, like the Berlin Philharmonic, it manages to keep working until March 1945.

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**Sunday, 1 October 1944** : Concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian as part of the Thanksgiving Festival.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Tuesday, 3 October 1944** : Review (by Max Hilpert ?) in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of Sunday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Tuesday, 3 and Saturday, 7 October 1944** : Concert given at the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße » , nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie » .

The hall is empty, relieved of its usual audience studded with Nazi « élite » seeking a brief cultured respite from the stresses of War.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

(This symphony was the first work Furtwängler ever conducted in public, and remained one of his favourites.)

The orchestra is on stage, awaiting its cue. Furtwängler stands awkwardly on the podium. The vague meandering of his baton summons the first shadowy note of Bruckner's Ninth.

A radio engineer of the « Haus des Rundfunks » starts his « AEG Magnetophon » ... The most extraordinary orchestral recording of the 20th Century has just begun.

The first climax of the first movement heralds his emotion. The Berlin Philharmonic is fully-controlled and its ensemble perfectly together, and yet, the tempo is so unstable and dynamically alive that no note falls quite where its predecessors would suggest, as if to reflect the entire orchestra's heaving, nervous desperation. Furtwängler often spent entire rehearsals polishing crucial transitions, but not here ; he chops the first movement into dozens of inconclusive fragments, deliberately wrenching the mood from lilting lyricism to raw savagery, the tempos from standstill to runaway, and dynamics from inaudible to heavily overloaded. The movement ends in screaming trumpets, a primordial burst of sheer abject terror as both Bruckner and Furtwängler confronted the most horrifying fear of all : that at the very end of their struggles there would be only a void.

Although nothing could eclipse the unparalleled power of the opening, the wonders of this radical reworking of the

Bruckner Ninth do not end with the shattering climax of the first movement. Furtwängler whips the Scherzo and Trio from a slightly menacing waltz and bucolic Pastorale into a furiously driven, vertiginous ride to damnation. He then gradually builds the unintended Adagio Finale to a terrifying dissonance, after which the exhausted fragments wither into eternal silence.

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After the recording, Furtwängler leaves the « Reich » capital with his wife Elisabeth heading towards the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Wednesday, 4, Thursday, 5 and Sunday, 8 October 1944** : « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » in Berlin.

The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (**WAB 108**) .

According to his own account, Karajan is losing favour with the Nazi leadership.

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**Thursday, 5 October 1944** : Fred Hamel reviews in the Berlin « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » yesterday's concert featuring the « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan and the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » in Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) .

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**Thursday, 5 and Friday, 6 October 1944** : The Austrian-German librarian and playwright Robert Hohlbaum visits the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. He meets the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier. The two literate men are discussing the project of writing an illustrated novel about the life of Anton Bruckner (see : April 30, 1944) .

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Only 2 symphonic concerts are authorized to replace the Salzburg Festival, due to the proclamation of « Total War » and the ban on all festivals after the attempted assassination on Adolf Hitler on July 20th.

**Saturday, 7 October 1944** : Special symphonic concert given at the « Großes Festspielhaus » in Salzburg (after the cancellation of the festival) .

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

The same day, « Sonder-Kommando » (Nazi death-camp prisoners deployed to remove corpses from the gas-chambers and burn them) at Auschwitz-Birkenau revolt with make-shift weapons. 3 « Waffen-SS » guards are killed, but more than 200 members of the Sonder-Kommando die in the fighting. Hundreds of prisoners escape, but are all soon captured and executed.

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**Monday, 9 October 1944** : Review by Otto Kunz in the « Salzburger Zeitung » of Saturday's concert given at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Wednesday, 11 October 1944** : Daily program meeting at the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin in the presence of Hans Fritzsche, the head of Radio Broadcasting at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture :

The topics on the agenda :

- The newly-created « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

- « (...) “ Herr ” Doctor (Gerhart) von Westermann (the artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra) informs us that “ Herr ” Furtwängler is currently in St. Florian at the invitation of the “ Reich ” Intendant (Glasmeier) , in order to evaluate the orchestra by himself. Upon his return to Berlin, he will listened to their radio broadcasts. (Probably in the next week !) (...) »

(« (...) Herr Doktor (Gerhart) von Westermann teilt mit, daß Herr Furtwängler auf Einladung des Herrn Reichs-Intendanten sich z. Zeit in St. Florian befindet, um sich selbst ein Urteil von dem Orchester zu bilden. Nach seiner Rückkehr sollen die Aufnahmen des Orchesters dann abgehört werden. (Voraussichtlich in der nächsten Woche !) (...) »)

- Group leader Georg Haentzschel meets the « Reich » Minister in charge of the « German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra » .

The « German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra » (« Deutsches Tanz- und Unterhaltungs-Orchester » , or DTU) was created in 1942 by musicians Franz Grothe and Georg Haentzschel on the initiative of the « Reich » Propaganda

Minister Doctor Josef Gœbbels. It was an attempt to create an acceptable alternative to jazz, which was a popular genre among Germans but was considered a form of « degenerate music » (« entartete musik ») by the National-Socialists due to its racial associations. The self-styled « rhythmic dance-music » produced by the German Dance and Entertainment Orchestra was intended especially to satisfy the musical desires of military personnel, thus, preventing them from listening to British radio broadcasts which also contained anti-Nazi propaganda material.)

Hans Fritzsche notes :

« (...) About Karajan's recording : " Herr " (Gerhart) von Westermann has listened to the first movement (of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor) , it is flawless. He also wants to listen to the other long movements, and then, write his report.

Karajan expressed to the State Secretary (Leopold Gutterer) his wish to conduct the " Bruckner Orchestra " in St. Florian. " Herr " Furtwängler was asked to check the situation there. Furtwängler first wants to conduct the orchestra himself, and then, listen to the recordings to give a comprehensive report to the Minister. (...) »

(« (...) Karajan. Herr (Gerhart) von Westermann hat den I. Satz abgehört, er ist einwandfrei. Er will auch noch die anderen langen Sätze abhören und dann Bericht machen. Nach seiner Auffassung besteht keine Notwendigkeit dafür, die 8. noch einmal zu wiederholen.

Karajan hat beim Staats-Sekretär den Wunsch geäußert, daß er in St. Florian dirigieren möchte. Herr Furtwängler wurde gebeten, die Verhältnisse dort zu prüfen. Er will das Orchester selbst dirigieren und dann die Platten prüfen, um dem Minister ein vollständiges Urteil zu geben. (...) »)

- From now on, the Furtwängler concerts should be broadcasted nation-wide.

- Recommendation for (composer) Professor Franz Dannehl.

...

Special anniversary concert honouring the death of the composer, which concludes the Bruckner cycle performed at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

## Programme

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

(This will become his last performance of the work.)

The audience is made up of armaments workers, members of the « Wehrmacht » and members of the large Bruckner community of Upper-Danube who are all deeply moved by Furtwängler's rendition.

Several papers such as the « Oberdonau-Zeitung », the « Schlesische Zeitung », the « Brüner Tageblatt » and the « Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung » write about the concert.

Herbert Caspers reports in the « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » :

« On request of the “ Reich ” Intendant Glasmeier, the “ Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ” played in the Baroque church of St. Florian (where Bruckner is buried beside his beloved organ) the composer's last work, the Ninth Symphony in its original version. The most famous conductors have conducted the Radio Orchestra of Greater Germany. This year, it was Furtwängler who conducted Bruckner's “ swan song ”. The performance was of unearthly beauty and all-impressive sound fullness. »

Furtwängler considers the string section of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » to be one of the best in Europe.

He later recalled this performance as exceptional (the first violins included the young Reinhold Barchet, later a soloist with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra and founder of the prestigious Barchet Quartet) .

In a letter to Professor Max Auer, dated **22 November 1952**, Furtwängler writes :

« I'll never forget the performance of this incomparable work that I was able to play in the Church of St. Florian during the last and worst years of this unholy (cursed) war. »

The concert was recorded and deposited in what became the Rot/Weiß/Rot (later, « ORF ») archives, and that the transcription still existed, but in poor condition. This information was reported by a former member of the « Reichs-Bruckner-Orchester » .

However, Hanns Kreczi's book chronicling the Orchestra's activities, including recordings made by the Orchestra, does « not » list such a recording. The « ORF » archive actually holds relatively few War-time recordings, since most extant « RRG » tapes, in Vienna, were taken away by the Soviets. For instance, the Bruckner Second and Sixth Symphonies under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum were issued by « Urania » from tapes provided by the East-German Radio, where many of the original « RRG » tapes ended-up. Only a handful of tapes from the 93 documented recordings by the « Bruckner-Orchester » still exist. The post-War Vienna radio station was « BTW Rot-Weiß-Rot » .

Without doubt, the orchestra is on the verge of being part of this « élite » group of international renown.

Not long after, the musicians are drafted into the « Wehrmacht », the « Waffen-SS », or military units in the Upper-Danube region. As for the singers (only 24 in total) , 10 leaves for the « Wehrmacht », 5 go to work in various

factories in nearby Linz, 2 are assigned to the « Waffen-SS », and one is assigned to important political functions in the N.S.D.A.P.

The Furtwängler concert will be reviewed in multiple newspapers :

**Friday, 13 October 1944** : « Oberdonau-Zeitung » , « Schlesische Zeitung » (Breslau) .

**Wednesday, 18 October 1944** : « Brüner Tageblatt » , « Mährischer Grenzbote » (Iglau) .

**Thursday, 19 October 1944** : « Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung » .

**Friday, 20 October 1944** : « Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung » .

« Reich » Intendant Glasmeier is convinced of the positive outcome of the press reviews. A favourable opinion from Furtwängler, who has already become acquainted with the orchestra and gave it a positive assessment, is also to be foreseen. Glasmeier knows and shares the view of Hans Fritzsche (the head of Radio Broadcasting at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture) that with the full-recognition of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , the question of conductorship must be resolved once and for all. The musicians must now be headed by a leading conductor of the highest quality.

Glasmeier will certainly use his direct line to Adolf Hitler's private secretary, Martin Bormann. The « Reich » State Secretary Leopold Gutterer will undoubtedly also act in agreement with Bormann.

During the post-concert gala dinner honouring Furtwängler, in the presence of « Gauleiter » August Eigruber, which is held in one of the large halls of the monastery (probably the summer refectory) , the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant makes it clear that the time has come to replace Georg-Ludwig Jochum with a real master-conductor ...

Glasmeier, who is sitting next to « Frau » Jochum, casually drops the remark :

« Once your husband completes his military service, he will have reach the peak of his musical career. The order to report for duty has arrived. »

Everyone at the table is stunned. Outraged, Furtwängler replies :

« That is out of the question ! Jochum has now done all the orchestra's preparation work, and must continue. It would be unfair if someone else - I have my suspicions - was allowed to take the position under his nose. I'm calling Doctor Gœbbels today to prevent this to happen. »

The matter will never come up again, and Georg-Ludwig Jochum won't be drafted.



« Frau » Jochum :

« (...) The name of a Berlin conductor who had connections with the highest political authorities and whose position probably did not quite meet Furtwängler's expectations came up. »

Everything points to Karajan.

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A few days after the October 11th concert, the Medical Unit Number 103 of the German Army Group South-East (« Sanitäts-Park 103 der Heeres-Gruppe Süd-Ost ») begins storing medical supplies in the monastery of St. Florian, for which every available space has been occupied.

Although Glasmeier was still pursuing great plans (he had commissioned, among other things, the production of a splendid illustrated book and a film about the monastery of St. Florian) , he felt obliged to make a personal contribution to rescue the « Reich » through active military service.

Or was it already an act of resignation ?

In any case, he requested that his « indispensable position » be revoked in order to perform active military duty in a unit of the « Waffen-SS » .

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**Thursday, 12 October 1944** : Letter from Hans Fritzsche, the head of the radio department at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture, to « SS-Brigade-Führer » Leopold Gutterer, the State Secretary at the Propaganda Ministry :

« In response to your request about the further employment of “ Herr ” von Karajan, I can state the following :

1) “ Herr ” von Karajan recorded Bruckner's Eighth Symphony with the Prussian State Orchestra in the large broadcasting hall in a very unusual (large) amount of time.

Yesterday, he expressed partly to you and partly to the director of the Department of Culture (“ Kult. ”) the view that the acoustics of the large broadcasting hall were not good enough. This observation could have been made by an expert of the caliber of “ Herr ” von Karajan at the beginning of the recording sessions, which cost us several 10,000 “ Reich ” Marks.

I have had these recordings reviewed by professionals and they declare that they are excellent.

2) “ Herr ” von Karajan intends to record Bruckner's Eighth Symphony once again with the same orchestra at the Berlin State Opera, whose original poor acoustics I (i.e. Hans Fritzsche) had improved with the help of radio

technicians by modifying the stage and the orchestra pit. The Broadcasting Corporation is no longer interested in this experiment, since Karajan's recordings are available. (...) »)

(« Auf Ihre Anfrage nach der weiteren Beschäftigung des Herrn von Karajan darf ich folgendes feststellen :

1) Herr von Karajan hat die 8. Bruckner-Symphonie mit einem ganz ungewöhnlichen Aufwand von Zeit mit der Preußischen Staatskapelle im großen Sendesaal aufgenommen.

Er äußerte gestern teils Ihnen, teils dem Leiter Kult gegenüber die Ansicht, daß die Akustik des Sendesaales I nicht gut genug sei. Diese Beobachtung hätte ein Fachmann vom Range des Herrn von Karajan auch am Anfang der Aufnahmen machen können, die uns mehrere 10.000 Reichsmark - gekostet haben.

Ich habe diese Aufnahmen von Fachmännern prüfen lassen, und sie erklären, daß die Aufnahmen ausgezeichnet sind.

2) Herr von Karajan hat die Absicht, die 8. Bruckner-Symphonie mit der gleichen Kapelle noch einmal in der Berliner Staatsoper aufnehmen zu lassen, deren bisher schlechte Akustik ich durch Rundfunk-Kräfte mit Umbauten von Bühne und Orchester-Raum verbessern ließ. An diesem Experiment hat der Rundfunk kein Interesse mehr, nachdem die entsprechenden Aufnahmen von Karajan ja vorliegen. (...) »)

Fritzsche complains that the studio recording at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) by the « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan and the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » was, according to him, overly time-consuming (i.e. , multiple recording sessions - monophonic, stereophonic) . For this reason, Fritzsche considers that Karajan should not be the first one to conduct the work with the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

The State Secretary notes the following day :

« Karajan should conduct the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” as often as possible, and make several recordings with it on the radio ! »

...

Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas (to the « Reich » Chamber of Culture of the Propaganda Ministry ?) :

According to Haas, Drewes's position (see the Salzburg speech on August 6, 1944) regarding the « Complete Critical Edition » is highly-questionable. The reality is clear enough : the Symphonies Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 (!) and 9, and the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) , are each based on a single original source. One cannot, therefore, speak of different readings, but only of « previously mutilated texts » .

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**Friday, 13 October 1944** : The « Reich » State Secretary Leopold Gutterer writes a note concerning Hans Fritzsche's letter (October 12) :

« Karajan should conduct the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” as often as possible, and they should make several recordings together on the radio ! »

Through Gutterer, Karajan has already asked the authorities in Berlin the permission to conduct the orchestra in another concert, pointing out its excellent quality :

« The enhanced possibility of using the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” in comparison to the over-employed Berlin orchestras can significantly reduce the danger and disturbance caused by air-raid alarms during the broadcast, which apparently severely hindered the work in the capital. »

The Maestro obviously wants to prepare his take-over of the orchestra as chief-conductor by continuing to work in St. Florian.

...

Letter from the cultural department « T » of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin to the German journalist and writer Rainer Schlösser :

The Propaganda Ministry thanks the playwright advisor and President of the « Reich » Chamber of Theatre for his articles on Herbert von Karajan and Wilhelm Furtwängler.

...

Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of the special anniversary-concert (October 11) , honouring the death of the composer, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian. Also, music-review in the Breslau « Schlesischen Zeitung » .

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**Saturday, 14 October 1944** : Subscription-concert given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938 (WAB 102) .

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**Sunday, 15 October 1944** : Subscription-concert (repeat) given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») of Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938 (WAB 102) .

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**Monday, 16 October 1944** : The city of Linz has a benzol (oil) plant bombed during the « Oil Campaign » .

Consolidated B-24 Liberators from the 460th Bomb Group target the city-centre of Salzburg in the morning, destroying the dome of the Cathedral and two-thirds of the Mozart residence located on « Hannibal-Platz » , partially rented by the Foundation since 1939.

Virtually all of the old churches in the vicinity of the blasts lost their magnificent stained glass windows to the explosions.

15 air-strikes kill 547 inhabitants, destroying or damaging 46 % of the buildings (7,600) , especially those around the Salzburg railway station. In spite of these massive attacks, much of the city's Baroque architecture remain intact.

Tanks of the XV Corps 106th Cavalry Division of the Seventh U.S. Army roll through Salzburg, a mere 3 days after the air-strikes.

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Fritz Westermann, double-bass player in the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » reports in his letters of **October 16 and 17, 1944** :

« (Georg-Ludwig) Jochum is supposed to leave and join the military (...) »

« Now, older conductors, who do not have an orchestra, are expected to come here. One speaks of Clemens Krauß and Karajan (although he is only in his late-20's) . The good days under the always friendly Jochum are over ; they (the orchestra members) are demoralized. »

Krauß, the opera director in Munich, was selected to conduct the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » in Linz on Wednesday, November 29 and on Wednesday, January 31, 1945. These two concerts will be postponed.

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**Tuesday, 17 October 1944** : Review by Max Hilpert in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of the subscription-concert conducted by music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum which took place at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») featuring Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938) and the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

...

Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Theatre of Steyr located at « Volks-Straße » Number 5 :

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 2 in C minor, hybrid version edited by Robert Haas in 1938 (**WAB 102**) .

The imposing building was inaugurated on Saturday, 28 May 1898 under the name « Emperor Franz-Josef's Industrial and Trade Exhibition Hall » . The hall was converted in 1924 into a 900 seat public movie theatre and concert-hall.

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**Wednesday, 18 October 1944** : Daily program meeting at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin.

The topics on the agenda :

« (...) The Minister has decided that the broadcasting of the Furtwängler concerts should be made under all circumstances. However, Fritzsche has no right to have these recordings included in a separate running series.

They can be broadcast in the Sunday radio series “ Immortal Music of German Masters ” (“ Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister ”) , and on Friday's schedule of “ Group K ”. “ Herr ” Music Intendant Fritzsche will inform “ Herr ” Furtwängler of this decision in writing.

(...)

Now that “ Herr ” Furtwängler is back in Berlin, the meeting of the examination committee for the radio broadcasting of the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” can proceed.

The Minister promised “ Herr ” von Karajan that he would be allowed to conduct the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” as much as possible.

Therefore, the decision of the committee should be awaited. If the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” is included in the first radio series, the question of a permanent conductor still has to be settled in principle. In the meantime, Karajan is supposed to receive his first assignment with the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” (but not for Sunday !) . (...) »

(« (...) Der Herr Minister hat entschieden, daß die Aufnahmen von den Konzerten unter allen Umständen gemacht werden sollen. Fritzsche hat aber keinen Anspruch darauf, daß diese Aufnahmen in einer gesonderten laufenden Sendereihe gebracht werden. Sie können gebracht werden in der Sendereihe “ Unsterbliche Musik ” und den Freitagsterminen der Gruppe K. Herr Musik Intendant Fritzsche wird Herrn Furtwängler von dieser Entscheidung schriftl. Kenntnis geben.

(...)

Prüfungsausschuß zur Begutachtung der Bruckner-Orchester-Aufnahmen soll nun, da Herr Furtwängler da ist, zusammentreten.

Der Herr Minister hat Herrn von Karajan zugesagt, daß er soviel wie möglich das Bruckner-Orchester dirigieren dürfe.

An sich soll die Entscheidung der Kommission abgewartet werden. Wenn das Bruckner-Orchester in die erste Reihe aufgenommen wird, muß die Dirigentenfrage doch noch grundsätzlich geregelt werden. Karajan soll den ersten Auftrag mit dem Bruckner-Orchester inzwischen bekommen (irgendeinen, nicht für Sonntag !) . (...) »)

...

Reviews in the « Brüner Tage-Blatt » and the Iglau « Mährischen Grenzboten » of the special anniversary-concert (October 11) , honouring the death of the composer, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Thursday, 19 October 1944** : Review in the Prussian « Königsberger Allgemeinen Zeitung » of the special anniversary-concert (October 11) , honouring the death of the composer, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

The era Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier in St. Florian is coming to an end : the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant is awaiting his conscription for military service.

Doctor Josef Gæbbels wants to close the « Bruckner Monastery » as part of the « Total War » effort.

Glasmeier sends a cable to his office in Berlin :

« In full agreement with the “ Gauleiter ” (August Eigruber) , I am about to close the Bruckner Monastery, hand over all the expendable people and leave only one permanent guard behind. The “ Bruckner Orchestra ” and “ Bruckner Choir ” should remain untouched, as the Minister explained to the “ Gauleiter ”. »

The choir is dissolved and the singers are assigned to combat or armament factories. Only the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » remains untouched, proving that Glasmeier still wants to pursue his plan.

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**Friday, 20 October 1944** : Review by Herbert Casper in the Berlin « Deutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung » of the special anniversary-concert (October 11) , honouring the death of the composer, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler at the Collegiate Church of the « Bruckner Monastery » of St. Florian.

