

Wagner Symphonie

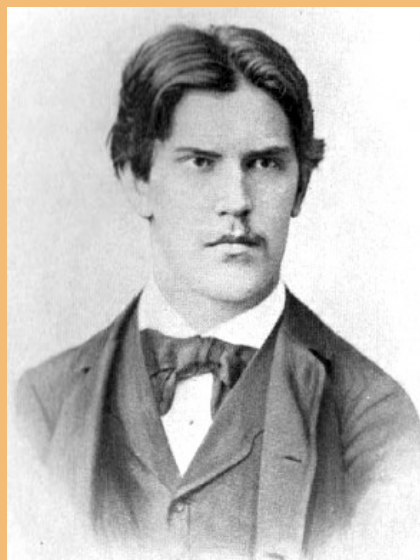
A. 3 Dmoll

1. Satz.

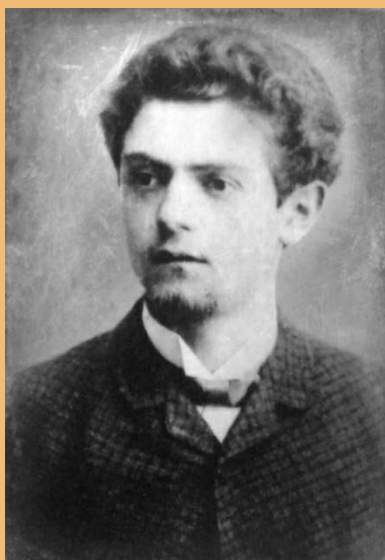


The long journey of the manuscript of the Third Symphony (1878-1948)

Selected dates and events



Rudolf Krzyżanowski

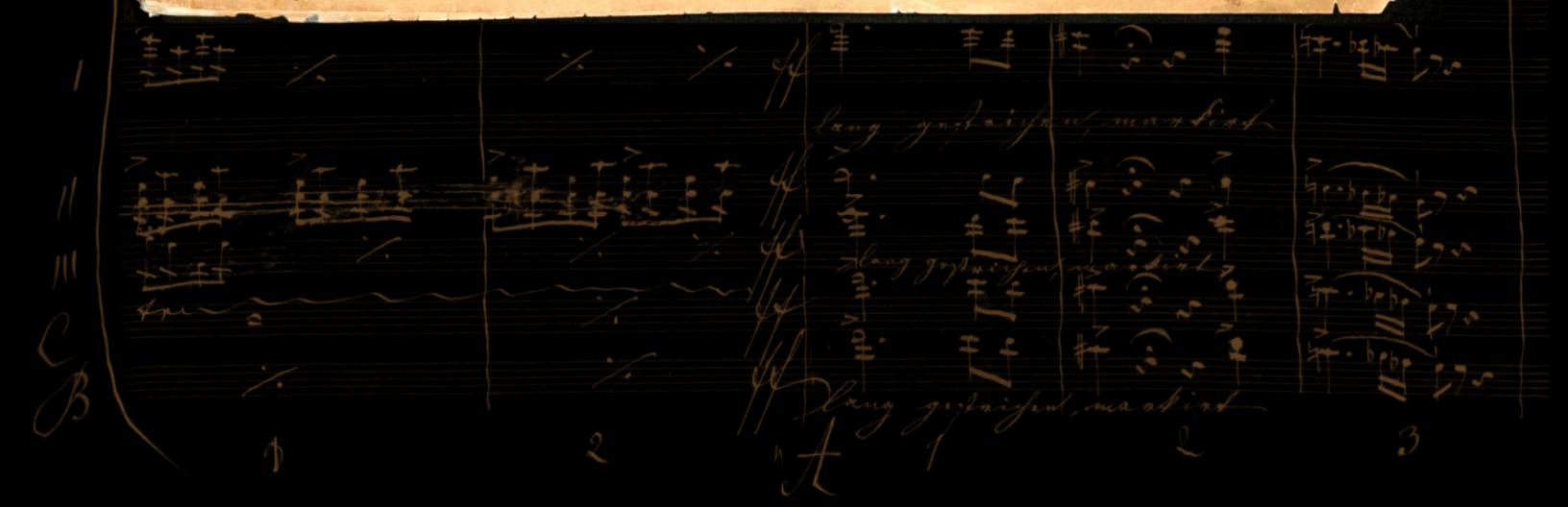


Otto Mahler



Alma Mahler

Wagner Symphonie
No 3 Dmoll



The long journey of the manuscript of the Third Symphony (1878-1948)

Information from the internet compiled by Gilles Houle.

The Third Symphony denotes a very special chapter in the story of Anton Bruckner's life and works. He kept on returning to it through most of his career, and none of his other Symphonies exists in so many written and printed versions and, sometimes, even intermediate phases. And it should not be forgotten that it was also the source of his greatest public humiliation.

That occurred at the Vienna premiere of the Symphony in December 1877, when not the initial version of 1872-1873 dealt with here was performed, but a greatly revised second version, completed just before the concert. By that time, the work had already been declined 3 times during rehearsals. The long-awaited 1877 first performance of the Symphony was to have been conducted by the Bruckner advocate Johann Herbeck, but he died just weeks before the great event. Bruckner himself took his place on the rostrum, but that did not save the enterprise. Quite the contrary.

The perhaps predictable disaster has often been commented on in animated terms. Such miserable failure naturally did not leave the highly self-critical Bruckner cold. It seems to have strengthened his need to place the fundamentals of his work under scrutiny and put it to the test, so to speak. Bruckner was a master of compositional introspection and self-analysis, driven by an intense desire for perfection all his life. Several years would pass before Bruckner turned to his next Symphony.

Despite the adversity presented by the Third, his « problem child », Bruckner was probably aware of that Symphony's special significance to him and his œuvre.

There seems to be no other explanation for the way he constantly returned to it over such a lengthy period.

The fact that the Third is in D minor, the key of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and that it also contains several more or less clear loans (even near the beginning) from that last of Beethoven's Symphonies demonstrates Bruckner's considerable self-confidence and the extremely ambitious demands he placed on himself and on his composing.

In the later versions, Bruckner may have made the inner-dramatic concept underlying the Third Symphony more compact and perhaps also more powerful, and maybe the more compact form of the later versions also made the work more easily accessible for his audiences, yet, we cannot help but feel that each gain on the one hand must be paid for with losses on the other.

That certainly applies in the case of the Third, the initial version of which is marked by compositional spontaneity and boldness, a wealth of ideas and inner-complexity and violent, quite unconstrained power, which lend the Symphony a fascinatingly unpolished quality, even confusingly impetuous.

Uncompromising ingenuity is unleashed that was increasingly lost in the later versions, as Bruckner penetrated ever more deeply into the mechanisms of his composing, attempting to regulate, to control the subtleties in his music

(although he undoubtedly had a perfect right to do so) .

This early version of the Symphony seems amazingly modern, with its often hard-cut, collage-like laminations and its sometimes seemingly « pieced-together » course, in which « blocks » utterly different in character are juxtaposed, apparently without anything to connect them. Enormous energies are released, sometimes almost violently, and much of the agility Bruckner demands in string figurations borders on the unplayable. Furthermore, the work contains such a wealth of exuberant ideas that the composer himself only seems to have begun to grasp the full-extent of them in the later versions.

The initial version of the Third is also remarkable in size, being longer still than the gigantic initial version of the Eighth. The score spans more than 2,000 bars ; in the succession of later versions that number shrank to 1,644 bars.

The increased density of the action inevitably came at the expense of the extreme breadth of the work and sometimes of its balanced proportions, especially in the Adagio slow movement.

Among the parts which were removed in the modifications were many of the « Wagner quotations » .

These echoes of motifs from « Die Walküre » , « Tristan und Isolde » , « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » and « Tannhäuser » clearly pointed to Bruckner's admiration of Wagner.

Nonetheless, far from being literal, the passages concerned recall their Wagnerian models no more than vaguely.

They do seem to have functions in the formal structure but Bruckner was plainly willing to dispense with most of them in view of the changed conditions.

The brief exchange of correspondence between Bruckner and Wagner, with which Bruckner - oddly - re-assured himself of the intended dedication of the « right » symphony.

It is in fact not clear when the « quotations » were put into the score ; it quite possibly happened only after Wagner had accepted that the Symphony be dedicated to him.

It was the first orchestral work of Bruckner to be published - a work with a « life story » that seems to mirror the personal destiny of its creator more than any of Bruckner's other Symphonies.

...