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**Sunday, 22 October 1944** : Repeat of the October 7th symphonic concert given at the « Großes Festspielhaus » in Salzburg (which was originally planned for Friday, the 20th) .

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105) - including a second brass choir in the Finale.

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**Wednesday, 1 November 1944** : Extraordinary concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 9 in D minor, original version edited by Alfred Orel in 1934 (WAB 109) .

...

Through an official document, the « Reich » Ministry advises the rejection of Herbert von Karajan's claim for the increase of his professional fees. The usual rate must stay at 2,000 « Reich » Marks, otherwise Hans Knappertsbusch, Clemens Krauß and Wilhelm Furtwängler could request similar sums.

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**Tuesday, 7 November 1944** : Review by Doctor Friedrich Bayer in the « Völkischen Beobachter » of Vienna about the extraordinary concert performed at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » featuring music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducting the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » in Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 9 in D minor.

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**Wednesday, 8 November 1944** : Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier falls out of favour. Doctor Josef Gæbbels dismisses him from his post, and then, sends him to the Eastern Front. Glasmeier informs by tele-type the head-office of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») in Berlin that he is on his way to Hungary to join the « Waffen-SS » for a war mission. The letter ends with « Sieg-Heil, mein Führer ! » (Hail victory, my “ Führer ” !) .

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**Friday, 10 November 1944** : Accommodations are made for 50,000 refugees who were victims of Allied air-raids in the Upper-Danube region.

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**November 1944** : The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin issues a statement made by the « Führer » :

The conductors of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » are now considered « indispensable » (« uk » : unabkömmlich) for the Third « Reich » .

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**Thursday, 23 November 1944** : Doctor Friedrich Bayer writes an article entitled « Musik im Funk » (Music broadcast on the radio) in the « Völkischer Beobachter » (Vienna) :

« (...) The rendition of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony, which Wilhelm Furtwängler performed with the Vienna Philharmonic in the Sunday series “ Immortal Music of German Masters ”, stands out among the category of serious concerts. »

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**Monday, 27 November 1944** : After completing a plaster model (Iconography : IKO 293a) started on September 26, St. Florian's sculptor Franz Seraph Forster begins to work on the final version of the bust of Anton Bruckner (made of oak ; IKO 293b = IKO 370) which will be on display in the Imperial Marble Hall (« Kaiserliche Marmor-Saal ») of the « Bruckner Monastery » .

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**Wednesday, 29 November 1944** : The planned symphonic concert featuring the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des



Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under Munich opera director Clemens Krauß is postponed.

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**End of 1944** : Oil fields and the important petro-chemical centre in the Vienna area are targeted by Allied bombers.

Ironically, one of Professor Peter Raabe's final tasks as President of the Chamber of Culture is to decree the dissolution of all major orchestras in the « Reich », save for a fortunate few, such as the Berlin Philharmonic, that are still needed to uphold civilian and troop morale.

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Although the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » has given numerous concerts in Linz and St. Florian in the weeks between music-director Michael Schneider's assumption of office and the choir's decommissioning, its only concerts in the autumn took place in military bases and military hospitals. That said, there are records of an Advent concert in **December 1944**.

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**December 1944** : On the personal order of Adolf Hitler, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier is back in his administrative functions at the monastery of St. Florian. He prepares to welcome in due style the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammed Amin al-Husseini, and his entourage.

The German armed forces will help the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant in ensuring the security of the monastery.

In the last months of the War, the « Bruckner Monastery » (once again) gains some importance as a recording studio for radio broadcasting. Geographically, the site is still considered extremely favourable and secure, and relatively far away from the advancing Allies.

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**Tuesday, 7 December 1944** : The name of Wilhelm Furtwängler is removed by the Propaganda Minister Doctor Josef Goebbels from the « Gottbegnadeten list » because of the conductor's strong links to the German resistance which organized the 20 July plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler.

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**Sunday, 10 and Monday, 11 December 1944** : Symphonic concert for the armament factory workers given at the « Admirals-Palast » on « Friedrich-Straße » in Berlin - an « Art deco » revue and movie theatre which has not been heated since the end of 1944.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Albert Speer, the « Reich » Minister of Armaments and War Production, is sitting in the audience.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 3 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72b.

Kurt Hessenberg : Symphony No. 2 in A major, Opus 29 (world-premiere) .

I had probably met his expectations. But as I considered him threatened, (Martin) Bormann, (Josef) Gœbbels and (Heinrich) Himmler not having forgotten the frankness of some of his statements, and his intervention for (Paul) Hindemith, , (...) I advised him to leave. "

Furtwängler invites « Herr » Speer in his dressing-room. With disarming unworldliness, the Maestro asks straight out whether Germany has any chance of winning the War. When Speer replies that the end is imminent, Furtwängler nods in approval. The Minister feels Furtwängler is in danger, since Martin Bormann, Josef Gœbbels, and Heinrich Himmler did not forget many of his frank remarks, as well as his strong defense of the black-listed composer Paul Hindemith.

Furtwängler exclaims :

« But what is going to become of my orchestra ? I'm responsible for it. »

Speer promises to look after the musicians during the coming months. He then pointedly asks the Maestro what are his plans in the near future. When Furtwängler replies that he is engaged to conduct a tour in Switzerland in a matter of weeks, the Minister subtly suggests that he extends his stay there :

« After all, you look so very tired. »

In fact, Heinrich Himmler's « Gestapo » is after Furtwängler, the only prominent German artist who refused to sign the brochure entitled « We Stand and Fall with Adolf Hitler » .

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 77. Soloist : Wolfgang Schneiderhan.

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**Tuesday, 12 December 1944** : Symphonic concert given at the « Admirals-Palast » on « Friedrich-Straße » in Berlin - an « Art deco » revue and movie theatre which has not been heated since the end of 1944.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 3 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72b.

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor, « Unfinished » (D. 759) .

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra, Opus 77. Soloist : Wolfgang Schneiderhan.

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**Wednesday, 13 December 1944** : Daily program meeting at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») in Berlin in the presence of Hans Fritzsche, the head of Radio Broadcasting at the « Reich » Chamber of Culture :

The topics on the agenda :

1) The broadcasting fees.

2) The public indoor concerts must be increased.

3) The Minister's promise to record all the Furtwängler concerts.

4) The phone conversation between Doctor Gerhart von Westerman, the artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic, and Herbert von Karajan.

In 1939, the Berlin Philharmonic appointed the German composer and music-writer Gerhart von Westerman as its artistic director (as successor to Hans von Benda) . He will hold this office until 1945, and then, again, from 1952 to 1959.

Hans Fritzsche :

« (...) “ Herr ” Doctor von Westerman passes on a suggestion from “ Herr ” von Karajan, who proposes to install a resistor to correct the frequency fluctuations, then, he will authorize his recording of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony to be broadcasted. This is noted with general laughter. “ Herr ” Doctor von Westerman will write a corresponding letter to this effect together with Doctor (Ludwig) Heck. (...) »

« (...) Herr Doktor von Westerman gibt noch eine Anregung Herrn von Karajans weiter, der vorschlägt, zur Behebung der Frequenzschwankungen den Einbau eines Widerstandes vorzunehmen, dann würde er auch die von ihm dirigierte 8. Sinfonie von Bruckner zur Sendung freigeben. Dies wird unter allgemeinem Gelächter zur Kenntnis genommen. Herr Doktor von Westerman wird zusammen mit Herrn Doktor Heck einen entsprechenden Brief schreiben. (...) »

Karajan criticizes the technical deficiencies (including frequency fluctuations) during last September's radio broadcast of

his recording of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939) with the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin ». The Maestro makes suggestions for improvement but, for the time being, he forbids this recording to be aired again.

According to a 1991 interview with Helmut Krüger, Karajan needed 32 hours to record the Bruckner's Eighth, not because he was so meticulous, but because recording had to be curtailed numerous times because of air-raids. Did von Karajan know about the stereophonic technology ? « Not a chance. », said Krüger, since the stereo project was so secretive. The Maestro did, however, receive a copy of it on his 60th birthday, on April 5, 1968.

...

By this time, the laboratories of the « Haus des Rundfunks » have amassed some 200 to 300 2-channel (stereophonic) recordings which, by all accounts, include some fascinating musical performances - among them, a complete « Tristan und Isolde » conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler. Sadly, at the closing stages of the War, most of these recordings, which are located in the basement of the building, will be destroyed.

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**Thursday, 14 December 1944** : Recording session at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany.

Herbert von Karajan conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

This is one of the few surviving recordings made by this orchestra that was sent (with around 120 other tapes) to the RRG in Berlin by Georg-Ludwig Jochum in March 1945.

### Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : The Art of Fugue (BWV 1080) in an abridged version for string orchestra. Duration : 45 minutes, 19 seconds.

1) Contrapunctus I : 3:51

2) Contrapunctus III : 3:23

3) Contrapunctus II : 3:15

4) Contrapunctus IV : 4:46

5) Contrapunctus IX, a 4, alla Duodecima : 2:56

6) Contrapunctus X, a 4, alla Decima : 3:06

7) Contrapunctus V : 3:04

8) Contrapunctus VI : 4:48

9) Contrapunctus XI : 4:49

10) Contrapunctus XII, a 4 (rectus) : 1:49

11) Contrapunctus XII, a 4 (inversus) : 1:51

12) Fuga a 3 Soggetti (fragment, unfinished) : 7:25

The « Oberösterreichisches Landestheater » of Linz distinguishes itself as an National-Socialist stage of special political reliability and submissiveness. Staff and repertoire are aligned to the new regime.

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**Saturday, 16 December 1944** : When Adolf Hitler hears about « Reich » Intendant Glasmeier's deployment on the Eastern Front, he immediately orders him back to look after the « Bruckner Monastery » in St. Florian.

At this point (at the latest) , Doctor Glasmeier fully realizes that Wilhelm Furtwängler's objection to the dismissal of Georg-Ludwig Jochum as music-director of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » has been successful, and had to accept it. Herbert von Karajan's wish to conduct the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » in the Eighth Symphony (WAB 108) , as part of the « Immortal Music of German Masters » , also did not materialize. On the other hand, the Berlin headquarters approved a radio broadcast entitled « The “ Bruckner Orchestra ” under Karajan » in that same Sunday series.

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**Saturday, 23 December 1944** : Letter to Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer (on behalf of Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project ») in response to a request from Doctor Karl Andreas Wirz, the production director of the « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig :

Taking into account the new context, « Reich » Intendant Heinrich Glasmeier requests that the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum be recognized as a major orchestra, which means that their symphonic concerts should be part of the radio series featuring the leading « Reich » orchestras.

The participation of the Linz « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » in the Sunday program « Immortal Music of German Masters » (« Unsterbliche Musik deutscher Meister ») produced by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater

Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») has been a bitter defeat.

It is impossible to determine the reason : the difficulties caused by the end of the War or a total discord between Glasmeier and the central authorities in Berlin.

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**Wednesday, 27 December 1944** : The parish church of St. Theresia (« Theresien-Kirche ») in Linz is completely destroyed by a bomb attack.

...

Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas to Winifred Wagner :

In the last few months, there has been a lot of opposition in Berlin against the publication of the « Critical Edition » . The campaign to support the original versions has back-fired. But Haas still considers that he is the only one capable of fulfilling this mandate.

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**By the end of 1944**, there has been 27 Allied air-raids over the Upper-Danube region : mostly on the cities of Linz, Wels and Steyr.

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**1944-1945** : As a centre of the armaments industry, the city of Linz experiences more than 200 air-raids and 22 bomb attacks with large-scale destruction. The city loses 12,084 buildings and 1,679 civilians.

After the raids, the clean-up squads leave the city from the « Hessen-Platz » . They consisted of forced labourers, civilian workers and concentration-camp prisoners.

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**Winter of 1944-1945** : Allied air-raids hit Vienna and other Austrian cities with increasing frequency.

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**Until 1945**, about 250 stereophonic tape recordings were known to exist (mainly symphonies and operas) , including some Richard Strauß and Wilhelm Furtwängler. « Magnetophon » recorders were widely used in German radio broadcasts during World War II, although they were a closely guarded secret at the time. Allied intelligence experts knew that the Germans had some new form of recording system but they did not know the details of its construction and operation until working models of the « Magnetophon » were discovered during the Allied invasion of Germany during 1944-1945.

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**Monday, 1 January 1945** : « Gaulieter » August Eigruber's New Year's Message for the people of the Upper-Danube :

« A year has come to an end, which has created the final pre-condition for German victory. »

...

Letter from the Austrian-German librarian and playwright Robert Hohlbaum to the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier :

Hohlbaum reports on the state of his work on the Bruckner novel's project.

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**Thursday, 11 January 1945** : Radio broadcast in Linz of Anton Bruckner's 4 Orchestral Pieces (« Vier Orchester-Stücke » , WAB 96, 97) featuring the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » conducted by music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum.

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**Saturday, 13 and Sunday, 14 January 1945** : Recordings of folk-songs, performed by the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under Professor Michael Schneider's direction, are produced in Linz.

Unfortunately, the magnetic tapes have not survived.

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**Saturday, 20 January 1945** : The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (« Neuer Dom ») is damaged during the 16th Allied air-raid on the city of Linz.

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**Sunday, 21 January 1945** : The second planned symphonic concert featuring the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » under Munich opera director Clemens Krauß is postponed.

On hearing the news, the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier orders :

« “ Herr ” von Karajan must be informed by cable to his South German residence and by tele-type through the RRG in Berlin that the agreements cannot be respected and that a new date must be fixed. I also attach great importance to the fact that the “ Bruckner Orchestra ” under Georg-Ludwig Jochum will appear for the first time in the radio series “ Immortal Music of German Masters ”, which is recorded live from the Great Hall of the “ Musikverein ” in Vienna with the supervision of Doctor (Curt) Sachs. If one does not respond to this self-evident wish in Berlin, one should not negotiate any further. I will then settle the matter personally with the Minister. This running around must stop. »

Sensing the end of the War coming, Glasmeier is already taking the lead and securing a future by tracing particularly flattering family trees for all the aristocracy who are willing to use his services.

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**Monday, 22 January 1945** : Symphonic concert given at the « Admirals-Palast » on « Friedrich-Straße » in Berlin - an « Art deco » revue and movie theatre which has not been heated since the end of 1944.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Overture from the Opera « Die Zauberflöte » (The Magic Flute) (KV 620) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 40 in G minor (KV 550) .

#### *Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Opus 68.

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**Tuesday, 23 January 1945** : Repeat-concert at the « Admirals-Palast » on « Friedrich-Straße » in Berlin.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Overture from the Opera « Die Zauberflöte » (The Magic Flute) (KV 620) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 40 in G minor (KV 550) . (It is interrupted by Allied bombings : the first and second movement only are played.)

#### *Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Opus 68.

At the end, Furtwängler lowers his arms. The brutal reality of war is winning against the will of the spirit to endure in horror. The conductor remains on stage with his musicians. His face is bleak, and shows concern. It is clear that this is his last concert in Berlin.

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**Thursday, 25 January 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler celebrates his 59th birthday along with his favourite recording engineer, Friedrich Schnapp, at the partly destroyed and unheated « Hôtel Impérial » located at Number 16 « Kärntner Ring » in Vienna, with a butter cake courtesy of the « Gauleiter » of Vienna : Baldur von Schirach. Furtwängler eats it in the bathroom because the living-room is gone. However, the hotel still supplies a rarity at the time : a roll of lavatory paper !

Schirach is notoriously anxious about air-raids. He had the cellars of the « Hofburg » Imperial Palace in the city-centre refurbished and adapted as a bomb shelter.

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**Saturday, 27 January 1945** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

#### Programme

César Franck : Symphony in D minor.

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 73.

Earlier that day, Furtwängler has slipped on ice and suffered a concussion. Not only did this threaten to derail the concert, but it also jeopardizes his ulterior motive for which the performance will serve as pretext. He sends a cable to the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra saying that he cannot conduct the planned concerts of February 4 and 5, due to the fact that he had slipped on a icy surface and hurt himself. He starts planning his escape to Switzerland taking advantage of some concerts he is to conduct in Lausanne, Geneva (with the « Orchestre de la Suisse Romande ») and Winterthur (with the Municipal Orchestra) .

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**Sunday, 28 January 1945** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Repeat-concert.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. (The concert is recorded.)

#### Programme

César Franck : Symphony in D minor.

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 73.

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**Monday, 29 January 1945** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Repeat-concert.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

César Franck : Symphony in D minor.

*Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 73.

Following the concert, Furtwängler works until 2:00 am with his Viennese secretary, Agathe von Thiedemann.

At 5:00 am, he disappears.

At 6:00 am, the « Gestapo » enters the secretary's room and asks to see Furtwängler.

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**Tuesday, 30 January 1945** : Adolf Hitler makes his last public speech to be delivered personally, on broadcast radio, expressing the belief that Germany will triumph in World War II.

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**Monday, 5 February 1945** : During the Allied oil campaign, the RAF and the USAAF bomb the oil refinery plant located in the vicinity of the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich. Regensburg itself suffers little damage.

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**Monday, 26 February 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler is recuperating from his injury at the partly destroyed and unheated « Hôtel Impérial » located at Number 16 « Kärntner Ring » in Vienna. He receives an urgent call from a mysterious bureaucrat at the Foreign Office in Berlin demanding to know who signed off on his exit-visa which was issued a year earlier, valid until February 7.

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**Wednesday, 31 January 1945** : In the early hours of the morning, Wilhelm Furtwängler leaves surreptitiously the « Hôtel Impérial » in Vienna, is placed on a unheated milk train with broken windows, and (after a number of stops and changes) eventually arrived at the the small village of Dornbirn, near Bregenz and the Austro-Swiss border.

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**January-February 1945** : The « Reichs-Sender Wien » building (previously named « Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna is twice hit by Allied bombs. The air-raids will be followed by the Red Army « Vienna Offensive » .

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**Thursday, 1 February 1945** : Scheduled power cuts. All schools in Linz are closed.

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**Thursday, 1 to Tuesday, 6 February 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler hides in the small village of Dornbirn, near Bregenz and the Austro-Swiss border.

From Dornbirn, he writes to the actress Irmgard (« Irme ») Schwab :

« I am heading for Switzerland. I still don't know if, due to the political situation, I will manage to get through, otherwise I will go to Tanneck. »

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**Saturday, 3 February 1945** : The city of Berlin is devastated by an Allied bombardment that kills 22,000 people.

The « Staatsoper Unter den Linden » is, once again, destroyed. The stage building is directly hit by 3 bombs which destroy not only the roof, but also part of the foundation walls. All combustible components and furniture in the auditorium fall a prey to the flames. Only the north part of the building, facing « Unter den Linden » Avenue, is damaged to a lesser extent. Most of the portico and the Apollo Hall, with the components built during the 1941-1942 reconstruction, are left unscathed by war damage.

The symphonic concerts are relocated to the « Admirals-Palast » and the « Schauspielhaus » .

The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » in its last concert in the capital.

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**Beginning of February 1945** : Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project » , proudly reports to the « Reich » Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier that the remaining musicians of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » are not training in the regular units of the « Volkssturm » but are rather following a 5 day training course supervised by the Linz police force in order to be deployed in case of an emergency.

The orchestra will continue to work under music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum until the end of the War.

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**Saturday, 3 February and Monday, 26 February 1945** : Major air-raids on the Anhalter train terminus in Berlin. Large sections of its roof are missing ; the rest is unsafe and tottering. No trains are running.

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**Monday, 5 February 1945** : Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum sends to Berlin, by secured courier, 45 recording tapes ready for broadcast. This exceptional procedure is made necessary because the regular connection between St. Florian, Munich and Berlin has been inoperative for quite a while.

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**Tuesday, 6 February 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler writes to Hélène Matschenz :

« If I am allowed to do so, I will cross the (Austro-Swiss) border tomorrow. »

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**Wednesday, 7 February 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler arrives on foot at the Austro-Swiss border. His papers are obviously not in order, and the customs officer seems to realize this, but he authorizes the conductor to enter the country anyway. (For the rest of his life, Furtwängler will consider that this man saved his life.)

He joins in Zürich his wife Elisabeth and his 3 month old son Andreas.

While Furtwängler and his little family are grateful for the safe passage provided to them by the Swiss authorities, the country's press and many of its citizens are less than thrilled about receiving a man they considered a Nazi cultural grandee. Leftist publications and political groups call for a ban on his performances, claiming that the purity of Swiss neutrality is at stake.

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**February 1945** : Sequestered in his « bunker » under the « Reich » Chancellery, Adolf Hitler draws comfort from envisioning buildings, including a bell-tower in Linz whose carillon would, on special occasions, chime a « motif » from Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony, the « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

In recounting these conversations, his architect Hermann Giesler seeks to portray the « Führer's » humanity :

Hitler : « This melody, which moves me so deeply, is suitable for a glockenspiel. »

He stood-up, grasped the arm of the architect, saying :

« You understand me, Giesler. »

In the meantime, the activities at the monastery of St. Florian have resumed on « “ Führer's ” orders » - but not for

long.

Adolf Dietscher, a member of the Upper-Austrian government, forms a « Volksturm » unit to pursue around 500 Soviet prisoners-of-war who have escaped from the Mauthausen concentration-camp - the so-called « Mühlviertl » .

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**February 1945** : The remaining musicians of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » have to defend St. Florian and the city of Linz as members of the « Volkssturm » .