On April 25, 1877, Anton Bruckner completed work on a thorough revision of his « Wagner Symphony » , the first of many. In this revision, he shortened the first movement and Finale each by nearly 100 measures, and the « Scherzo » by two, while he lengthened the Adagio by 10 measures of music. In these revisions, the citations of themes from Wagner's operas « Tristan und Isolde » and « Die Walküre » were removed from the first movement and Finale, but the openings of parts 1 and 3 of the Adagio were broadened and the string accompaniment in part 5 was completely

re-conceived in the manner of « Tannhäuser » . Most striking, in the first movement, the opening trumpet theme was added as a 2 part canon near the end of the exposition, and, in the Finale, that same motto theme was also made into a brilliant 4 part canon which was placed in the middle of the development. In both locations in the score, it was prominently labeled « THEMA » , in the Finale in all 4 of its over-lapping entries. Except for these changes, all the formal elements of the original 1873 score are found in this revised version as well. One of those elements of the 1873 score retained and developed in 1876 is an interesting passage of 38 measures in which the chorale theme from the second or B theme group is played unexpectedly loudly accompanied by material from the A theme and the motto theme from the first movement. This is followed by a dialogue between the loud C theme and the quiet B theme chorale. This version, though completed in the spring of 1877, is called the « 1876 » version because its characteristic 5 part slow movement was dated 1876 and was published many years ago by Leopold Nowak with that date. In that way, confusion with the version as later revised in the fall of 1877 can be avoided.

While one might imagine that so much revision would justify a prompt renewal of the effort to arrange a performance, there then ensued a substantial number of further revisions, several of which create serious departures from Bruckner's usual formal procedures. The suspicion that these new changes were instigated by other people than the composer can hardly be avoided. The result of those processes, completed on October 12, 1877, is the present state of the holograph manuscript now known as Mus. Hs. 19.475 in the Austrian National Library. That manuscript in one way or another served as the basis for the premiere performance on December 16, 1877. In this second phase of the second version, the 38 measure passage was eliminated. The first 4 measures of the 38 are still there on a left-hand page, crossed out, and the last 8 are on a right-hand page, also crossed out, but the pages with the middle 26 measures were removed and have been lost. The surviving set of orchestral parts copied from Mus. Hs. 19.475, from which one could try to reclaim those measures, are missing the oboes, the second trombone, the timpani, and the upper 4 string parts. Thus, in order to hear this early, formally-complete phase of the second version, those parts must somehow be supplied in some way. Fortunately, the similarity of this music to the corresponding passage in the 1873 version means that a reasonable reconstruction of the earlier phase of the Finale and the Symphony can be attempted.

For the first publication of the Third Symphony, undertaken by Theodor Rättig in 1878, a new copy score was prepared and is now preserved in the National Library as Mus. Hs. 34.611 (movements 1, 2, 4) and 6058 (« Scherzo ») . Considering this manuscript with the others, the histories of 2 details, one near the beginning of the first movement and one at the end of the « Scherzo » , illustrate Bruckner's known methods of revision, and also exemplify some of the chaos surrounding the development of the second version. The first of these cases is in the first theme group of the first movement. Following Beethoven's example in his Ninth Symphony, and building on features of his own Second, Bruckner conceived the first theme group in 2 melodic ideas : a striking triadic trumpet melody which ever so slightly suggests Wagner's « Flying Dutchman » , and a stern unison with a rather complex rhythm and a meditative continuation. Each of these is developed twice, the first time in a wave of sound with the trumpet theme and the unison both in the tonic D minor, and then, a second wave beginning in the dominant A major with the unison starting in B-flat major. In the 1873 version, the second wave begins after 2 rest measures, and, in the 1889 final version, it begins immediately with the cadence that closes the first wave, the 2 rest measures having being eliminated. In the Fritz Öser score of 1878 depending on Mus. Hs. 36.411, the rest measures are already eliminated,

but, in the Leopold Nowak score representing Mus. Hs. 19.475 in its condition of October 1877, they are still present with no indication to be deleted. So too, they must have still been there in the 1876 version. 2 measures later, a pair of accompanimental measures preceding the trumpet entrance were already crossed out in Mus. Hs. 19.475, and the clarinets and bassoons lowered by an octave in the following 4 measures. That could have been done in the revision of summer 1877, or it might be an earlier compositional process carried out in the work of 1876.

The other curious case is Bruckner's gradual extension and enhancement of the end of the « Scherzo ». In 1873, the music resolves into D major at measure 147, where, for 2 measures, the violins play their melody centered around A above the staff, and then, for 2 measures, they play centered around D a fourth above. The final cadence note is D in measure 151. In the Leopold Nowak 1877 score, there are 4 measures centered around A and 4 around D, and Öser 1878 agrees. But in the Mahler arrangement for piano 4 hands, dating from the last phase of working on the second version, there are 2 measures centered on A and 4 centered on D. As for the manuscripts, 19.475 shows 2 measures on A and 2 measures on D with « rep » written above the D measures but not the A measures, while in 6058, the copy score of the « Scherzo », there are 2 measures on A and 4 written-out measures on D, just as in the Mahler piano score. It seems as if the lengthening of the A measures from 2 to 4 took place on the galley proofs for the publication. For 1889, all 8 measures center around the high A over an octave above the staff. Bruckner frequently adjusted the endings of movements ; for the Second Symphony, there are 3 different endings for the first movement (none of which agree with Haas and Nowak) , and no fewer than 5 endings for the Finale.

Related dates and events

As professor of harmony, counterpoint and organ, Anton Bruckner assumed his new duties at the Vienna Conservatory on **1 October 1868**. The young Gustav Mahler was not to arrive at the Conservatory for another 7 years. Meanwhile, Bruckner was again agitating (he had commenced in 1867) for an appointment at the University of Vienna. Since his candidature was opposed by Eduard Hanslick, some years passed before Bruckner won his objective. He was appointed (unpaid !) lecturer in harmony and counterpoint at the University and seems to have begun his lectures on April 24, 1876. Bruckner continued activities in both institutions for many years, retiring from the Conservatory only in 1891 and delivering his last lecture at the University in November 1894.

The first impressions of the great composer may have been like those of Carl Flesch and his colleagues :

« Among the teachers I used to meet in the corridors of the Institute, Anton Bruckner must be mentioned first ; with his incredibly wide-pants, he then seemed to us, students, a ridiculous figure. »

Thursday, 23 July 1868 : Anton Bruckner sends a letter of thanks to the management of the Conservatory confirming the acceptance of the terms (while giving thanks to God !) and promises to be in Vienna for the beginning of the academic year, in October.

The course of events of the negotiations for the post had affected his psycho-physical condition to such a degree that,

after their conclusion, or his final acceptance on **23 July 1868**, he revisited Kreuzen in the months of August and September that followed.

Wednesday, 18 June 1873 : Otto Mahler is born in Iglau (Jihlava) .

Summer 1873 : During his summer holidays, Anton Bruckner goes successively to the spa-resorts of Karlsbad and Marienbad (to recover his health by water-cures) and finally to Bayreuth in order to visit Richard Wagner (and ask him to be the dedicatee of his Second or Third Symphony) . For 28 years, Wagner made regular visits to Marienbad.

Before or after Monday, 4 August 1873 (?) : According to « Herr » Kaufmann :

On his way to Mariánské Lázně (Marienbad) , Anton Bruckner stopped for a few days at Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) spa-resort. He will stay at the « Hotel Anger » on « Neue Wiese » . There, he met the parish church music-director of St. Mary Magdalene, Alois Janetschek. Bruckner even improvised on the organ.

From Wednesday, 6 August 1873 (?) : During his stop in Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně) , Anton Bruckner was staying at the « White Horse Inn » (« Weißen Röhl Inn ») , located at Number 5063 Kurgast (today, Černý kůň) . Its brasserie-restaurant welcomed the public on ground-floor. The building (with 2 upper-floors) is L-shaped and accessible on 2 perpendicular streets. (It is just opposite the sumptuous Hotel « Excelsior » , which was only a few steps from the famous « Colonnade » .) At their intersection, we found (also on the ground-floor of the same building) the popular local grocery-store owned by Mister Friedrich Benisch (at Nummer 54 Poštovní Street) . You could, among others things, buy smoked meat, coffee, and paper.

Bruckner enjoyed the quiet of his hotel room, allowing him to polish-up the manuscripts of his Second and Third Symphonies which he hoped to present to Richard Wagner. The first draft of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) had already been completed in Vienna, on 23 February 1873. He finished the Adagio on the 24th. The instrumentation of the « Scherzo » in March.