For his part, August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, is determined to reduce to ruins the monastery when the enemy moves in. This leads to a violent argument between Eigruber and the « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

Therefore, Glasmeier goes to Berlin for the last time to obtain a direct order from Adolf Hitler to protect the monastery from any destruction.

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**Wednesday, 7 February 1945** : Wilhelm Furtwängler evades being drafted into the so-called « Volkssturm » by travelling to Switzerland at the invitation of Ernest Ansermet.

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**Monday, 12 February 1945** : Concert given at Victoria Hall, which is located in the city-centre of Lausanne.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the « Orchestre de la Suisse romande » .

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 2 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72a.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 1 in C major, Opus 21.

### *Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 73.

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**Wednesday, 14 February 1945** : Concert given in Lausanne (at the Cathedral of Notre Dame ?) broadcasted live by the Sottens Transmitter.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the « Orchestre de la Suisse romande » .

## Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 2 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72a.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 1 in C major, Opus 21.

### *Intermission*

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 2 in D major, Opus 73.

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**Sunday, 18 February 1945** : The « Reichs-Kapellmeister » (principal music-director) Herbert von Karajan conducts his last symphonic concert with the Orchestra of the « Preußische Staatskapelle Berlin » . It takes place at the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße » , nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie » .

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**Friday, 23 February 1945** : Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum sends to Berlin, by secured courier, a second stack of 45 recording tapes ready for broadcast.

Symphonic concert at the « Stadthaus-Saal » in Winterthur, which is located in the canton of Zürich in northern Switzerland.

This concert is the last one by Furtwängler before the fall of the German « Reich » . A number of demonstrations are organized by the Labour Trade Union and its political wing, the Labour Party. The demonstrators try to prevent the public from attending the concert with stink bombs. They will be dispersed only when a detachment of the local police, equipped with water canons, goes into action. The concert finally takes place without any incidents in front of a packed audience.

Wilhelm Furtwängler conducts the Municipal Orchestra (« Winterthurer Stadt-Orchester ») .

## Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) .

The 2 planned concerts to be held at the « Tonhalle » in Zürich on February 20 and 25 are cancelled by the City Council.

An enormous scandal breaks out in the Swiss press, particularly in the « Volksrecht » . It will last during the whole month !

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**Saturday, 24 February 1945** : The left-wing social-democrat newspaper « Volksrecht » frankly asks :

« Is Furtwängler a Nazi ? »

It publishes material claimed to be « authentic » !

The No. 47 issue of the French-speaking « Journal de Genève » summarizes the so-called « Furtwängler affair » quite accurately :

« The Council of State cancelled the two concerts that Wilhelm Furtwängler should have conducted this week at the “ Tonhalle ” : the public reacted very emotionally. In general terms, the cancellation seems to be regretted : this attitude was suggested to the Government the Town’s Executive Council and was enforced by the Labour Party and the extreme-left. Protest followed quickly. The “ Nouvelle Gazette de Zürich ” and the independent paper “ die Tat ” immediately took position against this kind of interference of partisan passions with the world of the spirit, that gave life to such unpleasant examples of intolerance. The one domain in which Switzerland has always wanted to keep out of the “ mêlée ”, is precisely the domain of Art and particularly that of music. Regrettably, the authorities seemed to surrender to some demagogic actions that wanted to take advantage of the general and justified hatred of a foreign political regime. (...) »

...

« The two concerts that Furtwängler was due to conduct at the “ Tonhalle ” this week were cancelled by the Council of State and created quite a stir. It seems the Zürich Municipal Executive Council had suggested the cancellation to the government, and they also received threats from the Labour Party. But the Cantonal Police Department had already given permission for these concerts, and had to reverse itself under pressure from the Municipal Council. Protests quickly broke out. “ La Nouvelle Gazette de Zürich ” and “ die Tat ”, an independent paper, immediately reacted negatively to this intrusion of partisan passions into the realm of artistic freedom, and deplored the fact that Zürich had set such a poor example of intolerance.

As the Zürich Radical Party’s central Committee rightly said in a public protest, it is regrettable that the Swiss authorities seemed to give in to such demagoguery which sought only to take advantage of the wide-spread and justified dislike by the Swiss public of the Nazis. The “ Furtwängler affair ” had its first epilogue last Wednesday at the Town Hall, and the discussion was both instructive and explosive. Two groups of speakers faced off against each other : on one side the radicals and the independents, who defended Furtwängler saying that it was a bit late to blame him for accepting a post in the “ Staatsrat ” (Prussian State Council) and the decoration that he had accepted from the “ Führer ” ; on the other side, the Communists, the Socialists and one member of the Fraction of the “ Monnaie franche ” who accused Furtwängler of becoming a pawn of the Nazi propaganda campaign (...) »

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**Sunday, 25 February 1945** : Heaviest air-raid on the city of Linz with the dropping of 900 tons of bombs. The State Theatre (« Landestheater ») is seriously hit.

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**February 1945** : Heeding the advice of his friend John Khittel, who suggest that he steps away from public life at least for a time, Wilhelm Furtwängler checks himself into a sanatorium which is located in the small village of Clarens, in the canton of Vaud, in Switzerland - the « Clinique la Prairie », which is run and owned by Professor Paul Niehans (nicknamed « Doctor Miracle ») . He will stay there until **June 1947**.

Furtwängler uses the time to take his first unfettered rest since before the War. He is also busily composing the Second Symphony.

For some, Niehans is a charlatan - abusing public credulity by charging astronomical prices for treatments that are useless. And, for others, he is a true pioneer of rejuvenation therapies.

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**March 1945** : Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum sends to Berlin, by secured courier, 3 (last) recording tapes ready for broadcast.

The recordings of the « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » were mainly used in the so-called « Double program » (the more sophisticated music program) and much less frequently used in the regular radio programs of the « Reich » . These productions originating from Linz - St. Florian are a welcome addition to the sound archives of the broadcasters at the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») on « Masuren-Allee » in Berlin. In the following years, the busy activity at the monastery of St. Florian will not be altered - even under different accommodations.

The Linz State Theatre (« Landestheater ») is forced to close due to the extensive damage caused by the recent bombardments. Much to the regret of Doctor Franz Danzer, the High-Officer of State in charge of Local Politics and the German Local Council, the request from theatre-director Ignaz Brantner to August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, to release prisoners from the nearby Mauthausen concentration-camp to come and clean-up the site cannot be passed on because the telephone line has been disrupted.

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**Sunday, 4 March 1945** : Mission No. 188 of the 461st Operations Group (U.S. 15th Air Force) . Boeing B-17G Flying Fortress bombers target the main marshalling rail yard in Graz.

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**Thursday, 8 March 1945** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier informs his close collaborator, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project », Professor Gustav Adolf



Schwaiger, directly from Berlin :

« Everything is going well in my negotiations and I hope to report a complete success very soon. Hopefully, you keep the monastery in good order in the meantime ! »

In fact, after persistent efforts, Glasmeier succeeds in receiving the precious letter from the private secretary Martin Bormann on the orders of the « Führer » - confirming his sole responsibility for St. Florian.

The monastery and all the auxiliary buildings are to be protected from the effects of the war and, if necessary, handed over to the enemy without a fight - and unharmed.

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**Tuesday, 13 March 1945** : The 18th Century Palace of Prince Friedrich Leopold (« Ordens-Palais ») located on the northern corner of « Wilhelmplatz » , which seats the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, is destroyed (completely burned down) by an Allied air-raid (its ruins will be cleared in 1949) .

The new extensions of the « Reich » Ministry designed by architect Karl Reichle are badly damaged, as is the western part of the northern wing (towards « Wilhelmstraße ») with 4 window bays. What has remained are the building sections in the court-yard as far as « Mauerstraße » . The undestroyed parts of the complex are looted by the population in the immediate post-War days.

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**Wednesday, 14 March 1945** : Josef Gœbbels writes in his diary :

This evening's « Mosquito » raid was particularly disastrous for me because our Ministry was hit. The whole lovely building on the « Wilhelmstraße » was totally destroyed by a bomb. The throne-room, the Blue Gallery and my newly-rebuilt theatre hall are nothing but a heap of ruins. I drove straight to the Ministry to see the devastation for myself. One's heart aches to see so unique a product of the architect's art, such as this building was, totally flattened in a second. What trouble we have taken to reconstruct the theatre hall, the throne-room and the Blue Gallery in the old style ! With what care have we chosen every fresco on the walls and every piece of furniture ! And now, it has all been given over to destruction. In addition, fire has now broken-out in the ruins, bringing with it an even greater risk since 500 bazooka missiles are stored underneath the burning wreckage. I do my utmost to get the fire brigade to the scene as quickly and in as great strength as possible, so as at least to prevent the bazooka missiles exploding.

As I do all this, I am overcome with sadness. It is 12 years to the day (13 March) since I entered this Ministry as Minister. It is the worst conceivable omen for the next 12 years.

The « Führer » telephones me immediately after the raid on the Ministry. He too is very sad that it has now hit me. So far, we have been lucky even during the heaviest raids on Berlin. Now, however, we have lost not only a possession but an anxiety. In future, I need no longer tremble for the Ministry.

All those present at the fire voiced only scorn and hatred for Göring. All were asking repeatedly why the « Führer » does not at last do something definite about him and the « Luftwaffe » .

The « Führer » then asks me over for a short visit. During the interview, I have with him he is very impressed by my account of things. I give him a description of the devastation which is being wrought and tell him particularly of the increasing fury of the « Mosquito » raids which take place every evening. I cannot prevent myself voicing sharp criticism of Göring and the « Luftwaffe » . But it is always the same story when one talks to the « Führer » on this subject. He explains the reasons for the decay of the « Luftwaffe » , but he cannot make-up his mind to draw the consequences there from. He tells me that, after the recent interviews he had with him, Göring was a broken man. But what is the good of that ! I can have no sympathy with him. If he did lose his nerve somewhat after his recent clash with the « Führer » , that is but a small punishment for the frightful misery he has brought and is still bringing on the German people.

I beg the « Führer » , yet again, to take action at last, since things cannot go on like this. We ought not, after all, to send our people to their doom because we do not possess the strength of decision to root-out the cause of our misfortune. The « Führer » tells me that new fighters and bombers are now under construction, of which he has certain hopes. But we have heard it so often before that we can no longer bring ourselves to place much hope in such statements. In any case, it is now plenty late (not to say too late) to anticipate any decisive effect from such measures.

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**Wednesday, 14 March 1945** : Final live-broadcast by the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » which is composed of 80 musicians.

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**Spring 1945** : Many Austrian cities are targeted by American bombers.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum has to go to Sonthofen-im-Allgäu (the most southerly town of Germany in the Bavarian Alps) for medical treatment due to major health problems.

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**Thursday, 22 March 1945** : Symphonic concert given at the Old Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») in Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

**Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, edition published by Robert Haas in 1944 (WAB 107) .**

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**Friday, 23 March 1945** : Repeat of yesterday's concert given at the Old Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») in Linz.

Music-director Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, edition published by Robert Haas in 1944 (**WAB 107**) .

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**Saturday, 24 March 1945** : Review by Charlotte Steigleder in the « Oberdonau-Zeitung » of the symphonic concert which took place at the Old Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») in Linz.

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**Tuesday, 27 March 1945** : Letter from Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project » , to his superior, « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

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The « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is dissolved by the High Commissioner of the U.S. occupation troops. The planned reunion of the musicians to create a new « Bruckner Orchestra » in the town of Bad Pyrmont, in Lower-Saxony, fails.

The city of Linz, once again, reverts to its previous status of a worthy, if none too enterprising, provincial centre.

Due to his membership in the Nazi Party, Georg-Ludwig Jochum is black-listed - but this decision will soon be lifted.

Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Municipal Symphony Orchestra of Linz in replacement of Georg-Ludwig Jochum. He also works as a concert organist.

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**Wednesday, 28 March 1945** : The Russian forces under the command of Marshal Georgy Zhukov are just 20 miles to the east of Berlin.

A month before, Albert Speer was replaced as « Reich » Minister of Armaments and War Production after trying to persuade Adolf Hitler that defeat is inevitable. Speer devises a plan to prevent the musicians of his adored Philharmonic from perishing in the inevitable final battle. Doctor Josef Gøebbels, who is in charge of the defence of the « Reich » capital, orders the entire orchestra to be drafted into the « Volkssturm » (People's storm) : a national militia established during the last months. To delay their drafting, Speer sends his liaison officer to remove and destroy

the musician's papers while he puts in place a plan to save the orchestra. A convoy of lorries leave the besieged city to take many of the orchestra's scores, pianos, harps, Wagner tubas, and the musician's dress suits south to the relative safety of Plassenburg, near Bayreuth.

In the evening, the Philharmonic is to give a concert conducted by Robert Heger at the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße », nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie ». The original scheduled programme offered Ludwig van Beethoven's Overture from the incidental music for Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » (Opus 84), Johannes Brahms' Concerto for violin, cello and orchestra (Opus 102), and Richard Strauß's « Tod und Verklärung » (Death and Transfiguration), tone-poem for orchestra (Opus 24).

But it has previously been agreed that a programme change would signal that this represents the ultimate concert, and that the musicians are to leave the city right after the last note, travelling by coach to the Bayreuth area which is about to be taken by the American forces, leaving them at a safe distance from the dreaded Red Army.

The new programme consists of the final scene from Richard Wagner's « Die Götterdämmerung », followed by Ludwig van Beethoven's Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra (Opus 61) with Gerhard Taschner as soloist, and finally ...

**Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major (WAB 104) .**

**5:00 pm** : The hall is full at the start of the concert, despite the danger from air-raids and the absence of any heating. The electricity in Berlin is normally cut-off during the evening, but Albert Speer has arranged for the « Beethoven Hall » to remain connected. The place sinks into darkness, illumination comes only from the small lights on the music stands. As the rapturous applause for the « Romantic » Symphony dies away, the musicians do not leave for the south of Germany as planned. They voted to remain in the « Reich » capital, in solidarity with their patrons who are unable to escape. As the audience leaves the concert-hall, they are offered cyanide capsules from baskets held by children wearing Hitler Youth uniforms. Of the 125,000 Berliners who will die in the final battle, 6,400 commit suicide; many of them are women and girls who have been raped by Soviet soldiers.

Encouraged to stay in Berlin by Wilhelm Furtwängler, the 23 year old Taschner leaves in a car driven by Albert Speer's chauffeur, taking with him his wife, his 2 children, and the daughter of another musician. They take refuge in the town of Thurnau. During the war years, Taschner, along with Siegfried Borries (the Philharmonic's previous concert-master) and Erich Rohn, promoted the concerto repertoire.

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**End of March 1945** : Herbert von Karajan leaves Berlin by plane for the city of Milan in Italy.

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**March-April 1945** : The folk-songs recorded in Linz by the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » in January are broadcasted nation-wide by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany («

Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

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**Sunday, 1 April 1945** : The German town of « Recklinghausen-Süd » is captured by the U.S. 137th Infantry.

Because of his involvement in the Nazi regime, Doctor Friedrich Castelle is arrested by the British military government, and put into South Recklinghausen's internment-camp (managed by the British) until the end of 1945.

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**Wednesday, 4 April 1945** : The remaining members of the exiled pro-German Slovak government of President Jozef Tiso, who fled from Preßburg (Bratislava) , moves into the Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz.

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**Beginning of April 1945** : The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier returns to St. Florian.

He says goodbye to his Berlin personal adjutant, Oskar Haaf :

« We will not see each other again. I survived a collapse : the one of 1918. I will not survive a second one, especially since I have nothing good to expect as a member of the SS. »

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**Friday, 6 April 1945** : The « Reichs-Sender » (« Funkhaus ») at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna is broadcasting for the last time under the Nazi regime.

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**Saturday, 7 April 1945** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber declares on the Linz radio station to the population :

« Upper-Danube is being held ! »

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**Sunday, 8 April 1945** : After allegations of collaboration with the Nazis, conductor Leopold Reichwein chooses to commit suicide in the town of Kirchstetten, Lower-Austria (on the same day as the Austrian lyric poet, narrative writer and essayist Josef Weinheber) . Reichwein was 66.

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**April 1945** : During the death-marches, thousands of concentration-camp prisoners arrive in Linz on barges to be force-marched on to the Ebensee concentration-camp. Many die on the way.

All radio transmission systems in Vienna are destroyed. But one transmitter is spared from bombing raids : it is located in the town of Bisamberg at about 5 kilometers north-east of the capital.

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**Tuesday, 10 April 1945** : Adolf Hitler had 8 bombs brought into the extensive complex of salt mines in Altaussee, Styria.

« Gauleiter » August Eigruber orders the blasting of the stolen artworks by the Nazis (around 6,500 paintings, as well as many statues, furniture, weapons, coins, and libraries) . These treasures (intended for the planned « Führer-Museum ») were accumulated under the Special Linz Commission (« Sonderauftrag Linz ») created by Adolf Hitler.

The intended explosion is thwarted by miners who will remove the bombs from the site on May 3 and 4, 1945.

The « Gauleiters » August Eigruber, Konrad Henlein and Hugo Jury regularly spent their holidays in the spa-town of Altaussee.

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The « Gewandhaus » Orchestra's performances continue until the advance of the American troops to Leipzig's outskirts in **mid-April 1945**.

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**Thursday, 12 April 1945** : The « Reichs-Sender » in Leipzig ceases broadcasting. Last concert of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra.

The radio transmitter erected in Langenberg, which was used by the « Reichs-Sender » in Cologne, is blown up by the German postal service.

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**Friday, 13 April 1945** : The radio transmitter in the town of Bisamberg near Vienna is blown up by SS troops before retiring.

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**Saturday, 14 April 1945** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber declares on the Linz radio station to the population :

« The Upper-Danube will not be evacuated. »

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**Sunday, 15 April 1945** : In the evening, « Gauleiter » August Eigruber speaks in his capacity as « Reich » Defense Commissioner on the Linz radio station to the population of the Upper-Danube :

« Cowards must bear the consequences. »

After a review of the military situation in the Districts of Styria, Lower-Danube and Vienna, he continues :

« (...) Military developments in the West and centre of the “ Reich ” as well as in the “ Gau ” of Styria and Lower-Danube compel clear thinking and decisions. The most-discussed problem is the evacuation of the population from the Upper-Danube. I have a clear position : Upper-Danube will not be evacuated. Transferring people to Bavaria is impossible.

Bavaria lacks even the most primitive housing. Bavaria has also taken many women and children from the West. And, besides that, many cities and areas have been totally destroyed by air-attacks. There can be no more evacuations or transfers for the population, also for (German) “ Wehrmacht ” offices and units. Even if the enemy is approaching, it is always better to be in the homeland. If there is a withdrawal everything else goes along, and, if that happens, it will be only a matter of days before the enemy catches up. War is determined by steadfastness. The best example is the few Tyrolian soldiers who fought Napoléon. I must, therefore, reject any attempt to leave the “ Gau ” in a westerly direction. I have instructed the railway as well as my offices to the West to pay sharp attention to that.

Refugees passing through the Upper-Danube will be checked in an orderly way and moved along. Despite all the rumours, there have been no incidents. All German women and children, Hungarians, prisoners-of-war, and foreign workers have been cared for and fed by the NS-W and the “ Wehrmacht ”. Prisoners-of-war and foreign workers are behaving well, although the appearance of our streets and roads, forests and villages, had taken on an entirely different look in recent days. The important thing is that all the offices of the “ Wehrmacht ”, State, and Party are cooperating closely to deal with many small difficulties with calmness and good sense. Such cooperation is not lacking in our “ Gau ”.

The Bolsheviks have been sending German prisoners-of-war in the full-uniforms of officers, NCOs, and soldiers with many medals either by parachute or through the Russian lines in order to spread unrest in their homeland or to commit acts of terror. Ruthless action is called for here.

I authorize each executive organ, each “ Volkssturm ” man, and each member of the N.S.D.A.P. to make immediate use of his weapon against these traitors. Such Communist-infected creatures deserve no mercy.

These criminals think that (Joseph) Stalin will be especially thankful to them for their betrayal of their own homeland, of their own wives, children, and mothers. These traitors, and they should mark this well, will never be forgotten. They will not be trusted, and they will be the first Stalin hangs, as he liquidated traitors in Bulgaria, and Romania.

Now is the hour of decision. He who believes the Bolsheviks and their promises, he who stabs his own homeland, our women and children, in the back, he who is now a coward, will have to bear the consequences. There is only a hard either-or. I have, therefore, arrested a number of officials and Party political leaders who fled Vienna, some before or during military activities. They will be condemned. It is a time in which each National-Socialist has to prove himself. He must now prove by actions what he has always said.

And now, information on our food supply :

In the near future, we will release a kilogram of sugar, a half a kilogram of rice, and 4 eggs for each person. I have been able to secure the grain supply in the “ Gau ” such that supplies of bread are assured for a long time in the Upper-Danube.

Supplies of textiles in the shops are limited. That is not because supplies are limited, but rather because transportation from warehouses in the country-side takes time. They were moved there from the cities because the risk of destruction by air-attacks was too great.

The situation on the fronts is serious. The war was reached a critical point. In the midst of these events, the prime war criminal and person guilty for the war, the President of the United States of North America, (Franklin Delano) Roosevelt, died. That is a sign for us that our enemies and deadly foes are not immortal. We believe in justice.

The hard-working and brave German people has borne so much and suffered such misery that, in the end, justice will favour our side. Let us continue to work and fight ! »

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**Saturday, 14 April 1945** : Concert held at the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße » , nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie » .

The German conductor and composer Georg (Alfred) Schumann conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Johannes Brahms : « Ein deutsches Requiem, nach Worten der heiligen Schrift » (A German Requiem, to Words of the Holy Scriptures) , for soprano, baritone, mixed-choir and orchestra, Opus 45.

Like many of his colleagues, Georg Schumann suffered from the cultural policies of the Third « Reich » . Despite numerous offers from abroad, he never abandoned the « Berliner Singakademie » . After the War, he does not have to face denazification proceedings ; consequently, he ensures his survival under Allied occupation. Together with Sergiù Celibidache, principal-conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, and Hans Chemin-Petit, composer and director of the Philharmonic Choir, Schumann begins to revive Berlin's musical life as early as 1945, despite his advanced age.

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**Sunday, 15 and Monday, 16 April 1945** : Final concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under the Third « Reich » at the « Beethoven Hall » (« Beethoven-Saal ») on « Köthener-Straße » , nearby the ruins of the old « Philharmonie » .

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**Monday, 16 April 1945** : Soviet planes drop bombs on the cities of Linz, Wels and Attnang.

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**Tuesday, 17 April 1945** : « Gauleiter » August Eigruber declares on the Linz radio station to the population :

« The hour of the decisive battle has come. »

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**Wednesday, 18 April 1945** : The Americans enter the city of Leipzig.

This date marked the beginning of the first real intermission in the « Gewandhaus's » proceedings since the onset of the War. All public entertainment was halted ; even music was only allowed in the context of church services. This was unprecedented : neither the Thirty Year War (1618-1648) nor the plague had completely halted public (and especially musical) entertainment in Leipzig. Yet, there were attempts to circumvent the American ban. Here, the interconnectedness of Leipzig's music scene bore fruit again. Professor Günther Ramín, the Cantor of St. Thomas Church used the church music « loophole » to incorporate the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra in musical services to accompany his choir, or even just on its own. In the same way that St. Thomas's Choir was able to continue to perform Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's pieces during the Third « Reich » , Ramín enabled the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra to play - by appropriate labelling. Mendelssohn's pieces were attributed to other composers or to anonymous, the « Gewandhaus's » concerts became church services. The choir itself moved seamlessly from performances during war-time to performances after Leipzig's occupation. Indeed, the only break in the motet cycle of St. Thomas's Choir was a 14 day gap between concerts during which the American occupation forces vetted Günther Ramín's political credentials. Until **May 29, 1945**, the choir remained in its exile in the nearby town of Grimma even though it had already resumed its concert schedule in Leipzig.

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**Friday, 20 April 1945** : On his 56th and last birthday, Adolf Hitler appoints naval officer Karl Dönitz commander of German ground forces in the North, and appoints air officer Albert Kesselring as commander of German ground forces in the South.

The « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier is planning a gala-concert in St. Florian, in honour of the « Führer » . An extensive guest-list is drawn up, although the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » has meanwhile melted to only 39 musicians.

The city of Linz, once again, reverts to its previous status of a worthy, if none too enterprising, provincial centre.

Glasmeier disappears without a trace when everything falls into ruins.

His daughter recalled :

« He did not want to survive his “ Führer ”. »

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3 weeks before the end of the war, Emil Seiler (viola) , Walter Gerwig (lute) and Werner Tietz (recorder) are called up for the so-called « Volkssturm » . Werner Tietz, who is engaged to the harpsichordist Lisedore Häge, is killed during the last days of the war.

Seiler is taken prisoner by the American army and is discharged a little while later with a serious disease.

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**Saturday, 21 April 1945** : The American flag is hoisted over Nuremberg rally-grounds' crowning « swastika » . The Walcker/Sauer organ and the structure of « Luitpold Halle » were completely destroyed by American incendiary bombs.

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**Sunday, 22 April 1945** : Last day of production of German « Tiger » tanks in the armament factories of the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » , located in St. Valentin - St. Peter near Linz near Linz.

In the evening, « Gauleiter » August Eigruber speaks in his capacity as « Reich » Defense Commissioner on the Linz radio station to the population on the current situation :

« Upper-Danube's leadership is taking all necessary measures. »

« (...) The good news from the front is that the Bolsheviks have been brought to a stop in the “ Ostmark ” “ Gau ” and that further advances by the Bolsheviks to the West are not expected in the near future. It is now time to deal with the refugee situation. I have ordered that the individual groups of refugees be assigned to particular areas. In order to keep county forests and villages under control, increased checks will be made throughout the whole of Upper-Danube. I particularly warn citizens of villages and farm-houses that shirkers and individual deserters are attempting to seek shelter by telling false stories. He who is away from his unit for more than a day, whether wounded or healthy, should be viewed with suspicion. Make an immediate report to the nearest police-station or local group leader.

There have also been cases where military and civilian personnel have seized property on their own authority. I expressly state that any independent seizure of property or looting will result in the perpetrator's immediate execution. Long-term housing of military personnel in civilian quarters is also forbidden. Details should be reported to my office and, when necessary, housing will be provided. Women and children have first priority in housing. I expect that every people's comrade and each family in the “ Reich-Gau ” of the Upper-Danube will make all available space and free beds to refugees, above all woman and children. The resulting difficulties are more bearable than compulsory housing of foreign soldiers.

It is interesting to see the methods the Bolsheviks are using in the occupied areas of the “ Ostmark ”. Only in the rarest cases are Communists appointed as mayors or commissars. Most of them are royalists, faithful to the Emperor,

who, with blind hatred against everything, German have put themselves at the service of the Bolshevist army of occupation. Some of them slyly spread the idea that the Bolshevists will allow an independent Austria. Entirely aside from the bestial cruelties they always commit and for which there are enough eyewitness accounts, the Bolshevists have no intention of allowing an Austrian government. They will tolerate a mixture of all political opponents of the “ Reich ”, intending sooner or later to incorporate the “ Ostmark ” “ Gau ” into the Soviet Union, as has already happened in the Baltic countries. It is clear that any foundation of life has been taken away for Germans in Vienna and the occupied areas. The transport of workers needed by the Bolshevists to the interior of Soviet Russia has already begun. The men are sent to Soviet Russia, the children are kidnapped, and our woman and girls are turned over to Mongols and Tartars ! There is no point in talking about it. It is simply a matter of trust. He who trusts the Bolshevists and their promises will be ruined. Does anyone believe that the Bolshevists will provide child support or marriage loans ? Or that they will care for the honoured old gray members of the people’s community, that they will disband atheist associations, or establish an organized food system so that each gets what he needs ? The Bolshevists will think only of themselves and smile coldly as Germans starve.

The “ Führer ” is determined to carry this war to the end. The few traitors in our homeland can be sure that they are not unknown, that we well-understand illegal work. No grace or mercy can be expected from us !

Despite everything, the population of this “ Gau ” is behaving admirably. Things are going as they should in cities and the country-side, despite the difficulties. I particularly wish to thank our women for their helpfulness, which they repeatedly demonstrate. I demand that all political leaders and officials are always at their posts. I assure the population of the “ Gau ” of the Upper-Danube that the leadership of the “ Reich-Gau ” will take all measures that are necessary for our life and defense, and that it will remain here and never leave !

I am able to release 30 clothing ration points in the next few days. There will also be coffee and tea for our women. Supplies in the entire “ Gau ” will be reviewed and what can be distributed will be.

The whole public life is functioning normally because of the cooperation between all offices of the Party, the State, the economy, and the (German) “ Wehrmacht ”. That will continue.

In unity alone, there is strength, and we want to use this strength to protect our women, our children, and our homeland ! »

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**Tuesday, 24 April 1945** : « Radio Wien » resumes its operations. The newly-created Public Administration for Austrian Broadcasting will soon act as the official broadcaster. But the established corporate name « RAVAG » (« Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft ») will also be used again.

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**Wednesday, 25 April 1945** : Allied air-raids on the cities of Linz and Wels.

Before the Americans reach the city of Linz, « Gauleiter » August Eigruber settles in Kirchdorf-an-der-Krems.

In the evening, he speaks in his capacity as « Reich » Defense Commissioner over cable and radio system to the people's comrades of the Upper-Danube :

« Gauleiter Eigruber calls us all to determined defense. »

« The military situation on the Eastern Front and in the “ Gau ” of Styria and Upper-Danube has continued to firm up. Our own attack has made good progress in Styria. Vornau was recaptured. Our troops reached the heights to the east of Weißenbach and north of Mönichswald. The enemy attacked Lilienfeld and Mariazell in Lower-Danube with weak forces. These attacks were largely driven back. Only St. Pölten was lost. There is no activity around St. Pölten. The enemy continues attacks north of the Danube. Land-an-der-Tiere and Nikolsburg were lost. About 100 enemy tanks were destroyed in recent days in this area.

Although the developments along the front in the “ Gau ” of the Lower-Danube and Styria are good, things have developed less well recently in Bavaria. American tanks are thrusting toward Bayreuth and Bamberg to the south-east. These enemy forces reached the cities of Regen and Vichtach in recent days. This afternoon, enemy tanks were reported north-east of Passau, coming from Zwiesel and Regen. They are near Tittling.

I wish to make the situation in this area clearly and calmly today. Our enemy was stopped to the east of St. Pölten but the enemy advanced in the west and is now only 20 to 30 kilometers from the border of our “ Gau ”. Today's terror attacks on Linz and Wels shows us clearly how American enemy bands behave. They attempt to disrupt all lines of communication in areas they intend to advance.

In coming days, the Anglo-Americans will attempt to reach the Inn and, from there, thrust up the Inn and down the Danube. We are now a war area. That means that air-attacks, particularly dive bombing attacks, will increase. I instruct all police posts and majors to organize air-raid warnings more than in the past. Traffic during the day should always be watched. In the event of low-flying attacks, each vehicle must seek shelter. In Linz itself, air-raid warnings will be given by “ flak ” (anti-aircraft canon) unit and mobile sirens. Loudspeaker trucks will also be used. It will no longer always be possible to provide timely air-raid warnings. The cable and radio will provide running reports on the situation.

Military developments will make life considerably harder. First priority must go to the necessities of the front and to defense. The time has come for the people's community to prove itself by its actions. Each should help the other. Each will share with his neighbour, but on a completely voluntary basis. I have often said how well our people is behaving. There are always a few exceptions, mostly those who had the obligation to be a model. I was recently forced to take sharp measures against several former leading personalities because they ran away, despite my orders to stay here. Each people's comrade must recognize that given the current military situation, flight or evacuation are impossible. All “ Gau ” are filled with refugees. There are no shelters anywhere. We will remain in our homeland, each in his place, but not idly, but rather determined to fight.

There are some who say that the arrival of the Americans and English would be better than occupation by the Bolsheviks. The nicest stories are told about the Anglo-Americans. They pass out chocolate and “ schnapps ”, they do not harass our women, do not seize private property, but pass through an area and leave no occupying troops behind. When one hears things like that one cannot help asking why, if they are such nice people, do the Anglo-Americans bother to wage war ? It is worth thinking about the stories that come from German areas that have been occupied longer by the Anglo-Americans. It is also worth reading Anglo-American newspapers with the speeches of their statesmen. Their hatred and destructive will toward Germany and the German people is just as great as the Bolsheviks.

Reports from the West say that, shortly after the arrival of English-American troops, Jewish commissars appear to control the German population. Germans may only leave their homes for a few hours between the morning and afternoon. The German population must leave its houses and buildings and foreigners and prisoners-of-war do what they want. Germans, American and English newspapers report that we must live in basements or the forest. Any organized distribution of food rations ends immediately after occupation and starvation begins. Hunger drives people to desperation and breaks the will to resist. The Anglo-Americans have not succeeded in preventing starvation in France, Belgium, and Holland. They will care even less about the starving German population in the occupied areas.

The Anglo-Americans have used ruthless bombing terror to burn down German cities and cultural monuments and destroyed hundreds of thousands of homes, which they will never rebuilt. That proves that they are just as terrible an enemy as the Bolsheviks. If we lose the war and are occupied by Bolsheviks or Anglo-Americans, life for our people and for each individual will have lost all meaning.

I must, therefore, say openly to the population of the “ Gau ” of the Upper-Danube that the hardest days and weeks are before us. War is coming to the land. Enemy forces will make constant attacks on the ground, and our bitter enemy will also make unexpected terror attacks from the air. If we give up, we will be lost. If we stand firm and fight, we still have hope of a life we Germans will determine. It would be intolerable to be at the mercy of the enemy.

Let us take the “ Führer ” as our example. He stays in Berlin, the capital of the “ Reich ”, and fights against the mass-storm from the East. He is with his soldiers. The Berliners are determined and ready to fight with Adolf Hitler, to fall or to win.

Let his homeland be loyal to him ! »

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With false papers bearing the name of « Bernhard Gruber » , August Eigruber tries to go into hiding, and picks a hunting lodge.

**Thursday, 26 April 1945** : The first American troops set foot on the soil of the Upper-Danube region.

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**Friday, 27 April 1945** : Last low-flying air-raid on the city of Linz.

« Gauleiter » August Eigruber gives the order to kill all the Upper-Austrians imprisoned at the Nazi concentration-camp of Mauthausen, which is located around 20 kilometers (12 miles) east of Linz.

The former Chancellor Karl Renner set-up a provisional government composed of Social-Democrats, Christian-Socialists, and Communists, and proclaimed the re-establishment of Austria as a democratic republic. The country is now facing complete economic chaos.

**From 1945 to 1952**, Austria will have to struggle for survival.

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**Monday, 30 April 1945** : An announcement on the German wireless :

« It has been reported from the “ Führer’s ” headquarters that our “ Führer ” Adolf Hitler has died this afternoon (...)  
»

Tank barricades are erected in the city of Linz.

« Gauleiter » Eigruber speaks over the cable (audio transmissions delivered over cable lines) and radio systems to the population of the Upper-Danube on the eve of May 1st. He provides an overview of the current military situation and also rules of behaviour for the coming days.

He says among other things :

« (...) Although the military situation to the East in the “ Gau ” of Lower-Danube and the “ Gau ” of Styria is remaining stable and strong, despite the massed Bolshevik forces. However, since this morning (Monday) , the Americans have been moving into the Upper-Danube with strong forces. Passau is under heavy artillery fire. North of Passau, between the Danube and the Bohemian Forest, the Americans are attacking Wegscheid and Oberkappel. They have set these areas, and Kollerschlag as well, in flames. The Americans are moving this afternoon into the Upper-Danube, despite the brave resistance of our weak positions and have occupied Oberkappel and Putzleinsdorf. They advanced further into Lembach, but then, retreated. The explained that they had encountered 2 strong enemy divisions. The enemy announced by radio 2 days ago that American troops were marching toward Linz, and today’s action provided evidence that the radio report was correct. As “ Reich ” Defense Commissioner, I have taken the appropriate measures.

Unfortunately, I must today inform the populations of the western Mühl District, the western Bohemian Forest, and the County of Linz-Land north of the Danube that coming days will be very difficult and hard. The reason is that we, Germans, can oppose enemy attacks only with the forces available to us. All available (German) “ Wehrmacht ” forces

are in action. Every means of defense is being used.

The civilian population of villages can move to areas of the country-side that is unaffected by combat. The same is true for Linz. Women with small children and aged people's comrades on the left-bank of the Danube, in the "Urfahr" region, can immediately find safety in the Gallneukirchen-Pregarten District or on the right-bank in the County of Linz-Land. The population of Linz on the right-side of the Danube can find safety in Kremstal in the County of Linz-Land. There is no danger of military action in the Linz area for this evening. It is good, however, if all those in the areas I have mentioned have packed necessities in a suitcase or box.

I stress again that only women with small children and infants and the aged may leave the city and that the NS-V will organize transportation, housing, and food. Work continues. All workers must remain in the city unless they are women with small children and infants. The same is true for foreigners who should remain in their camps if the enemy approaches. If Linz comes under artillery fire, it will not be necessary to go to air-raid shelters and tunnels. People may remain in their buildings or basements. The air danger is intensified by low-flying enemy aircraft. I will give brief updates to the population over cable and radio. Instructions to government offices will only be via cable.

Linz will not be declared a fortress because it lacks the military prerequisites. The capital of the "Gau" (Linz) will, however, be defended. I have also, today, ordered that industrial and agricultural facilities will not be destroyed, with the exception of purely military facilities. The battle itself will be conducted by the "Wehrmacht" and subordinate "Volkssturm" units. Civilians should not actively engage in combat, but should assist only our troops - which is what I expect of each German.

We defend against the approaching enemy because we know that he is not coming to help our people, but rather, in the end, to destroy it. Our deadly enemy is coming from the East. We will fight him with all the fanaticism we have. We are using all our military strength against the Bolsheviks. Whatever happens, the decision will fall in the Lower-Danube and in Styria, just as it will on the entire Eastern front. The motto is and will remain : stand fast and hold the East ! Bolshevism may not advance any further !

The 75th ration period is beginning. Effective immediately, rations are doubled (with the exception of meat) in Linz, the County of Rohrbach, and the County of the Linz-Land north of the Danube. The double amounts given out are from the reserves for the 76th ration period and must, therefore, last until the end of June. I ask the population, and women in particular, to remain calm and be considerate in purchasing from shops. Steps have been taken some time ago to be sure that sufficient food stuffs are in reserve.

And now, stay calm and assured during the coming difficult days. I will do all I can to maintain orderly conditions ; at the same time, I will also ensure that order is maintained by all means necessary.

Soldiers and members of the "Volkssturm", we are defending our "Gau" capital, Linz, and our beautiful Mühl District ! »

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**Monday, 30 April to Sunday, 6 May 1945** : Period of invasion of the Upper-Danube territory by the American forces - including the bordering Ausseer Land in the Salzkammergut, in the north-west of Styria.

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**April-May 1945** : The history of the « Bruckner Monastery » in St. Florian finally ends with the advance of the Allies.

The « St. Florian project » was largely the work of one person : Heinrich Glasmeier, who took advantage of the expropriation of the monastery, as well as the soft spot of Adolf Hitler for the Linz region.

The account of assets of the monastery, as of November 26, 1941, drawn up by the accounting expert Gottfried Hartl, formed the basis for the audit commissioned immediately after the end of the War by the Upper-Austrian regional authorities, in which the confiscated net assets with an accounting value of 1,776,281.04 « Reich » Marks are listed and divided into the following categories :

Monastery administration : 355,521.58 « Reich » Marks.

Brewery : 173,079.33 « Reich » Marks.

Winery : 173,530.19 « Reich » Marks.

Brickworks : 100,810.78 « Reich » Marks.

Goods administration : 973,339.24 « Reich » Marks.

The values of the various parishes still appearing in the balance-sheet of December 31, 1940, with the corresponding justifications in the amount of 970,000 « Reich » Marks, were no longer included in the actual balance-sheet. The values of the churches, the collections, the furniture and the art-objects have not been recorded in the accounts. The listed brickworks had already been leased in 1939 to the « Hermann Göring “ Reich ” Steel Works » , and ceased operations on May 19, 1942. The wine cellar of the monastery of St. Florian was combined with those of the monasteries of Wilhering, Kremsmünster and Schlägl to form a new entity called « Wine cellars of the “ Reich-Gau ” of the Upper-Danube : Head Office St. Florian » (« Wein-Kellereien des Reichs-Gaues Ober-Donau : Zentrale St. Florian ») , while the breweries - like the one of the Premonstratensian monastery of Schlägl - continue to operate separately.

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**Tuesday, 1 May 1945** : The 65th U.S. Infantry Division crosses the Upper-Austrian border south of the Danube.

Agreement on the American-Soviet demarcation line in Upper-Austria, which will be valid until the **end of July**.

Doctor Josef Gœbbels completed his sole official act as new « Reich » Chancellor. He dictated a letter to Soviet Army



General Vasily Chuikov, requesting a temporary cease-fire and ordered German General Hans Krebs to deliver it. Chuikov commanded the Soviet forces in central Berlin. After this was rejected, Goebbels decided that further efforts were futile. Goebbels then launched into a tirade berating the Generals, reminding them Adolf Hitler forbade them to surrender. Fritzsche left the room to try and take matters into his own hands. He went to his near-by office on « Wilhelm-Platz » and wrote a surrender letter addressed to Soviet Marshall Georgy Zhukov. An angry and drunk General Wilhelm Burgdorf followed Fritzsche to his office. There, he asked Fritzsche if he intended to surrender the city of Berlin. Fritzsche replied that he was going to do just that. Burgdorf shouted that Hitler had forbidden surrender and, as a civilian, he had no authority to do so. Burgdorf then pulled his pistol to shoot Fritzsche, but a radio technician « knocked the gun » and the bullet fired hit the ceiling. Several men then hustled Burgdorf out of the office and he returned to the « Führer-Bunker » . Fritzsche then left his office and went over to the Soviet lines and offered to surrender the city.

« Reichs-Sender » Hamburg's Flensburg sub-station, the last short-wave radio station remaining on the air in Nazi Germany, announces in the death of the « Führer » , Adolf Hitler. The first place in the United Kingdom to hear of this is the BBC Monitoring Service at Caversham Park near Reading, Berkshire. The new Chancellor of Germany, the Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, gives a broadcast this night declaring that it is his task to save the German people « from destruction by Bolshevists » .

**Announcer** : « The German wireless broadcasts serious, important news for the German people. »

(3 drum-rolls are heard.)

**Announcer** : « It is reported from the “ Führer’s ” headquarters that our “ Führer ” Adolf Hitler, fighting to the last breath against Bolshevism, fell for Germany this afternoon in his operational headquarters in the “ Reich ” Chancellery.