Through the mediation of the parish church music-director of St. Mary Magdalene in Karlsbad, Alois Janetschek, Anton Bruckner becomes acquainted with « Kapellmeister » August Labitzky.

In 1854, August Labitzky entered the « Musik-Kapelle » Orchestra of his father in Karlovy Vary. In 1868, he took-over the direction. Due to a steady expansion of the Cure-Orchestra, Labitzky was able to bring Antonín Dvořák's Ninth Symphony (from the « New World ») to the European « clientèle » .

Sunday, 31 August 1873 : Comfortably installed at the inn's brasserie, Bruckner completed the sketch of the Finale of his Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

The « White Horse Inn » will later display this inscription (in gold letters) on a marble memorial plaque :

« It was in this house that lived during the month of August 1873, Doctor Anton Bruckner. Here, he composed the Finale of his Third Symphony. »

At the end of the Second World War, the inn is renamed « Ěerný Kuo » . It will be demolished in 1956-1957.

Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 (**WAB 103**, 1873 version) , Georg Tintner, Royal Scottish National Orchestra (1998) Naxos - <https://youtu.be/MHm6wCRnk3w>

Anton Bruckner recalled his first visit to Bayreuth in a letter to Hans von Wolzogen after Wagner's death :

It was about the beginning of **September 1873** ... when I asked the « Meister » if I might show him my No. 2 in C minor and my No. 3 in D minor. The Thrice-Blessed refused because of lack of time (theatre-building) and said he couldn't look at the scores now, since even the « Nibelungs » had had to be laid on one side.

When I replied :

« “ Meister ”, I have no right to rob you of even a quarter of an hour, and I only thought that with the “ Meister's ” powerful perception, a single glance at the themes would suffice for the “ Meister ” to know the substance of it. »

Thereupon the « Meister » said, slapping me on the shoulder :

« Come on, then » , went with me into the drawing-room and looked at the Second Symphony.

« Very good » , he said, but he seemed to find it rather tame (for they originally made me very nervous about it in Vienna) , and picked-up the Third (in D minor) , and exclaiming :

« Let's see, let's see - well - ah ! » , he went through the whole of the first section (the exalted one singled-out the trumpet part) , and then said :

« Leave this work here with me, I will take a closer look at it after dinner. »

I thought to myself, shall I make my request, when Wagner asked me what was on my mind. Very shyly, my heart pounding, I then said to my dearly beloved Master :

« Meister ! I have something in my heart, that I do not trust myself to say ! »

The « Meister » said :

« Out with it ! You know how much I like you. »

Thereupon I made my request, but only in the event of the « Meister's » not disapproving, since I did not want to profane his thrice-famous name.

The « Meister » said :

« This evening, at 5 o'clock, you are invited to " Wahnfried ", I shall be there, and after I've had a chance to look at the D minor Symphony properly, we'll talk about this matter again. »

I had been up to the theatre-site immediately before I went « Wahnfried » at 5 o'clock. When I arrived, the « Master of masters » hurried to meet me with open arms, hugged me and said :

« My dear friend, the dedication is quite all right. The work gives me uncommonly great pleasure. »

For 2 and a half hours, I had the good fortune to sit beside the « Meister » , while he talked about musical affairs in Vienna, offered me beer, took me out in the garden and showed me his grave !!! Then I had, or rather, was permitted, blissfully happy, to accompany the « Meister » into his house.

The sculptor Gustav Adolf Kietz, who was working on a bust of Cosima and had set-up his studio in the Villa, which was still not completed, was also present during this conversation. According to him, Bruckner kept on trying to talk about Viennese enthusiasm for « Lohengrin » .

Wagner replied :

« Oh, never mind about that. I know that, there's a swan comes, bringing a knight, it's something a little different, it makes a change - here, have a drink instead, this is a wonderful beer, " Weihenstephan ", to your health ! »

« For God's sake, " Meister ", I mustn't, it would be the death of me, I've just come from Karlsbad ! »

« Non sense, it's good for you, drink it ! »

And in spite of his protests, which hilariously punctuated his musical conversation, Bruckner was obliged to drink one glass after another, with the result that the next morning he did not know which Symphony Wagner had accepted. Fortunately, Kietz, who was staying at the same hotel, remembered that they had talked about a Symphony in D minor ; at the time, he had thought they meant Beethoven's 9th. To be quite sure, Bruckner wrote to ask Wagner again, if it

was to be the Symphony « where the trumpet introduces the theme » .