On April 30, the “ Führer ” appointed Grand Admiral Dönitz his successor. The Grand Admiral and successor of our “ Führer ” now speaks to the German people. »

**Dönitz** : « German men and women, soldiers of the armed forces : Our “ Führer”, Adolf Hitler, has fallen. In the deepest sorrow and respect, the German people bow.

At an early date, he had recognized the frightful danger of Bolshevism and dedicated his existence to this struggle. At the end of his struggle, of his unswerving straight road of life, stands his hero's death in the capital of the German “ Reich ”. His life has been one single service for Germany. His activity in the fight against the Bolshevik storm flood concerned not only Europe but the entire civilized world.

The “ Führer ” has appointed me to be his successor.

Fully-conscious of the responsibility, I take over the leadership of the German people at this fateful hour.

It is my first task to save Germany from destruction by the advancing Bolshevik enemy. For this aim alone, the

military struggle continues. As far and for so long as achievement of this aim is impeded by the British and the Americans, we shall be forced to carry on our defensive fight against them as well. Under such conditions, however, the Anglo-Americans will continue the War not for their own peoples but solely for the spreading of Bolshevism in Europe.

What the German people have achieved in battle and borne in the homeland during the struggle of this War is unique in history. In the coming time of need and crisis of our people, I shall endeavour to establish tolerable conditions of living for our women, men and children so far as this lies in my power.

For all this, I need your help. Give me your confidence because your road is mine as well. Maintain order and discipline in town and country. Let everybody do his duty at his own post. Only thus shall we mitigate the sufferings that the coming time will bring to each of us ; only thus shall we be able to prevent a collapse. If we do all that is in our power, God will not forsake us after so much suffering and sacrifice. »

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**Wednesday, 2 May 1945** : During the Battle of Berlin, the Soviet Red Army captures what's left of the « Reich » Chancellery. Hans Fritzsche is taken prisoner in a basement, and then, sent to Moscow for interrogation at Lubyanka Prison where, according to his own account, 3 gold teeth are yanked from his mouth upon arrival. He is confined to a « standing coffin » , a 3 foot square cell where it is impossible to sleep, and placed on a bread and hot water diet. He eventually signs a confession.

One Russian battalion branches off and continues west to the « Haus des Rundfunks » (« Zentrale des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks ») . Once the soldiers have taken and occupied the huge building, they encircle it with barbed wire and hold onto it in the face of American and British forces coming from the west. Consequently, the « Haus » becomes something of a Cold War issue : though it is situated in the British Sector, it is used by the « Berliner Rundfunk » radio station, controlled by the Soviet occupation forces, until it moves to East-Berlin in 1952.

Eva Kort, a young female apprentice at the « Haus des Rundfunks » who began working in the press barracks several years after the 1936 Summer Olympics, recounts one amusing story of how operations inside the complex continued without pause during the Russian invasion. Even under the most demanding war conditions, recording sessions went on 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. But the roof had poor insulation.

« Sometimes when we recorded in “ Saal I ”, we could hear the soldiers traipsing around the roof above us, watching for air-raids. So, we would have to send someone up there, tell them to sit-down, relax, have a cigarette, and be quiet. »

The « Haus » archives have in their possession 5 stereophonic tape recordings : 2 versions of an incomplete Brahms Serenade for orchestra, Opus 11, and a badly distorted Overture to Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » . The other two, presumably stored in the spa-town of Kosten, in Wartheland (about 150 miles east of Berlin) , eventually found their way back to the « Reich » capital through private hands : the stunning Finale of Anton Bruckner's Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) conducted by Herbert von Karajan, and the complete « Emperor » Concerto by Ludwig van

Beethoven with pianist Walter Giesecking.

Members of the U.S. 9th Armored Division meet up with Soviet units near Linz.

Professor Michael Schneider and his « flak » (anti-aircraft canon) unit spend 4 weeks in captivity as prisoners-of-war after American forces took the city of Linz. After Schneider, leadership of the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » is assumed by the ensemble's tenor Walter Kretschmar, who had originally been « delegated » from the Leipzig Radio Choir.

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**Thursday, 3 May 1945** : Captain Franz Kinzl is arrested by the American forces. He will be imprisoned at the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg.

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**Friday, 4 May 1945** : Hans Fritzsche is selected to identify the charred bodies of Josef and Magda Goebbels, and their children. It will be several days before he is informed that he is under arrest.

Radio Hamburg begins broadcasting from the British occupation zone of Germany, with Wynford Vaughan-Thomas speaking from « Lord Haw-Haw's » studio for the BBC.

Immediately after the invasion of the U.S. troops on May 4, the seized monastery, which sits on a hill above the confluence of the rivers Traun and Ager, is provisionally restituted to the Benedictine monks of Lambach.

American troops enter the city of Salzburg. With the support of the moderate « Gauleiter » , Doctor Gustav Adolf Scheel, the « Wehrmacht » combat commander, Colonel Hans Lepperdinger, surrenders without a fight, contrary to orders to defend the city under all circumstances.

Archbishop Doctor Andreas Rohracher stands up immediately for the reconstruction.

Salzburg becomes the centre of the American-occupied area in Austria. Several displaced persons camps are established - among them Riedenburg, Camp Herzl (« Franz-Josefs-Kaserne ») , Camp Mülln, Bet Bialik, Bet Trumpeldor, and New Palestine.

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Shortly before the U.S. troops march into St. Florian, Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier signs the last payment order for his architect Franz Schneider, which, however, can no longer be carried out.

According to eye-witness reports, Glasmeier left St. Florian the same day in a Volkswagen bucket-seat military vehicle (« Kubelwagen ») of the « Wehrmacht » with a driver, allegedly armed with tank fists and machine guns, in order to go to the Eastern Front supposedly to stop the Red Army.

He is said to have been seen in Kremsmünster and Graz, but then, he got out of sight. Maybe he found death (committing suicide with a hand grenade in his vehicle) or he swapped his « Waffen-SS » uniform for an inconspicuous civilian suit and went underground. Nobody knows.

Everyone in his immediate vicinity assumed that he had voluntarily sought death at the front in accordance with his military code of honour. His family initially remained behind in St. Florian.

The German journalist and author Ernst Klee (1942-2013) proposed Wednesday, 31 January 1945 as the date of death.

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Towards the end of the War, the Mauthausen concentration-camp near Linz becomes the destination for evacuations from camps near the front-line. Tens of thousands of prisoners arrive on several large transports. Over-crowding, lack of food and rampant disease lead to mass-death among the prisoners in the final months before the liberation.

Lord Mayor Franz Langoth seeks out the Austrian resistance and negotiates with them the transfer of Linz to their administration. He also gives way to the U.S. armed forces by exaggerating his role in the surrender of the city without a fight by falsifying afterwards the contemporary report of his secretary.

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**Saturday, 5 May 1945** : Last local radio broadcast in Linz. Units of the U.S. 11th Armored Division (11 AD) enter the city. The population in general welcome their arrival.

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**Sunday, 6 May 1945** : Around 270 American soldiers occupy the building complex of the monastery of St. Florian. They call the place : « Happy Abbey » !

As a privileged witness, Anton Hochreiter (1903-1985) notes in his memoirs :

« They settled down as the new Masters in the Imperial Rooms and rode motorcycles in the long wide corridors. »

The U.S. Army reaches Gusen and Mauthausen near Linz. Some prisoners are in such a weakened state that many will still die in the days and weeks after the liberation. Of a total of around 190,000 people from all over Europe imprisoned in the Mauthausen concentration-camp and its sub-camps over 7 years, at least 90,000 died.

A divided city from 1945 to 1955, with the Danube acting as the demarcation line between the Soviet and the U.S. occupation zones, Linz is temporarily the home to some 40,000 Dps (displaced persons) coming from 25 different nations. Haphazard growth during the Nazi era and war-time bombing-raids have turned the Baroque city into a « city of barracks » .

Many refugees (former concentration-camp detainees, forced labourers and displaced persons) end up at least temporarily in Linz, where they are put up in ramshackle hut-camps. Camp No. 67 in Wegscheid (i.e., Camp Maurice L. Tyler : named after its first U.S. commander) is one of the largest refugee camps in the entire region. It provides shelter for the Jewish displaced persons, mainly from the Mauthausen concentration-camp and will still be in operation in the late-1950's.

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**Monday, 7 May 1945** : Franz Langoth is deposed as Lord Mayor of Linz. He is imprisoned by the American occupation forces at the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg.

The myth of his efforts to bring about the surrender of Linz without a fight lasts long after 1945. It is based mainly on falsified reports.

Despite the complete lack of choice that the voters had, Langoth voiced his opinion in 1951 that the election on April 10, 1938, in Austria had been an example of a true, democratic plebiscite and would be recorded as a pure and clean vote in future history.

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**Tuesday, 8 May 1945** : The Social-Democrat Doctor Ernst Koref becomes the new Mayor of Linz. He will occupy this function until September 10, 1962.

Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz - the remaining members of the exiled pro-German Slovak government of President Jozef Tiso capitulates to General Walton Walker, who is leading the XX. Corps of the Third U.S. Army.

A reconnaissance squadron of the U.S. Seventh Army reaches the Ausseerland region followed by the main force of the U.S. Army on the next day. Previously to the arrival of the U.S. Army, a self-employed civilian government is formed in Bad Aussee, which preserves the order and ensures the supply of the population.

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**Wednesday, 9 May 1945** : A socialist delegation informs Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließer, the Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Linz, about the formation of a state government under Doctor Alois Oberhummer.

The Service Office of the 65th U.S. Infantry Division under the command of Major Manson begins to organize performances of show-like character to accommodate the troops in Linz and the surrounding area with the help of returning stage-artists, as well as the members of the former « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and the Municipal Symphony Orchestra who are staying in Linz.

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The Allies establish an « Allied Control Council » in Berlin, which takes over executive authority in Germany from the government of the Third « Reich ». For the next 3 years, this council provides a forum in which the Soviets, Americans, British, and French are represented.

The Americans are concerned to restart concert life in major cities : their goal is to find local officials who can be licensed to organize concerts, and then, carrying-out a quick purge of selected ensembles before they can perform in public and on radio broadcasts. Major musical figures, who were excluded from work in the American occupation zone, went to other zones to take-up prestigious appointments. All over the American zone, music officers are instructed to draw-up black-lists of musicians, and to send these to Brigadier General Robert A. McClure's headquarters at Bad Homburg. The Americans rely, at this stage, on locally captured documents, or on information received from Germans, which might or might not be reliable. This explains why they initially employ a number of musicians, such as Eugen Jochum and Hans Knappertsbusch. Of course, they are not the only famous musicians to undergo post-War scrutiny. Wilhelm Furtwängler, Herbert von Karajan, Richard Strauß, Heinz Tietjen, and countless others will face denazification proceedings.

Music officer Henry Alter, who is stationed in Vienna after his initial months in Berlin, admits of the denazification of both Karajan and Furtwängler :

« It was an unsolvable problem. Every person who had heard Karajan once make music knew that if one did not allow such a person to make music, one would be punishing oneself and not him. Under these conditions, it was really not possible to handle Karajan in any way fairly or justly. Actually, it was similar with Furtwängler. »

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**Saturday, 12 May 1945** : Ernst Kaltenbrunner flees to the Wildensee alp nearby Altaussee where he is captured by a U.S. patrol.

At the end of the war, a box of 60 kilograms' gold stolen by the Nazis is found near the mansion in which Kaltenbrunner had lived. Much of it has been lost since the turmoil of the early post-war days.

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**Sunday, 13 May 1945** : The « Haus des Rundfunks » is broadcasting a 1 hour program with a speech to the Berliners by the Soviet city commander, Colonel-General Nikolaj Bersarin.

The broadcasting house becomes part of a Cold War issue : although it is located in the British Sector of West-Berlin, it is used and controlled by the « Berliner Rundfunk » radio station, which is established by Soviet forces.

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**Monday, 14 May 1945** : Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is arrested by members of the U.S. Army, and interned for about 2 years.

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**Friday, 18 May 1945** : The first public radio concert since the end of the War takes place in the « große Sende-Saal » (Hall I) of the « Haus des Rundfunks » in Berlin.

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**Tuesday, 22 May 1945** : The « Berliner Rundfunk » starts broadcasting a daily 19 hour program from « Masuren-Allee » .

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**Wednesday, 23 May 1945** : First session of an American military tribunal in Linz.

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**May 1945** : American troops led by General Mark W. Clark (who also served as High-Commissioner) enter the city, making Salzburg the headquarters of American occupied zones (Salzburg and Upper-Austria south of the Danube) .

Only a third (23) of the previously resident monks are able to return to the Cistercian Trappist Abbey of Engelszell, near Engelhartzell-an-der-Donau in the Innviertel, and continue their monastic life. The place of the missing monks is taken by 5 German Trappists expelled from the Abbey of Mariastern, of Banja Luka, in Bosnia, with their Abbot Bonaventura Diamant, to strengthen the convent. They look after the nursing home, which was set-up during the War.

The cultural reconstruction of Linz is counting on old structures - symphonic, operatic and theatrical - although many difficulties are encountered.

There are 2 professional symphonic orchestras in Linz : the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , which has been dissolved by the American occupation forces as a « Reich » German orchestra, and the Municipal Symphony Orchestra, which is not allowed to perform.

The Municipal Symphony Orchestra, which has shrunk from 104 musicians during the Nazi regime to only 39, is supposed to provide music for the city after 1945. 3 are reported to have been killed in combat, and 7 Czech musicians returned to their homeland this month. 13 SS-guards, who were conscripted to do emergency service by the Nazi regime, are arrested as prisoners-of-war by the Americans. The available musicians are used to support the American troops. The Theatre Orchestra hires the remaining ones. The municipal authorities undertake to maintain the Municipal Symphony Orchestra with at least 24 musicians and 1 conductor - both for theatre and concert-hall performances.

The « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » plays under different names during the dissolution process.

After the dismissal of theatre-director Ignaz Brantner, the « Landestheater » is re-opened for leasing again.

Conductor Ludwig Daxspurger becomes the « Man of the Moment » in Linz.

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Orchestral concerts go off to a slow start due to the lack of musicians. With the availability of several smaller halls, local and foreign soloists and chamber ensembles give numerous concerts, which are organized by the Cultural Office of the Magistrate.

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Robert Hohlbaum is expelled to the Soviet occupation zone, where he secures his livelihood as an assistant-gardener and goat herder for a few years - but remains faithful to his profession as a writer.

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**End of May 1945** : The output power of the « Funkhaus » radio transmitter in Vienna is increased to 200 Watts and, by **May 31**, to 500 Watts, which at least enables to supply the urban area.

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Film production as well as screening are prohibited in Upper-Austria in the first weeks after the War.

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**May, June 1945** : Eugen Jochum is in Munich. The conductor represents the first high-profile case to be processed by the American authorities. He conducted the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra during the War, with great success, earning ever-larger sums during this period. He was profiled in a war-time documentary film, and conducted in occupied France as a representative of the Third « Reich » .

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But Jochum is cleared by the American authorities, who select him to conduct the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.

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On his return to the monastery of St. Florian, Emil Seiler does not find his record collection of radio broadcasts with music by Igor Stravinsky and Paul Hindemith and others. Seiler's search for these invaluable sound recordings remained unsuccessful.

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**Saturday, 9 June 1945** : Stationed at the monastery of St. Florian, the Seiler Early-Music Ensemble (« Spielgemeinschaft Seiler ») is composed of Emil Seiler (violinist, violist, viola d'amore player, musicologist, pedagogue, composer and conductor) , Walter Gerwig (lutenist, choral conductor and composer) , Lisedore Häge (harpsichord) , Linde von Winterfeld (recorder) , Thea von Sparr (flute) and Werner Tietz (recorder) .

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Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer initially works as a freelance journalist in Stuttgart. He also holds various management positions at the Hesse Broadcasting Corporation (« Hessischer Rundfunk ») .

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**Wednesday, 13 June 1945** : Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt signs his contract and is appointed Radio Hamburg's founding



conductor.

The British and German collaboration quickly gathered momentum. Plans were put into practice immediately, and scouting teams were dispatched in military vehicles to POW camps across Germany and Austria to recruit musicians. Auditions were held in the unlikeliest of places. Candidates were provided with beaten-up instruments while their empty bellies rumbled. Accounts of the event describe an air of enthusiasm for the chance to start anew with little desire to dwell on the past. Just a few weeks later, musicians from all over the country were transported to Hamburg and rehearsals began. Among the new recruits were the well-known trio of concert-master Erich Röhn, viola player Reinhard Wolf, and cellist Arthur Troester, all hailing from the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. The 3 virtuosos were joined by former members of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » and musicians from the radio symphony orchestras of numerous former « Reichs-Sender ». The orchestra's first aim was to produce recordings for an increasing demand of the station's broadcasts.

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**Tuesday, 19 June 1945** : The « Oberösterreichischen Nachrichten » refers to a (recent or up-coming) concert by the Linz « Bruckner Choir » in the Carmelite Church (« Karmeliten-Kirche ») on « Landstraße » .

### Programme

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Heinrich Schütz, and Anton Bruckner, including ...

« Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 23**) .

...

A popular orchestral concert under the direction of « Kapellmeister » Willy Wickenhäuser is given for the American soldiers at the « Landestheater » .

### Programme

Overtures and Opera arias.

*Intermission*

Operetta melodies.

After the concert, the performers are questioned about their behaviour since the « Anschluß » (March 1938) .

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**Friday, 22 June 1945** : A report on the re-organization of the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra is prepared by «

Kapellmeister » Willy Wickenhäuser.

Flutist Emil Rameis continues to play with the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra until 1954. He also teaches at the Bruckner Conservatory.

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**Sunday, 24 June 1945** : After tough negotiations with the American occupational forces, so much space was created in the monastery that it is now possible for the acting Provost Leopold Hager and his Augustinian Canons Regular to finally return to St. Florian after 4 years of exile at the Abbey of Pulgarn near Steyregg.

The American authorities bring back Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger, the former acoustician and administrative director of the « St. Florian project » under « Reich » Broadcasting Intendant Doctor Heinrich Glasmeier.

The Americans have confiscated the funds of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») . Their commander has promised the monks that those funds are going to be made available to them for the re-building of the « Bruckner Organ » . However, soon there is a change of commanders and the new commander is not as musically inclined. Therefore, the monastery is forced to begin collections for funds for the renovation of the instrument. Organizations and individuals in the whole world contribute to this cause, including Bruno Walter.

On the occasion of the re-organization of the documents of the « Reich » Broadcasting Corporation (« Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft » , or RRG) in the archives of the monastery of St. Florian and the recent discovery of Johannes Hollnsteiner's estate, which is now in private hands, astonishing puzzle-pieces of his fate come to light : when the monastery of St. Florian is returned to the Augustinian Canons Regular, Hollnsteiner is living with his wife and daughter in the servants' quarters.

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**Early-summer 1945** : Johannes Hollnsteiner tries to re-establish contact with the Werfels (Franz and Alma) . It is the first personal message he is sending to his old friends since his arrest by the « Gestapo » at the monastery of St. Florian on March 30, 1938.

The explanation for his long silence is understandable :

« As my friendship with you, et al. , had been used as a reproach against me, I really didn't dare write to you without running the risk of putting myself once again into even greater danger. »

Hollnsteiner justifies his actions, explains the reasons for his resignation from the Augustinian Order, and reports on the experiences of the previous years.

From then on, Hollnsteiner is and remains a double traitor for the Werfels : in a political sense, but, above all, in a

religious one.

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**Summer 1945** (by October 1945 at the latest) : Repeat performances of the June concert by the Linz « Bruckner Choir » .

American troops take-over the premises of the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz. The monks return to resume monastic life. They immediately start to rebuild the school.

The Benedictine monks return to resume monastic life at the monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg.

The radio technicians of the « Funkhaus » at « Argentinier-Straße » Number 32 in the 4th District of Vienna are able to assemble a 10 Kilowatt transmitter from parts of damaged military transmitters, and put it into operation.

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**July 1945** : The a high-level disagreement between the British and the Americans over the « Jochum case » is based on a difference of perception :

The Americans consider that Eugen Jochum has done exceptionally well during the War, and that his 2 brothers, Georg-Ludwig and Otto, are fanatical Nazis. For their part, the British consider that he has never been a member of the Nazi Party, the SS or the S.A. They regard him, first and foremost, as a very talented conductor inspired by a deep Roman Catholicism, who never compromised his artistic integrity to please the regime.

Eugen Jochum is invited by the British, who have no sense that he might be compromised, to return to his former post in Hamburg. Jack Bomoff, the « Music Controller » of the Northwest German Radio (NWDR) , travels to Munich, where he meets Jochum ; together, they go on to Linz, where Bomoff also recruits a number of musicians from the now disbanded « “ Reich ” Bruckner Orchestra » , previously conducted by Jochum's brother, Georg-Ludwig. Eugen and the musicians from Linz return to Hamburg to help in the British-sponsored musical reconstruction there.

Operating licences are granted to all movie theatres in Upper-Austria. Separate regulations are applying to the northern part, which is occupied by the Soviet troops since July 31. Only 4 movie theatres in Linz can resume operations : the « Landestheater » , the « Lifka » , the « Klangfilm » and the cinema in Kleinmünchen. The bombings damaged the « Colosseum » , the « Atlantis » and the « Phoenix » movie theatres so badly that they remain closed for the time being.

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**Monday, 9 July 1945** : The Allies agree on the borders of their occupation zones. Salzburg and Upper-Austria south of the Danube are assigned to the American occupation zone.

During the occupation, which will last until 1955, Linz is a city divided in two. Democratic politicians begin building a

modern industrial and cultural city out of the ruins of the erstwhile « City of the “ Führer ” » .

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**Monday, 16 July 1945** : Church music concerts are making a come-back in Linz.

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**Thursday, 19 July 1945** : First film screening in a movie theatre in Linz since the end of the War.

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**Wednesday, 25 July 1945** : A variety-show is given at the « Landestheater » to entertain the American soldiers who are based in Linz.

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**Wednesday, 1 August 1945** : The monastery of St. Florian awards a contract to the organ-builder Wilhelm Zika from Ottensheim to continue the complete restoration (including expansion work) of the « Bruckner Organ » under the supervision of the Viennese expert Professor Josef Mertin, which was initiated at high-cost in 1942 by the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») .

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**August 1945** : Radio Hamburg is already broadcasting 10 hours of programmes on a daily base.

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**Thursday, 9 August 1945** : Sacred concert at the Old Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») in Linz.

Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 1 in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

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**Friday, 10 August 1945** : Repeat of yesterday's sacred concert at the Old Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») in Linz.

Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 1 in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 26) .

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

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Betrayed by 2 former Hitler Youth leaders to the Counter Intelligence Corps, August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube region, is captured by American troops under Lieutenant Lawrence F. Snowden near St. Pankraz in the Salzkammergut, along the Austrian and Italian border. During the first interrogations by the American Office of Strategic Services in Linz and at the U.S. Detailed Interrogation Centre in the town of Gmunden, Eigruber shows no sense of guilt. He claims that he always acted only on the orders of the « Reich » Ministries in Berlin, and rejects any responsibility for the crimes committed inside the Mauthausen concentration-camp near Linz and at the Euthanasia Centre in Hartheim Castle. However, witness testimony from survivors weighed heavily on him.

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**Monday, 13 August 1945** : The Monuments' Office of Upper-Austria is storing, among other things, in « Box XII » Anton Bruckner's autograph manuscripts from the archives of the Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster near Linz. The box will be sent to the extensive complex of salt mines in Altaussee, Styria.

17 music-sheets and 8 Bg. : Cantata.

1 music-sheet : « Afferentur regi » (Led to the King) , sacred motet in F major for mixed-choir (SATB) and 3 trombones « ad libitum » (**WAB 1**) .

1 music-sheet : For the Guardian Angels' Festival (« In Sancta Angelum custodem » - In the custody of the holy angel - **WAB 18 ?**) .

Full-score, and harmony score : « Germanenzug » , patriotic cantata based on a text by August Silberstein, for male-choir and brass (**WAB 70**) .

5 Bg. : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

16 Bg. : « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor, for mixed-choir, soloists, orchestra and organ (**WAB 29**) .

12 Bg. : Overture in G minor for orchestra (**WAB 98**) .

7 Bg. : Andante (from the Symphony in F minor, **WAB 99 ?**) .

28 Bg. : Other movements from the Symphony in F minor (**WAB 99**) ?

8 Bg. : Symphony No. 2 in C minor (**WAB 102**) .

18 Bg. : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (WAB 103) .

5 Bg. : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (WAB 104) .

2 Bg. : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (WAB 105) .

9 Bg. : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

3 Bg. : Symphony No. 7 in E major (WAB 107) .

22 Bg. : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Wednesday, 5 September 1945** : After the German citizens left Austria, German singers do the same.

The double-bass player Fritz Westermann leaves the city of Linz.

He writes about the end of the « Bruckner-Chor Sankt Florian des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » :

« When the Germans had to retreat from Austria, the choir was completely disbanded ; what was left of the choir then moved to Korntal near Stuttgart. »

The remaining singers clearly hope to be reinstated as the choir of a newly-established radio station in Stuttgart. Although these plans failed, the Linz « Bruckner Choir » will continue to perform for a few more years. 34 members stay in Linz until the fall.

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**1945** : The 3 radio towers (transmitters) of the German Broadcaster (« Deutschland-Sender ») erected around Berlin are destroyed and dismantled by the Red Army.

Leopold Nowak is appointed head of the musicology department of the Vienna Catholic Academy.

The « Gau » Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Gau-Symphonieorchester Niederdonau ») is renamed State Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Landes-Symphonie-Orchester Niederösterreich ») .

Life gradually gets back to normal in Linz with the re-opening of the radio station, the Upper-Austrian postal service, the movie theatres, the Provincial and District Courts and the Provincial High Court. The political parties are allowed to form in the U.S. occupation zone and the freedom of the press is restored.

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**Autumn 1945** : Re-opening of the school of the Cistercian monastery of Wilhering near Linz.

After spending one year in captivity as a prisoner-of-war, Johannes Rietz returns to Germany. He is warmly welcomed at the « Süd-Deutscher Rundfunk » (SDR) in Korntal near Stuttgart, as is the rest of the « Bruckner Choir » . He may hope to carry on working with the « Bruckner Choir » there, but some members of the choir no longer want to have him as their director.

Rietz nonetheless remains in Stuttgart, conducts the Stuttgart Choral Society and starts a second, very productive compositional phase. Besides chamber music, he writes « a cappella » compositions, songs and choral symphonic works, including some for the South German Radio, which will be performed by the South German Radio Choir.

Emil Seiler signs a contract as principal viola of the Salzburg « Mozarteum » Orchestra.

In Salzburg, he again meets Johann Nepomuk David, who had become director of the « Mozarteum » . Seiler turns to contemporary viola music once more.

After the 11 year prohibition of Paul Hindemith's music, Seiler is the first to perform one of Hindemith's compositions for a German radio station again.

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**Monday, 17 September 1945** : Start of the school year in Upper-Austria south of the Danube, which is part of the American occupation zone.

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**Saturday, 22 September 1945** : « Radio Hamburg » becomes the Northwest German Broadcasting Corporation (« Nord-West Deutscher Rundfunk » , or NWDR) , the British occupation zone's official broadcasting organisation set-up by Hugh Greene.

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**Monday, 24 September 1945** : Start of the school year in Upper-Austria north of the Danube.

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The Red Army lost 17,000 lives in the Battle of Vienna. Soviet troops engaged in systematic sexual violence against women, beginning in the first days and weeks after the Soviet victory. Repression against civilians harmed the Red Army's reputation to such an extent that, on **Friday, 28 September 1945**, Moscow issued an order forbidding violent interrogations.

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**October 1945** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, is transferred to the city of Nuremberg to testify before the International Military Tribunal.

Johannes Hollnsteiner is taken away by the chaplain of a U.S. Army division and transferred to the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg. He is not able to leave the camp, which is intended for former National-Socialists and war criminals, without having been convicted.

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**Wednesday, 10 October 1945** : The « Reich » Chamber of Culture is dissolved, and its assets confiscated by Law No. 2 of the Allied Control Council.

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**Wednesday, 17 October 1945** : Reconstitution of the Bruckner Association of Upper-Austria under its previous Chairman, Councilor Oskar Meiß-Teuffen. Ludwig Daxspurger is one of the founding members. The sponsorship is taken over by pianist « Frau » Gisela Göllerich, the widow of the late August Göllerich junior.

Letter from the School Councilor of Upper-Austria, Oskar Meiß-Teuffen, to the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian, Leopold Hager :

Councilor Meiß-Teuffen talks about the legacy of the Radio Broadcasting Corporation of the Greater Germany (« Groß-Deutscher Rundfunk ») at the monastery, and the role of the Bruckner Society in the « Land » (Upper-Austria) .

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Ludwig Daxspurger will conduct the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz. **from 1945 to 1965.**

Provost Leopold Hager entrusted the conductor (« regens chori ») and organist Johann Krichbaum with the task of resurrecting the convent of the Boys' Choir. An entry examination is held at the monastery of St. Florian, and 14 new young singers are accepted. Their training includes choir and choral singing, violin and piano lessons. In the same year, the traditional costume with white sailor blouses is introduced.

Hager, a deeply artistic man, was involved in the renovation of the « Bruckner Organ » . It is to his credit that the work was completed in 1951. For several years, he held the office of President of the « International Bruckner Society » , receiving public honours.

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**Saturday, 20 October 1945** : The re-establishment of the Bruckner Association for Upper-Austria is approved.

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**October-November 1945** : The « hair-cutting squad » in Linz, comprising hundreds of former Hitler Youth, meets every Saturday at « Wiener-Straße » Number 150 to threaten women who allegedly have close contact with American soldiers.

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**November 1945** : After further investigation, the American authorities now describe conductors Eugen Jochum and Hans Knappertsbusch as « Nazi parade horses » .

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The North German Radio Symphony Orchestra (« NWDR-Sinfonieorchester ») plays its inaugural concert in Hamburg under music-director Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt.

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**Thursday, 13 to Thursday, 20 December 1945** : Exchange period of « Reich » Marks for the new Austrian Schillings.

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**Friday, 21 December 1945** : Introduction of the new Austrian Schilling. Only old notes under 5 « Reich » Marks and old coins remain valid for the time being.

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**Monday, 31 December 1945** : 375,000 foreigners have left Upper-Austria since last May.

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Severely affected by numerous bombing raids in 1944 and 1945, the city of Linz only slowly recovers from its wounds after the end of the War. In addition to many human tragedies, this also means the end of formative buildings such as the « Volksgarten-Salon » . Although a reconstruction is planned, it is finally decided in 1952 to demolish this much-loved venue.

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**Winter of 1945-1946** : Anton Kubizek is arrested by American forces and held at the Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg, where he is imprisoned and interrogated by the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command. His home is searched, but the Hitler correspondence and drawings are not found. Kubizek is finally released on April 8, 1947.

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Heinrich Glasmeier is officially pronounced dead without his body being found. Until the end, he remained alien to radio broadcasting and he could not gain anything more from it than a quantitative aspect, which, in his eyes, could at least be used to propagate his beloved archival work. Ultimately, his imperial, educated, bourgeois idea of culture never developed any further. He wanted to use the most modern medium of the time to propagate backward-looking social and cultural ideals. Disempowered by Josef Gœbbels, he devoted himself to more and more unrealistic ideas far away from the « Reich » capital.

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**1945-1948** : Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg is appointed general music-director and chief-conductor in Lübeck.

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**After 1945** :Vinzenz Goller lives for a while with his brother Pius in the town of Brixen, South Tyrol.

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**1946** : The United States has some 14,000 soldiers in Austria. Their mission is « to establish a free and independent Austria with a sound economy, capable of ensuring an adequate standard of living » .

Establishing democratic institutions entailed the « denazification » of Austria.

U.S. General Mark W. Clark hands control of the Iron and Steel Works in Linz over to the first Federal Chancellor Leopold Figl.

The pianist and Nazi sympathizer « Frau » Gisela Göllerich, the widow of the late August Göllerich junior, dies in Linz (exact date and place are unknown) .

Conductor Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg looks in vain for a post in West-Germany. He decides to move to the Soviet occupation zone which also offers no future for him.

Among the new additions, Clytus Gottwald joins the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz.

The former clarinetist of the « Linzer Reichs-Bruckner Orchester des Groß-Deutschen Rundfunks » , Franz Hammerla, along with 21 other musicians create the North-West-German Philharmonic Orchestra in Bad Pyrmont, in Lower-Saxony.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum is appointed music-director « for life » of the Duisburg Symphony Orchestra in Wetsfalia, becoming a defining figure for the cultural life of the city. He will also head the music conservatory until 1958.

Tied to the « Tonkünstler » tradition, the State Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Landes-Symphonie-Orchester Niederösterreich ») is renamed the Lower-Austrian « Tonkünstler » Orchestra (« Niederösterreichisches Tonkünstler-Orchester ») . Numerous concerts are held in Lower-Austria, primarily in Vienna. The tradition of Sunday afternoon concerts are also revived.

After a popular decision in Saxony, the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company is handed over to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (« Sozial-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands » , or SPD) , and is renamed the « Deutsche Graphische Werkstätten » .

After the death of his wife Maria Josefa, Vinzenz Goller spends some time with his siblings in South Tyrol.

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When they returned to St. Florian, the Augustinian Canons Regular were « de facto » , once again, masters of their own domain. However, due to the « Transition Act » which had been introduced by the « Gestapo » to the « Reich-Gau » of the Upper-Danube on **November 22, 1941**, the Office of new « denazified » provincial government still has

the administrative sovereignty over the assets of the monastery.

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**Tuesday, 1 January 1946** : Sacred concert given at the Ursuline Church located at « Landstraße » Number 31 in Linz.

Josef Kronsteiner conducts the Choir of the Linz Cathedral.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Missa solemnis » in B-flat minor, for mixed-choir, soloists, orchestra and organ (WAB 29) .

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**January 1946** : The number of American soldiers who occupy the building complex of the monastery of St. Florian is reduced to 90.

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Herbert von Karajan gives his first post-War concert in Vienna.

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**Sunday, 13 January 1946** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Herbert von Karajan conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 104 in D major, « Salomon » (Hoboken I:104) (1795) .

Richard Strauß : « Don Juan » , based on Nikolaus Lenau's dramatic poem, Tone-poem for large orchestra, Opus 20.

### Intermission

Johannes Brahms : Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Opus 68.

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Karajan is banned from further conducting by the Soviet occupation authorities because of his Nazi Party membership.

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**End of January 1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler leaves for Vienna in response to an invitation to conduct there - significantly, not on his own initiative.

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**Thursday, 31 January 1946** (6:30 pm) : Ninth « Gewandhaus » subscription-concert of the 1945-1946 season given at the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig.

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Choir and Orchestra.

Soloists : Gertrud Birmele (soprano) , Lotte Wolf-Matthäus (alto) , Gert Lutze (tenor) , Richard Franz Schmidt (bass-baritone) .

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Mass No. 6 in E-flat major for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir (SATB) and orchestra (D. 950) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

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**Wednesday, 6 to Thursday, 7 February 1946** : For some unknown reason, Wilhelm Furtwängler is detained for a night in the tyrolean town of Innsbruck, in the French occupation zone. Furtwängler's note-books show that he took this opportunity to write an essay on « symphonic music » .

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**Friday, 8 February 1946** : Musicologist Robert Haas, the chief-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works, is relieved from all offices because of his Nazi connections. He will not be authorized to teach.

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**Monday, 11 February 1946** : Letter from former chief-editor Robert Haas to Professor Max Auer :

Last Friday, Haas has been relieved from all offices. He now asks for support, since the entire « Critical Edition » is at risk.

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**Tuesday, 12 February 1946** : The Official Journal of the « Wiener Zeitung » reports the re-activation of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna.

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**Wednesday, 13 February 1946** : Herbert von Karajan is prohibited from conducting because he is a member of the N.S.D.A.P.

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**February 1946** : Brigadier General Robert A. McClure announces Wilhelm Furtwängler's black-listing to be enforced across all zones and sectors of Germany :

« It is an indisputable fact that through his activities, Furtwängler was prominently identified with Nazi Germany. By allowing himself to become a tool of the Party, he lent an aura of respectability to the circle of men who are now on trial at Nuremberg for crimes against humanity. He not only held office under the Nazis, but also was an advisor to the Propaganda Ministry and lent his name to tours abroad sponsored by Goebbels. It is inconceivable that he should be allowed to occupy a leading position in Germany, at a time when we are attempting to wipe-out every trace of Nazism. »

If Furtwängler is found guilty of anything, he can almost certainly be fined, imprisoned and/or deprived even further of his civil rights.

The violinist Yehudi Menuhin sends a wire to Brigadier General McClure :

« Unless you have secret incriminating evidence against Furtwängler supporting your accusation that he was a tool of Nazi Party, I beg to take violent issue with your decision to ban him. The man never was a Party member. Upon numerous occasions, he risked his own safety and reputation to protect friends and colleagues. Do not believe that the fact of remaining in one's own country is alone sufficient to condemn a man. On the contrary, as a military man, you would know that remaining at one's post often requires greater courage than running away. He saved, and for that we are deeply his debtors, the best part of his own German culture. (...) I believe it patently unjust and most cowardly for us to make of Furtwängler a scapegoat for our own crimes. »

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**Monday, 18 February 1946** : August Eigruber, the « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, is brought, among 61 other prisoners whose actions are related to Mauthausen concentration-camps near Linz and war crimes, from Nuremberg to the American Military Tribunal in Dachau, and turned over to Lieutenant Paul Guth for interrogation.

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**Monday, 25 February 1946** : Article in the « Wiener Kurier » concerning the re-organization of the « International Bruckner Society » (provisional board-members : Max Auer, Norbert Furreg, Ferdinand Habel, Rudolf Holzer) and the continuation of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

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**Friday, 1 March 1946** : Leopold Nowak becomes a member of the Commission for Music Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, succeeds Robert Haas as head of the music collection of the Austrian National Library, and is appointed chief-editor of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») of Anton Bruckner's works.

Nowak has been working on the « Complete Critical Edition » since 1937. He criticized Haas's problematic editorial

policy, and rather than supplementing the work Haas had begun. He now makes it a policy to publish as many of Bruckner's revisions as possible, including 3 versions of the Third and Fourth Symphonies and 2 each of the First, Second and Eighth. But Nowak will continue the policy of ignoring the early printed scores and, for most of the 20th Century, with few exceptions, they remained on the library shelf.

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**Tuesday, 5 March 1946** : Article 4 of the « Law for the elimination of National-Socialism and militarism » defines the levels of responsibility :

**Category I** : « Hauptschuldige » - main guilty persons.

**Category II** : « Belastete » - important charges.

**Category III** : « Minder-Belastete » - minor charges.

**Category IV** : « Mitläufer » , or followers - possible restrictions on travel, employment, political rights, plus fines.

**Category V** : « Entlastete » , or exonerated persons - no sanctions.

« Nicht betroffen » : persons « not concerned » by this law - no charges are brought against them.

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**Wednesday, 6 March 1946** : Franz Kinzl is released from the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg. He then moves with his wife and his brother Fritz to the town of Stadl-Paura (at Number 91) near Wels, where he establishes a music teachers' orchestra.

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**Thursday, 7 March 1946** : Article by Professor Max Auer entitled « What they wanted to make of St. Florian » published in the « Oberösterreichischen Nachrichten » .

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**Friday, 8 March 1946** : Repeat of the March 7th extraordinary symphonic concert given for the Hitler Youth.

Professor Leopold Reichwein conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 6 in F major, « Pastorale » , Opus 68.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major, original version of 1881 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 106) .

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**March 1946** : The Theatre and Music sub-committee for denazification is supervised by a new secretary : George Clare, a British army sergeant whose real name is Georg Klaar - a Viennese Jew exiled from Germany in 1938, at the age of 17. Clare is put in charge of the « Furtwängler case » . The British major Kaye Sely, his superior, gives him 4 weeks to write a report.

Meanwhile, the Austrian denazification trials begin in Vienna.

The process flows fairly smoothly, as the authorities there promptly proceed to set-up a Commission to study the political background of prospective artists, producers, conductors, and stage personnel for the newly-reorganized Vienna State Opera and the « Burgtheater » .

The history of Wilhelm Furtwängler under the Nazis is carefully reviewed.

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**Saturday, 9 March 1946** : The Austrian Commission comes to 2 conclusions on Furtwängler :

1) He was never a member of the Nazi Party or any of the organizations subsidiary to the Party. In a number of instances, he proved himself to be a definite opponent of the Nazi philosophy of life and cultural policy, and he took this stand regardless of personal and professional disadvantages to himself.

2) The resumption of his activities would contribute greatly to the reconstruction of musical life in Austria.

So, Furtwängler receives permission to conduct in Austria. The government offers him the Austrian citizenship, but he feels that it would be inappropriate for a « representative figure » of Germany to accept this proposition.

Furtwängler now wants to return to Berlin.

The Allied Commandatura in Germany rejected the Austrian commission's findings and decided that Furtwängler would also have to prove himself guiltless in Berlin. This development followed word reaching the Americans that the Austrians were lenient with Furtwängler because he had made some sort of deal with them in order to become an Austrian citizen. A switch in citizenship would certainly have made everything easier for Furtwängler in his present situation.

But he later said :

« I always regarded myself as a German and an international representative of German music, and I am regarded as such now. »

Had he been deprived of his German citizenship, as Bruno Walter and Thomas Mann had been, he would have seriously considered the passport the Austrians were offering him. But he had remained in Germany on firm convictions about his German identity when expedient options were open to him. Now that the integrity of that identity was being challenged, he was determined to remain a German while he was under fire.

If Furtwängler was not going to take the easy way out, he had no idea how arduous the path left to him would be. Now that the Allies had rejected the Austrian Commission's findings about his innocence of any culpability in the Third « Reich », his status was still that of a suspected war criminal. Under no circumstances could Furtwängler resume his activities as a musician in Germany until his case was acted upon by the Allied Commandatura in Berlin.

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**Sunday, 10 March 1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler flies to Berlin in a military aircraft placed at his disposal by the Soviet authorities. Welcomed as a « head of state », he gives a conference in East-Berlin, surrounded by Soviet dignitaries.

Given the cultural competition that exists between the occupation zones, the presence of the « greatest conductor in the world » (as Arsenyi Gouliga likes to call him) is seen as a formidable opportunity by the high-authorities in Moscow. The Soviets want him to lead a great cultural policy in Berlin. He is offered the post of director of the Berlin State Opera (« Staatsoper Unter den Linden »), which is now part of the Soviet occupation zone.