Wagner scribbled at the bottom of the note :

« Yes ! Yes ! Cordial greetings ! »

« Bruckner, the trumpet » became a kind of leitmotiv with him.

There are many reports about further developments. At the evening reunion, Wagner treated Bruckner to so much beer that the latter in despair the following day could no longer remember which Symphony Wagner had preferred for dedication.

Enlightenment was provided by the sculptor Gustav Kietz, who was also present and recorded the events in his memoirs, from today's view-point in an entirely comical way :

« (...) When I was sitting at breakfast in the dining-room of my hotel the following day, Bruckner came in.

As soon as he caught sight of me, he rushed to me with the words :

“ Ah, Councillor, how fortunate I am to see you, I am the most wretched man in the world ! Surely, you heard yesterday that I sent the Maestro several Symphonies to select a dedication for, and now, I am in the terrible position that I simply cannot recall which one the Maestro chose. Oh, the beer, so much of the terrible stuff ! ”

I replied :

“ I'm sorry, in my work, I was not able to pay attention to the conversation. I only remember that I heard you talking about a Symphony in D minor because I immediately thought you were speaking about Beethoven's Ninth, and then, there was talk about a trumpet. ”

Then, the true Viennese came out. Bruckner hugged me boisterously and kissed me, calling-out :

“ Ah, Councillor, dear Councillor (I still don't know how I came about this title) , I thank you so much ! ”

Racked by residual doubts, Bruckner sent Wagner a sheet of paper with the question :

“ Symphony in D minor, where the trumpet opens the theme.

A. Bruckner ”

And got it back with the comment :

“ Yes, yes.

Best regards,

Richard Wagner. ” »

Richard Wagner's conscientious study of the score shows that accepting the dedication was no empty act of politeness on his part, as indeed one would hardly expect of him. Cosima's diary tells us that early in 1875, he went through the Symphony at the piano with her.

Anton Bruckner revised the Third Symphony in 1874.

The preserved autograph of the original version - and particularly the copy sent to Wagner, which is especially valuable because it does not contain Bruckner's later amendments - enabled the differences to be reconstructed in a scholarly founded manner later.

As described by William Carragan in its presentation paper, « Bruckner's Trumpet », the « significant improved » 1874 version is, movement for movement, of the same length and structure as the 1873 original version, but there are many passages, particularly in the first movement, with major changes in texture (canonic imitation) and orchestration.

Bruckner revised the Symphony again in 1876.

The revised Adagio has been edited by Leopold Nowak in 1980. In this version, of the Adagio, the openings of parts 1 and 3 were broadened, and, in part 5, the difficult accompaniment in syncopated semi-quavers is replaced by that used by Richard Wagner in the Overture of « Tannhäuser » .

The complete 1876 version of the Third Symphony has been reconstructed by William Carragan :

« The reconstructed 1876 version of the Third Symphony ... constitutes the earliest phase of the second version of that much-revised Symphony.

In this revision (...) the citations of themes from Wagner's Operas “ Tristan und Isolde ” and “ Die Walküre ” were removed from the first movement and Finale (...) In the first movement, the opening trumpet theme was added as a 2 part canon near the end of the exposition. In the Finale that same motto theme was also made into a brilliant 4 part canon which was placed in the middle of the development. It is an interesting passage of 38 measures in which the chorale theme from the second or B theme group is played unexpectedly loudly accompanied by material from the A theme and the motto theme from the first movement. This is followed by a dialogue between the loud C theme and the quiet B theme chorale. »

The brothers and sisters who lived long enough to play a part in Gustav Mahler's adult life were Leopoldine, born in 1863, who married unhappily and died in 1889 of a tumour on the brain ; Justine (« Justi ») , born in 1868, who, after the death of Mahler's parents, was to form part of his household, as was her sister, Emma, born in 1875 ; Louis (Alois) , born in 1867, and Otto, born in 1873. Justine and Emma were to marry musicians who were, oddly enough, brothers, Justine married Arnold Rosé (1863-1946) , who was long concert-master of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and first violin of his famous string quartet ; he was Mahler's friend and close colleague. Emma married Eduard Rosé, Arnold's elder brother, a distinguished cellist. These 2 sisters seemed able, eventually, to come to some sort of terms with life, though Justine's later relation to Mahler was an unduly fervent one, and, in childhood, her fantasies assumed a neurotic shape.