But this Berlin escapade hardly pleases Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, who immediately bans Furtwängler from conducting. The Maestro returns to Switzerland and accepts to be tried in Berlin by another denazification court.

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**Friday, 15 March 1946** : Letter from Prelate Leopold Hager of St. Florian to Professor Max Auer of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Hager worries about a possible performance of the Ninth Symphony in the Collegiate Church, but especially in the Presbytery. This reminds him too much of the Bruckner concerts under the Nazi regime. If Professor Auer, who cites other reasons, could agree on something with Josephus Calasanctius Fließer, the new Bishop of Linz, he, Hager, would support the decision, but would not apply for it himself. (See : 8 July 1946)

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The same day, the denazification trial of Herbert von Karajan begins in Vienna. The conductor argues that he joined the Nazi Party to further his career. He could not escape his obligation as Aachen's general music-director to provide the musical background for political occasions.

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**Monday, 18 March 1946** : Cleared of illegal activity during the Nazi period, Herbert von Karajan is discharged by the Austrian denazification examining board. He resumes his conducting career shortly afterwards.



Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt will say of Karajan's Nazi Party membership-card :

« Karajan was obviously not a Nazi. He was a “ Mitläufer ” (follower) . »

Category IV : Followers (« Mitläufer ») ; possible restrictions on travel, employment, political rights, plus fines.

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**Friday, 29 March to Monday, 13 May 1946** : The trial of personnel from Mauthausen-Gusen takes place in the Dachau concentration-camp.

Among the accused are 61 former members of the camp's administration and the former « Gauleiter » August Eigruber who is particularly proud to represent the Upper-Austrian region where Adolf Hitler was born (the town of Braunau-am-Inn near Linz) .

The defendants are charged with « violations of the laws and usages of war » , a charge which encompassed among other things murder, torture, beating and starving the inmates.

During his interrogations, Eigruber states to the Americans that, due of his poor education, he had no past experience in dealing with state administration. He points out that it would have taken him 3 years of training to finally be able to perform his duties correctly. It is for this reason that he called upon the help of professionals who were opposed to National-Socialism.

Eigruber sarcastically asks the American investigators, including U.S. prosecutor William Denson :

« Who were the best-paid members of the Vienna Boys' Choir ? »

And answers :

« The members of the (Nazi) “ Reichstag ”.

Once a year, they get up, sing the “ Horst-Wessel-Lied ” and receive 500 “ Reich ” Marks a month for it. »

After 6 weeks, all 61 defendants are found guilty : 58 are sentenced to death by hanging (9 are later paroled, and their sentences are changed to life imprisonment) , whilst 3 are sentenced to life imprisonment.

All the death sentences are carried out on May 27 and 28, 1947, at the Prison of Landsberg-am-Lech in the south-west of Bavaria.

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At the instigation of Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, an Information Services Directorate is set-up within the «

Allied Control Council » (the governing body of the Allied occupation zones in Germany and Allied-occupied Austria) , which operates from Berlin-Dahlem.

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**Early-April 1946** : Creation of a Theatre and Music sub-committee for denazification under the supervision of the « Allied Control Council » in Berlin-Dahlem. Its office is located on « Schlütter-Straße » , off the « Kurfürstendamm » in the British occupation zone. The Secretariat is provided by the Intelligence Section of British Information Services. The mandate is to establish the list of 250,000 members of the « Reich » Chamber of Music and to supervise the Court of arbitration : the « Spruch-Kammer » .

Brigadier General Robert A. McClure's most pressing concern in music control is with the denazification of musicians, and with securing a common Allied approach to this. He was a dedicated anti-Nazi, and he viewed the purging of Nazis from German cultural life as a mission, believing that a higher-standard should prevail there than in other areas of public life. McClure, and others in the American Information Control Division, viewed the public performance of music as an act of great ritual significance, and they did not want to see former Nazis, regardless of the music they played, being applauded by German audiences. They went further than the other Allies in wishing, also, to exclude many who had been professionally successful under Adolf Hitler, arguing that they were compromised solely because of this. The other occupiers balanced their fierce hostility to former Nazis with a pragmatic desire to employ gifted and popular musicians in their own occupation zones, and all were sensitive to the enormous benefits that might accrue from allowing them to perform in public. The Americans also realized one implication of this, the opprobrium that would fall on them if they were perceived to be harsher than other occupiers, particularly when intervening in the hallowed area of « German music » .

The Allies start legal proceedings against Wilhelm Furtwängler in Berlin. The Maestro receives a message ordering him to submit a memorandum about himself to the Denazification Tribunal for Artists. Furtwängler also receives the « Fragebögen » , an extensive questionnaire that everybody is required to fill-out.

Furtwängler complies immediately and submits both the completed questionnaire and the memorandum about himself, but he is unable to learn when his case can be heard. Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, who is in charge of the Information Control Service for the Allies, informs Curt Riess that « a mistake » has been made in Furtwängler's case. McClure promises Riess that Furtwängler will be able to work again « in about 4 weeks » .

2 of the main people who are preparing Furtwängler's defense for his denazification trial are 2 German Jews who had to flee the Nazi regime : his secretary Berta Geißmar and Curt Riess. The two have very different backgrounds. Berta Geißmar knows Furtwängler personally and has witnessed everything he did at the start of the Nazi period ; she left Germany in 1936 but returned from exile. Curt Riess does not know Furtwängler at all, and initially has a very negative outlook on the conductor. Geißmar has collected hundreds of files to prepare the conductor's defense, files which contain a list of over 80 Jewish and non-Jewish people who have claimed to have been helped or saved by him. This list is not exhaustive, but it concerns cases where Geißmar has managed to find indisputable concrete evidence. Among the many people involved are Communists, Social-Democrats, as well as former Nazis whom the regime has

turned against. Berta Geißmar has forwarded the documents to Brigadier General Robert A. McClure in charge of the Furtwängler trial, but the documents have mysteriously disappeared in Berlin, when they are to be handed over to the general of the American occupation zone. (Curt Riess also did not find these documents in the Washington archives.) Furtwängler, therefore, finds himself without a means of proving the help he has given to many people.

McClure is forced to pass Wilhelm Furtwängler by the normal denazification procedure. He explains to Curt Riess, by telephone, that otherwise it gives the impression that the Americans have ceded to the Soviets on the Furtwängler file. The American authorities know that the conductor will necessarily be cleared by the denazification court and the Soviet authorities declare that this trial makes no sense and is « ridiculous ». Thus, with the back-drop of the « Cold War », Furtwängler, who absolutely wants to recover the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra which is in the British occupation zone, is obliged to go through the denazification court. Furtwängler is thus required to submit to a process of denazification.

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**April 1946** : Meeting of the Theatre and Music sub-committee for denazification. Secretary George Clare brings up the « Furtwängler case ». The representatives of the 4 victorious powers want the rehabilitation of the Maestro, because they know that he is not a Nazi.

Arsenyi Gouliga, the representative of the Soviet Union, declares :

« It is ridiculous to request that the “ greatest conductor in the world ” should stand in line like anyone else. This whole thing is, in any case, quite useless. »

The other 3 powers, however, are of the opinion that Furtwängler should be tried quickly - on the same basis as any other musician. The common denazification procedure can begin but Furtwängler must wait 6 months before going in front of the Court of arbitration.

Commentators have viewed this as the malevolence of the U.S. authorities who declare :

« The Furtwängler trial was supposed to be a pyre. »

The autonomy of the Court of arbitration is defended by the German secretary and principal judge Hans Wolfgang Schmidt (a lawyer) along with the Soviet chairman Alex Vogel.

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**Tuesday, 23 April 1946** : The U.S. Military government ends its activities at Linz City Hall.

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**May 1946** : Performance in Linz of sacred motets dedicated to the Virgin Mary at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (« Neuer Dom ») , which was damaged by an Allied air-raid on January 20, 1945.

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**Saturday, 11 May 1946** : Doctor Joseph Calasanctius Fließer is appointed by Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) as the new Bishop of the Diocese of Linz.

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**Friday, 31 May 1946** : Death of the Viennese conductor Hermann Haböck, the last student of Anton Bruckner.

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**June 1946** : The rehabilitation of Doctor Friedrich Castelle is rejected because he is a member of the Nazi Party and holds key-positions.

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**Sunday, 23 June 1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler writes to Doctor Carl Jung :

« Taschner made some very “ negative ” remarks about the orchestra and myself. (...) »

Gerhard Taschner was named first violin of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra by Furtwängler.

Furtwängler writes to Taschner the same day :

« What you said during my denazification was not very nice but, for me, it is now forgotten. (...) »

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**Friday, 28 June 1946** : The Allies sign the Second Control Agreement that loosen their dominance over the Austrian government. The Parliament is « de facto » relieved of Allied control. From now on, its decision can be over-turned only by unanimous vote by all 4 victorious powers.

That same day, a special concert is given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Volkmar Andreæ conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the presence of the first Federal President of the Second Republic, Doctor Karl Renner.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

President Renner will die in Vienna on December 31 1950.

Maestro Andreæ is the chief-conductor of the « Tonhalle-Orchester » in Zürich.

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**Monday, 8 July 1946** : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the « Bruckner-Verlag GmbH » (previously named « Musicological Publishers ») , to Professor Max Auer :

(Presumed content) The newly-appointed Bishop of Linz, Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließner, has rejected a request by Professor Auer to perform Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony in the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

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**Early-July 1946** : Still no word about the date of Wilhelm Furtwängler's denazification trial. The long delay most likely stems from a very large number of cases to be tried and the time required to collect all the elements of the case.

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**Monday, 22 July 1946** : Franz Kinzl, the head of the « Reich » Chamber of Culture for the « Gau » of Upper-Danube, is put under arrest again. The charges of the People's Court concern his illegal activities as a Nazi sympathizer in the town of Atzbach near Schwandenstadt, Upper-Austria, and shortly after the « Anschluß » when he deposed the Mayor of Hirschbach near Freistadt. The Court also denounces him by various accusations, which lead to his first arrestation.

### Bruckner festival, Linz and St. Florian (1946)

**Friday, 26 to Sunday, 28 July 1946** : The Bruckner festival is held in Linz and St. Florian.

Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , takes part in the festival as a special guest of the monastery of St. Florian.

Among the works that will be performed during the festival :

« Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 23**) .

Mass No. 2 in E minor for 8 part mixed-choir and wind ensemble (**WAB 27**) .

String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) .

(?) Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (**WAB 103**) .

Symphony No. 8 in C minor (**WAB 108**) .

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**Friday, 26 July 1946** : Day one of the Bruckner festival in Linz.

Concert given at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located on « Landstraße » . Presently, the « Landestheater » is not in the best of conditions due to the extensive damage caused by the Allied air-strikes in late-February.

Professor Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Linz Municipal Symphony Orchestra.

Featured choral ensembles : the Linz Cathedral Choir, the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » , the Linz « Bruckner Choir » .

Soloists : Irmgard Seefried (soprano) , Else Schürhoff (contralto) , Anton Dermota (tenor) , Herbert Alsen (bass) .

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 28)

*Intermission*

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (WAB 45) .

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**Saturday, 27 July 1946** : Day two of the Bruckner festival in Linz.

Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , gives a commemorative speech in the ceremonial hall of the Upper-Austrian House of Parliament on « Landhaus-Platz » .

...

Concert given at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) located on « Landstraße » . Presently, the « Landestheater » is not in the best of conditions due to the extensive damage caused by the Allied air-strikes in late-February.

Volkmar Andreæ conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 8 in F major, Opus 93.

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, original version of 1878 edited by Robert Haas in 1935 (WAB 105)

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**Sunday, 28 July 1946** : Day three of the Bruckner festival in St. Florian.

Concert given at the Imperial Marble Hall (« Kaiserliche Marmor-Saal ») of the monastery.

Volkmar Andreae conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 7 (8) in B minor (« Unfinished ») , D. 759.

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major, 1885 revised version edited by Albert J. Gutmann (WAB 107) .

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Letter from Swiss composer and choir-master Hermann Lang (Lausanne) to Volkmar Andreae :

Lang congratulates conductor Andreae on his performance of the Seventh Symphony at the festival.

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**1 to 31 August 1946** : Black-listed pending his denazification, Herbert von Karajan participates anonymously in the Salzburg Festival.

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**Saturday, 3 August 1946** : Letter from Professor Max Auer (Bad Ischl) , the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , to Leopold Hager, the Provost of the monastery of St. Florian :

President Auer went for a few days in the spa-town of Gallsbach, in the green heart of Upper-Austria, for a water-cure. Unfortunately, he was not able to thank the authorities of the monastery sooner for their gracious hospitality during the last Bruckner festival (July 26 to 28) .

« This was a wonderful prelude to the new era of the Bruckner movement. »

Also, greetings to Doctor Lindinger and Professor Ludwig Daxspurger.

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**Monday, 19 August 1946** : Letter from Volkmar Andreæ to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Volkmar Andreæ, the chief-conductor of the « Tonhalle-Orchester » in Zürich, welcomes President Auer's plans to perform Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian, but problems arose in 1944 during a performance at the Jesuit Church (« Jesuiten-Kirche ») in Lucerne.

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**Thursday, 3 October 1946** (6:30 pm) : Fourth « Gewandhaus » subscription-concert of the 1946-1947 season (celebrating the 50th anniversary of the death of Anton Bruckner) given at the Capitol movie theatre in Leipzig.

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Choir and Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : « Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , sacred motet in D minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 11**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Locus iste » (This place) , sacred motet in C major for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 23**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Os justi meditabitur sapientiam » (The mouth of the righteous) , sacred motet in F major (Lydian mode) for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 30**) .

Anton Bruckner : « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) , sacred motet in E minor for « a cappella » mixed-choir (**WAB 52**) .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1878-1880 version (**WAB 104**) .

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**Sunday, 6 October 1946** : Doctor Joseph Calasanctius Fließner is consecrated as the new Bishop of the Diocese of Linz on the occasion of an enthronement mass which is celebrated at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (« Neuer Dom ») , after being closed for 20 consecutive months.

Revival of the Sunday afternoon concerts in Vienna's « Konzerthaus » with a « Bruckner Memorial Concert » featuring the State Symphony Orchestra of Lower-Austria (« Niederösterreichisches Landes-Symphonie-Orchester ») .



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**Friday, 11 October 1946** : Special anniversary-concert in Linz honouring the death of Anton Bruckner (given at the large ceremonial hall (ballroom) of the « Palais Kaufmännischer Verein » (House of the Traders' Society) on « Landstraße » ?) .

Ludwig Daxspurger conducts the Linz « Bruckner Choir » and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Soloists : Irmgard Seefried (soprano) , Else Schürhoff (contralto) , Anton Dermota (tenor) , Herbert Alsen (bass) .

### Programme

Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) .

### *Intermission*

« Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

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**October 1946** : John Bitter, the head of Berlin's Theatre and Music section, writes in a report :

« Furtwängler will be permitted the use of a lawyer, but for advice only. He must do all the talking himself. »

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**Early-November 1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler sets out for Wiesbaden when he learns that his case may really be scheduled soon. He goes there to discuss and prepare his case with the American Occupation Authorities.

« Frau » Elisabeth Furtwängler recalls :

« The weather was frightfully cold. He told me there was no heat in the house where he stayed with friends, and he had to sleep with his overcoat and several blankets. He was lucky he did not catch influenza or something like that because he was prone to such illness. But some of the American authorities charged with assisting him for his day in court - as distinguished from those who were charged with building a case against him - were very helpful, and there were several people high up on the American staff who knew about his case and wanted to help him. »

Helpful as he may have thought these Americans had been, they were not nearly helpful enough. What is more, he was soon to learn that the sympathetic treatment he received from those he met in Wiesbaden was hardly being imparted by some of their colleagues in Berlin where the denazification trial would take place.

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**Thursday, 21 November 1946** (6:30 pm) : Eighth « Gewandhaus » subscription-concert of the 1946-1947 season given at the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig.

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Choir and Orchestra.

Soloists : Gertrud Birmele (soprano) , Lotte Wolf-Matthäus (alto) , Gert Lutze (tenor) , Friedrich Härtel (bass) .

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor (original version) for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) - first performance at the « Gewandhaus » .

### *Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : « Te Deum » for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 45**) .

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Just before the beginning of the denazification trial of Wilhelm Furtwängler, Karl Fischer-Walden, a member of the Tribunal for Artists, gives his resignation (the withdrawal will discreetly be mentioned in « Der Kurier » while the trial is in progress) , prompting a scandal that threatens to disrupt the proceedings.

Fischer-Walden's decision is prompted by what he perceives to be unethical behaviour on the part of the Allies :

« (Fischer-Walden) based his decision (to resign from the Tribunal) as a protest against the composition of the Commission, which must deal with Furtwängler's case. »

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**Tuesday, 10 December 1946** : Karl Fischer-Walden claims that the Commission is being convened for a preliminary discussion, whose purpose is to influence the Commission unilaterally. It is customary to give members of the Commission a few days before the proceedings to examine information about a case. In Furtwängler's case, there has (apparently) been a departure from this practice.

In other words, the Commission is being denied the information it needs to conduct a thorough investigation of Furtwängler's case. If they cannot induce him to be hoist by his own petard, can the Americans have wanted to « frame » Furtwängler ? Fischer-Walden's resignation leaves little doubt about it among Germans, and it gives the circus atmosphere of the trial an added gist of imposture. But the potential conflagration is quickly quashed : someone else is hastily summoned to join the Tribunal.

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**Wednesday morning, 11 December 1946** : Day one of the Furtwängler trial in Berlin.

The Tribunal for Artists - which is composed of 5 men, 2 women, Soviet chairman Alex Vogel and German principal judge Hans Wolfgang Schmidt - assembles in Room 304 on « Schlütter-Straße » , off the « Kurfürstendamm » in the British occupation zone.

Prominent people in the arts, the foreign press corps, musicians of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, clutches of photographers, radio engineers laying down wire and microphones, singers, actors, and a few of the general public who managed to obtain passes pack the small trial chamber. Outside, people unable to get-in assemble and mutter to each other. Most of them feel the denazification process is stupid and insulting. Others complain bitterly that Furtwängler's trial (though it is not officially called a « trial ») has been played up while the inquiries into other artists who have been extremely cooperative with the Nazis are being virtually ignored by the press.

The charges against him are very low.

Furtwängler is charged with having conducted 2 official Nazi concerts during the period 1933-1945. (He also appeared in only 2 short Nazi propaganda films.) Furtwängler declares that, for 2 concerts that has been « extorted » from him, he has avoided 60 of them. He also states that he knew an attack was being organized against Adolf Hitler, although he did not participate in its organization. The first concert was for the Hitler Youth on 3 February 1938. It was presented to Furtwängler as a way to acquaint younger generations with Classical music.

According to musicologist Fred K. Prieberg :

« When he (Furtwängler) looked at the audience, he realized that this was more than just a concert for school kids in uniform ; a whole collection of prominent political figures were sitting there as well (...) and it was the last time he raised his baton for this purpose. »

The second concert was the performance of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra on 5 September 1938, on the evening before the Nazi Congress in Nuremberg. Furtwängler had agreed to conduct this concert to help preserve the Philharmonic, and, at his insistence, the concert was not part of the congress.

Calling for order in the crowded over-heated room (Americans were the first to restore heating and plumbing after the war ...) , Alex Vogel reads a short summary of Furtwängler's case :

« The investigations showed that Furtwängler had not been a member of any National-Socialist organization, that he tried to help people persecuted because of their race, and that he also avoided certain outward formalities, such as giving the Hitler salute after concerts attended by Hitler. »

Secretary George Clare finds judge Schmidt to be unpleasantly close to Doctor Josef Goebbels, both in his appearance

and - more significantly - in his ability to hate with fanatical intensity.

Again according to Clare, Schmidt's interrogations are sometimes too much like those of the « Gestapo » .

Furtwängler is being tried as a Nazi :

« In the first place (...) in his musical activities, he had served the Nazi regime ; in the second place, during a dispute with another German composer, he was reported to have said, “ Sabata, the Jew, couldn't play Brahms ” ; in the third place, at a National-Socialist Party rally in Nuremberg, he conducted the opening overture ; and, in the fourth place, he was a member of the Prussian State Council. »

Furtwängler is charged for his honorary title of « Prussian State Counselor » (« Preußischer Staats-Rat » - he had resigned from this title in 1934, but the Nazis had refused his resignation) and with making an anti-Semitic remark against the part-Jewish Italian conductor Victor de Sabata.

The prosecution believes it has something more substantial because Hans von Benda, a former member of the Nazi Party who has been the artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra during the Nazi period and has, therefore, been in constant contact with Furtwängler for many years, absolutely wants to testify to accuse Furtwängler of anti-Semitism.

He says he heard, during an argument with another German musician, that Furtwängler allegedly said :

« A Jew like Sabata cannot play Brahms' music. »

This story soon becomes ridiculous : Furtwängler has played Brahms' music with many Jewish musicians (especially those from his orchestra) . This is either a mistake or a misunderstanding : Furtwängler probably has no anti-Semitic feelings towards Sabata who has been his friend. On the other hand, Hans von Benda is forced to admit that he was not directly present when Furtwängler allegedly spoke these words, and his testimony is therefore not taken seriously by the prosecution.

The reason for Hans von Benda's behaviour is as follows : he has been dismissed from his post as artistic director of the Berlin Orchestra on 22 December 1939 for numerous serious professional misconduct. He has wished to take the opportunity of the lawsuit for take revenge on Furtwängler, considering him responsible for his dismissal because he would have supported Herbert von Karajan, a version very strongly contested by Furtwängler and his wife Elisabeth. Moreover, historian Fred K. Prieberg has proved that, on the contrary, Hans von Benda has never ceased to send information to the Nazis (to denounce it) proving that Furtwängler was helping Jews and opposing their policies.

Whether or not he had been a Nazi to any degree, Furtwängler's trial certainly was bound to be a public burning. And yet, he was oddly oblivious of that prospect, even though he wondered aloud why his day in court was being delayed for so long while « bona fide » Party members such as Herbert von Karajan had been walked through the process and were already working again.

We may never know « exactly » why it took a year and a half for Furtwängler's case to be scheduled, but there may be some simple explanations. In the first place, American officials were trying very hard to build a legitimate case against him, so they could hand the evidence over to his German peers who would try him. That took time because his record contained no evidence of specific crimes nor even connections to crimes. Secondly, the Americans supervising his trial may merely have wanted to postpone his trial because the war crimes trials at Nuremberg were in full-swing from 20 November 1945 to 6 September 1946, and nothing could or should deflect attention from those events. Since the Allies viewed Furtwängler as a major celebrity of the Third « Reich » , however, the public the world over would be ready for the trial of Adolf Hitler's band leader by December. Such a plan would enable his anticipated conviction to reap the kind of attention from the media that the Americans surely felt it deserved. Finally, the Allies (i.e. , Americans) gradually became aware that they had virtually nothing they could use to « get » Furtwängler, so the best they could do was detain him as long as possible.

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**1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler writes in his diary :

« I try to look at my behaviour objectively. I am no better than any other, but I had to do what my instinct and conscience dictated. I love my country and my people, and I felt it was my duty to right a terrible wrong. Any worry that my presence could be manipulated by the Nazi propaganda machine had to take a back seat to my major preoccupation, to save the soul of German music as far as possible, and continue to make music with German musicians for a German public. »

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**Tuesday, 17 December 1946** : Day two of the Furtwängler trial in Berlin.

The Maestro is supported by his friend, the stage and opera director Boleslaw Stanislaus Barlog, and by the Romanian conductor Sergiù Celibidache who is now at the head of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Various witnesses are called to testify.

Character witnesses produce much testimony of Furtwängler refusal to act in the propaganda film « Philharmoniker » (« Symphony and Love ») . The prominent Berlin film-critic, Werner Fiedler, immediately testifies. He wrote an unfavourable review of the film in question in which Richard Strauß substituted for Furtwängler.

3 people of Jewish origin made the trip to Berlin and certify that Furtwängler risked his life to protect them. One of them is Paul Heizberg, a former opera-director. The other two are members of the Berlin Philharmonic : clarinetist Ernst Fischer, who claims the conductor saved his Jewish wife from deportation, and the choir-master Hugo Strelitzer who claims to have been released from SS custody thanks to Furtwängler in 1933.

Hugo Strelitzer :

« If I am alive today, I owe this to this great man. Furtwängler helped and protected a great number of Jewish musicians and this attitude shows a great deal of courage since he did it under the eyes of the Nazis, in Germany itself. History will be his judge. »

Hans von Benda changes his testimony and denies Furtwängler's anti-Semitism.

Furtwängler explains the reason why he remained in Germany :

« I didn't stay because I was a Nazi, I remained because I am German ! »

He continues :

« Art has nothing to do with politics nor with war. I felt responsible of the German music and it was my duty to get through this crisis as best as I could. I have no regrets that I stayed on in Germany alongside fellow-Germans who had to live under Himmler's reign of terror.

(...)

In October 1944, " Frau " Himmler's personal doctor (Dr. Richter) came to see me and told me of Himmler's and the SS's intentions. From the start, Himmler personally considered me an enemy of the State, this lady confirmed to me. She came back in November.

In January 1945, when I was in Berlin for the last time, she came suddenly early one morning, and told me :

“ ' Herr ' Furtwängler, nobody is to know that I have come to see you. Let me inform you that the SS are talking of putting you in quarantine. No Nazi is supposed to talk to you any more. Everything you do, all your telephone calls are under surveillance. You are accused of having participated in the attack against Hitler. It's up to you to draw your own conclusions. ”

Then, she left. I decided I should not go back to Berlin after my concerts in Vienna and so I hid out for 3 days near the (Austrian-)Swiss border. The evening before I crossed the border, some " Gestapo " agents came to see my secretary, Miss (Agathe) von Tiedemann and told her to her great surprise that I had left. Thereafter, I did everything necessary to clarify my position in Switzerland. »

At the trial's close, Furtwängler rises, tall, slender, self-confident and with the air of a gothic Jesus, and addresses his admirers in the court-room :

« I don't regret having done this for Germans and for Germany. I knew it was worthwhile to take. »

« I knew Germany was in a terrible crisis ; I felt responsible for German music, and it was my task to survive this crisis, as much as I could. The concern that my art was mis-used for propaganda had to yield to the greater concern that German music be preserved, that music be given to the German people by its own musicians. These people, the compatriots of Bach and Beethoven, of Mozart and Schubert, still had to go on living under the control of a regime obsessed with “ Total War ”. No one who did not live here himself in those days can possibly judge what it was like. Does Thomas Mann (who was critical of Furtwängler’s actions) really believe that, in “ the Germany of Himmler ”, one should not be permitted to play Beethoven ? Could he not realize that people never needed more, never yearned more to hear Beethoven and his message of freedom and human love, than precisely these Germans, who had to live under Himmler’s terror ? I do not regret having stayed with them. »

The curtain speech brings enthusiastic applause which Furtwängler acknowledges with several bows as in the old days. Earlier, he said his one desire is to clear his name, not conduct.

(Now, associates say he meant he did not want to be permanent conductor of the Philharmonic, just to have 10 or so guest-appearances per year.)

There will be 4 months of deliberation before the verdict is delivered. Meanwhile, he retreats to Switzerland to await review by the Allied « Kommandatura » (the governing body for the city of Berlin following Germany’s defeat) of the decision in his case.

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**Christmas 1946** : All native Germans are expelled from Austria.

Emil Seiler comes to Freiburg-im-Breisgau via Munich and Nuremberg. In Freiburg, he starts teaching at the « Musik-Hochschule » before he becomes professor for viola, viola d’amore, and chamber music in 1947.

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**Saturday, 28 December 1946** : Wilhelm Furtwängler goes to see Doctor Carl Jung at his property in Rüdesheim (called « Château Boosenburg ») .

Walter Giesecking is also there for a little concert in which he plays works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Maurice Ravel and Claude Debussy. Just before, Furtwängler played with him the Brahms’ Variations on a theme by Haydn for 2 pianos, Opus 56b.

Furtwängler is in excellent spirits and gives a « humorous » account (!) of his denazification process.

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**Tuesday, 31 December 1946** : The property is officially handed over to the administration of the monastery of St. Florian by the democratic government of Upper-Austria.

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**1947** : The « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » resume their activities in Vienna. This means a fresh new start for the publication of the volumes of the « Complete Critical Edition » . Doctor Friedrich Werner will still be in post for both organisations.

Hans-Herbert Weigel, formerly a singer of the disbanded radio choir in Leipzig, is appointed the new music-director of the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz.

Women in Linz demonstrate in front of the Upper-Austrian House of Parliament on « Landhaus-Platz » to protest against the severe food shortages.

U.S. forces vacate the Linz tobacco factory on « Untere Donau-Lände » by the Danube. Designed in 1929 by architects Peter Behrens and Alexander Popp, it was the first steel framed construction in Austria.

Professor Gustav Adolf Schwaiger returns to Vienna and creates his own company. He soon becomes a highly-renowned acoustician.

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**Monday, 27 January 1947** : Hans Fritzsche, the former head of the radio department at the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, testifies before the de-Nazification court in Nuremberg. He acknowledges the jurisdiction of the de-Nazification court procedure and pleads for his classification into the parole group.

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**April 1947** : Johannes Hollnsteiner is finally released from the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glasenbach near Salzburg thanks to the pressure campaign initiated by his old friend and colleague, the Austrian journalist and Catholic publicist Friedrich Funder. Hollnsteiner had then parted company with his fellow-friars in St. Florian.

Because of his friendship with the « Reich » Minister « without portfolio » Edmund Glaise-Horstenau and the fact that he was incarcerated in Glasenbach, Hollnsteiner is suspected of having been a Catholic National-Socialist before the « Anschluß » of 1938 - but this is not true. The Catholic Academic Association « Norica » did not list him as a member after 1945, but there is no evidence of formal exclusion.

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**Tuesday, 29 April 1947** : The American Military Government classifies conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler as a « Mitläufer » (follower) and places him in Category IV, which means he can still hold a leadership position and return to the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Furtwängler will conduct his first concert on **May 25, 1947**, in an all-Beethoven program.

The prosecution acknowledging that no charge of anti-Semitism or sympathy for Nazi ideology can be brought against him, Furtwängler is cleared on all the counts.



But judge Hans Wolfgang Schmidt struggles to recognize the victory of the Maestro.

Even after Furtwängler's acquittal, Thomas Mann still criticize him for continuing to conduct in Germany and for believing that art can be a-political in a regime such as the Third « Reich », which was so intent on using art as a propaganda tool.

In a drafted letter to the editor of « Aufbau » magazine, Mann praises Furtwängler for assisting Jewish musicians and as a « pre-eminent musician », but ultimately presents him as a representative example of a fatal « lack of understanding and lack of desire to understand what had seized power in Germany » .

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**Monday, 5 May 1947** : Doctor Friedrich Castelle is finally completely rehabilitated by the responsible authorities.

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**Thursday, 8 May 1947** : The detention of Franz Kinzl is suspended because the suspicion against him cannot be validated. He is released and starts to work as a painter and a musician.

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**May 1947** : Due to illness, Franz Langoth, the former Lord Mayor of Linz, is released from the U.S. Displaced Persons Camp of Glaserbach near Salzburg.

The detention of Franz Kinzl is suspended - he is released.

Without having to face a denazification trial, Anton (« Toni ») Winkelkemper is sent to the United States to work for the Secret Service.

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**Wednesday, 28 May 1947** : August Eigruber, the former « Gauleiter » of the Upper-Danube, dies by hanging (with the words « Heil Hitler ! » on his lips) at the War Criminal Prison Number 1 in Landsberg-am-Lech, south-west of Bavaria. He is first buried on the prison cemetery (Spöttinger Cemetery) .

The plea for clemency presented by his wife Johanna was rejected by the American authorities.

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**October 1947** : The ban prohibiting Herbert von Karajan from conducting is lifted.

Henry Alter, stationed in Vienna after his initial months in Berlin, admitted of the denazification of both Karajan and Wilhelm Furtwängler :

« It was an unsolvable problem. Every person who had heard Karajan once make music knew that if one did not

allow such a person to make music, one would be punishing oneself - and not him. Under these conditions, it was really not possible to handle Karajan in any way fairly or justly. »

Alter's comments underscore the seemingly contradictory manner in which the Information Control Division (ICD) handled these denazification proceedings, as both men will return to the stage within 2 years of the end of the War. Ultimately, the Americans do not want to lose Karajan from their occupation zone.

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**Saturday, 25 and Sunday, 26 October 1947** : Extraordinary concert given at the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Herbert von Karajan marks his official return to concert life by conducting the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor, hybrid version of 1887-1890 edited by Robert Haas, 1935-1939 (**WAB 108**) .

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Only about 26 Jews survived the Nazi regime in Linz. Up to 1947, there were only 13 who actually returned to Linz. Although this number was slightly increased later it, nevertheless, shows the end of the old Jewish community in Linz.

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**1948** : Following severe bomb damage, dismantling and expropriation, Wolfgang Brandstetter decides to move, on a temporary basis, the head-office and the publishing division (the « Bruckner-Verlag ») of the Oskar Brandstetter Printing Company from Leipzig to Wiesbaden (on « Wilhelminen-Straße ») . Musicologist Fritz Öser is appointed managing-director.

The American authorities determine that they can find no evidence of Eugen Jochum joining any Nazi organizations. Therefore, the conductor will continue to work in Hamburg (until 1949) .

Franz Kinzl is classified as a minor charged prisoner-of-war.

The now 54 year old Johannes Hollnsteiner is re-habilitated as a university professor but is still being put into permanent retirement : a return to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Vienna is ruled out because of his marriage to a divorced woman (the Wagnerian opera-singer Almut Schönigh) and his laicization - in addition, Franz Arnold has held a professorship there since 1947.

Hollnsteiner no longer has a permanent job. He starts to work as a free-lancer to compensate for his meager pension from the University. He gives lectures again, but their contents are now fundamentally different from the time he was

a priest : the strict Catholic and Austro-Fascist statesman has become a liberal « mediator » . If he had once seen Socialists and Communists as enemies of the State, he is now purified. He founds the Pilgram Publishing-House in Salzburg, and publishes « Das Abendland. Aufstieg, Krise, Zukunft. » (The Occident. Rise, Crisis, Future.) , Vienna (1948) .

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**Sunday, 10 October 1948** : Siegmund von Hausegger dies in Munich.

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**1948-1950** : Once denazified in Nuremberg, Doctor Heinz Drewes, the former Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office, worked after the War at the Municipal Conservatory. Like his brother Eugen, Georg-Ludwig Jochum often performs with the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra. Guest-appearances leads him to the « RIAS-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin » and throughout Europe, Japan and South America.

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**1948-1952** : A new broadcasting centre (« Funkhaus ») is built on « Wallraf-Platz » in Cologne.

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**1949** : The acting music-director Hans-Herbert Weigel persuades composer Johann Nepomuk David (an old choir-boy at the monastery of St. Florian) to succeed him at the head of the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz.

Professor Michael Schneider is appointed music-director of the choir at the « Markus-Kirche » in Munich. He soon resumes his teaching activities too and works at the Music Colleges in Munich, Detmold, Berlin and again in Cologne.

After a number of attempts, Robert Hohlbaum manages to flee to Austria, and settles in Vienna, where he again feels at home as in the time after the First World War. He will later move to Graz.

Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer publishes « Der Rundfunk - Wesen und Wirkung » (Radio broadcasting : essence and effect) , edited by Curt E. Schwab in Stuttgart.

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**Saturday, 9 July 1949** (noon time) : Symphonic concert given at the State Theatre (« Landestheater ») in Linz.

Volkmar Andreae conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

### Programme

Franz Schubert : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (D. 485) .

*Intermission*

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (WAB 106) .

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**Sunday, 10 July 1949** (noon time) : Symphonic concert given at the Collegiate Church of the monastery of St. Florian.

Volkmar Andreæ conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Monday, 11 July 1949** (noon time) : Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Theatre of Steyr located at « Volks-Straße » Number 5 :

Volkmar Andreæ conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Tuesday, 12 July 1949** (noon time) : Symphonic concert given at the Municipal Theatre of Wels on « Kaiser-Josef-Platz » . On December 25, 1944, the original theatre, built in 1904, was badly damaged by Allied air-strikes. The new building was erected from 1946 to 1948.

Volkmar Andreæ conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

**Programme**

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (WAB 108) .

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**Tuesday, 16 August 1949** : The conductor Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg dies in Gmund-am-Tegernsee, Bavaria.

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**1950** : Eugen Jochum serves as President of the German chapter of the « International Bruckner Society » .

The firm Zika from Ottensheim in Upper-Austria is chosen to carry-out the renovation work on the « Bruckner Organ » at the monastery of St. Florian. The company will not be able to proceed with the conversion of the instrument

before 1951 due to the shortage of parts in Europe.

Vinzenz Goller returns to Klosterneuburg near Vienna.

Robert Hohlbaum publishes a novel on Anton Bruckner, « Te Deum » (Pilger-Verlag, Speyer) .

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**Early-1950's** : With partly new forces, the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz continues to exist as a free concert-choir. Soprano Irmgard Genzel-Rœhling is one of the singers who stand in to back-up its regular members. In this way, the last moments of the « Bruckner Choir » has a stimulating effect on the Leipzig Radio Choir.

Georg-Ludwig Jochum conducts the « RIAS-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin » (Radio Symphony Orchestra in the American Sector of Berlin) . Guest-appearances takes him throughout Europe, Japan and South America.

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**Thursday, 15 February 1951 (7:30 pm)** : Great Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Professor Günther Ramín conducts the « Singverein » mixed-choir and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

#### Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) .

#### *Intermission*

Max Reger : « Psalm 100 » in D major for mixed-choir, orchestra and organ, Opus 106, written as an acknowledgement of an honorary doctorate from Jena University. Soloist : Josef Nebois, organ.

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**1952** : Johann Nepomuk David offers the directorship of the « Bruckner Choir » of Linz to his latter's son, Thomas Christian.

While some of the singers move to the Teachers' Choral Society, the others stay on for a short time under the baton of Hermann Ruck before the « Bruckner Choir » discontinues its activities.

Although the « Bruckner Choir » is not a direct forerunner of the MDR Radio Choir of Leipzig, it has close historical ties with the present-day ensemble on account of its formation in Leipzig and its many members who previously sang in the choir of the local radio station in Leipzig and, in some cases, went on to sing in the Leipzig Radio Choir.

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**1953** : Professor Max Auer steps down as President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Vinzenz Goller is made an honorary member of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

After a hunting trip, Vinzenz Goller falls ill with pneumonia.

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**Friday, 11 September 1953** : Vinzenz Goller dies in the town of Sankt Michael im Lungau near Salzburg. He is buried at the local cemetery at the side of his wife.

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**1954** : High-ranking representatives of public life pay their last respects to Doctor Friedrich Castelle at his funeral.

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**Friday, 4 February 1955** : Robert Hohlbaum dies in Graz. A large mourning community gathers for the burial at St. Peter's cemetery.

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**1955** : On the invitation of Karl Vötterle from the Bärenreiter Group, Fritz Öser decides to permanently move the head-office of the « Bruckner-Verlag » of Wiesbaden to the city of Kassel, which is located on the Fulda River in northern Hesse.

During his last years in Linz, Johannes Hollsteiner is a journalist, a theatre-critic, a teacher at the Adult Education College. He is appointed Chairman of the Austrian League for the United Nations (« Österreichische Liga für die Vereinten Nationen ») and the Atlas of Austrian Folklore (« Gesellschaft für den Volkskunde-Atlas ») .

Creation of the West-German Broadcasting Corporation (« West-Deutscher Rundfunk » , or WDR) when the North-West German Broadcasting Corporation (« Nord-West-Deutscher Rundfunk » , or NWDR) is split into the Northern German Broadcasting (« Nord-Deutscher Rundfunk » , or NDR) - covering Lower-Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hamburg - and the WDR, responsible for North Rhine-Westphalia.

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**Sunday, 1 January 1956** : The West-German Broadcasting Corporation (WDR) begins broadcasting on 2 radio networks (one produced jointly with the Northern German Broadcasting, NDR) . The WDR constitutes the most prominent example of regional broadcasting in Germany.

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**Monday, 27 February 1956** : Günther Ramín dies in Leipzig after suffering a sudden brain hemorrhage.

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Johannes Rietz's most successful music is to be found in the « Chorische Tänze » (Choral Dances) for mezzo-soprano, choir and orchestra (1957) , based on old Slovene folk-songs. Rietz also works as a musical advisor at the South German Radio and manages the broadcaster's « East-German bell archive » and « East-European archive » .

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**Monday, 24 September 1962** : Professor Max Auer dies in Bad Ischl.

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**Sunday, 15 November 1964** : Doctor Eugen Kurt Fischer dies in Stuttgart.

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**Monday, 16 May 1966** : After Almut Schönigh's first husband died, the laicization procedure concerning the case of Johannes Hollnsteiner is resolved at the Vatican according to a decree (Prot. Number 572/66) from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

Hollnsteiner is now able to formally marry in church. This means that there is no reason for his exclusion from the Catholic Academic Association « Norica » .

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**Sunday, 1 November 1970** : Georg-Ludwig Jochum dies in Mülheim-an-der-Ruhr, Westphalia.

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**1970's** : The old building of the « West-Deutsche Rundfunk AG » or WERAG (the predecessor of the WDR) on « Dagobertstraße » in Cologne is demolished.

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**Monday, 1 February 1971** : Johannes Hollnsteiner dies in Linz at the age of 76.

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**1971** : Johannes Rietz is awarded the Johann Wenzel Stamitz Prize for his compositional « œuvre » and the prestigious title of « ADC » for outstanding artistic achievements as choir director.

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**Sunday, 22 April 1973** : Emil Rameis, flute player with the Municipal Symphony Orchestra, dies in Linz.

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**Wednesday, 21 January 1976** : Johannes Rietz dies in Stuttgart.

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**Sunday, 23 April 1978** : Franz Kinzl dies in Lambach, Upper-Austria.

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**Monday, 16 June 1980** : Heinz Drewes dies in Nuremberg, Bavaria.

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**Thursday, 26 March 1987** : Eugen Jochum dies in Munich.

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**Monday, 27 May 1991** : Leopold Nowak dies in Vienna.

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**Saturday, 26 November 1994** : Michael Schneider dies in Cologne.

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**Wednesday, 20 November 1996** : Professor Ludwig Daxberger dies in Linz.

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**Saturday, 21 March 1998** : Emil Seiler dies in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany.



*The « St. Florian project » was largely the work of one person :*

***Heinrich Glasmeier***

*who took advantage of the expropriation of the monastery,  
as well as the soft spot of Adolf Hitler for the Linz region.*