Tuesday, 18 or Wednesday, 26 March 1862 : Ernst Mahler is born in Iglau (Jihlava) .

Alma Mahler relates a story that, she claims, « is thoroughly characteristic of her » :

« While still a child, (Justine) stuck candles all round the edge of her cot. Then, she lay down and lit the candles and firmly believed that she was dead. »

Poor creature, she may well have wished that she were dead. She had, it seems, « an unusually vivid imagination » , but « the practice of lying was systematically inculcated in her by her father's short-sighted harshness. It was long before she awoke from a nightmare of whippings. »

Mahler's 2 brothers, Otto and Alois, showed no capacity whatever to adjust themselves to the requirements of everyday existence. Alois, the elder (« rather a fool than a freak ») indulged in ridiculous but self-inflating impersonations, to the embarrassment of his family.

A rather sad, because so remote, meeting in Vienna between the 2 brothers is recorded in a letter of Mahler's to his wife, written from Mannheim in January 1904 :

« At the “ West-Bahnhof ”, I encountered my fine gentleman of a brother, the writer and chief-accountant. The poor wretch looked at me side-ways, half-shy, half-curious. It did after all touch me more than I had expected. I was only afraid that he would end-up in my carriage. Indeed, I already saw us in the same sleeper. Well, that was spared me. »

Alois Mahler (1867-1931) was the eldest surviving sibling of Gustav ; very little is known about much of his life. While the parents were living, it appears that he assisted his father with the business and may have inherited it, or a portion of it, after their deaths (all of the Mahler siblings had an inheritance) . In the fall of 1889, Alois was drafted into the army, and he served in a regiment based in Brünn. He seems to have served less than his full 3 years, however, as he was looking for work in early 1892.

Natalie Bauer-Lechner describes Alois as the « worst » of the siblings :

« Moreover, in addition, the worst of them came from a distance - Alois, who had served his 3 years in Brünn as a private in the military and continually assaulted her (“ Justi ”) and Gusrav with troubles and demands of the most unprecedented sort. »

Her judgement is amply illustrated by the family letters, which frequently attest to Alois's unreliability and even dishonesty.

Alma Mahler completes the story :

« (Alois) called himself Hans, because it sounded less Jewish, ran into debt, forged notes and finally had to flee to America. When he wanted to look smart, he wore a top-hat, a flowered waist-coat and white spats. »

Gustav Mahler made efforts to find Alois a position in the business world, but ultimately decided to let him go his own way. At first, having changed his name to Hans Christian, he lived in Vienna and worked as a chief-accountant (« Ober-Buch-Halter ») ; at times, he lived together with Otto. In **December 1894**, Justine wrote to Ernestine that she never heard from Alois other than when he needed money ; in **July 1895**, she asked her not to tell him that she was coming to Vienna. **After the mid-1890's**, he is never mentioned in the letters to Justine. In 1910, Alois emigrated to the United States, and died in Chicago on 14 April 1931.

We don't know exactly how handy Gustav Mahler was in the kitchen, but we do know that his sister, Justine, baked a killer « Marillen-Knödel » - a traditional Viennese apricot dumpling dish.

One of Mahler's friends, Ludwig Karpath, recalled the composer's shock at finding-out that Karpath wasn't a fan of « Marillen-Knödel » :

« What ! Is there a Viennese to whom “ Marillen-Knödel ” means nothing ? You will come with me right away to eat the heavenly dish. My sister “ Justi ” has her own recipe for it, and we will see if you remain indifferent. »

Ludwig Karpath became an immediate fan of the apricot dumplings !

A jealous Alma will grow to hate Justine and will write in her memoir many years after Gustav's death that « Justi » once told her :

« You have him as an old man, but I had him when he was young. »

From its inception, the Vienna Wagner Academic Society (« Wagner Verein ») performed Richard Wagner's music.

The location of these « internal evenings » was the Bösendorfer's concert-hall of the Palais Lichtenstein located at « Herrengasse » Number 6 which was opened in **November 1872**.

Later the Society, together with all its events, moved to the small hall in the newly-built « Musikverein » building where its « internal evenings » became of great importance for Viennese musical life.

The year when Anton Bruckner started his Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) was full of remarkable events in the cultural life of Vienna.

Sunday, 21 February 1875 : Richard Wagner arrives in Vienna to stay for some weeks.

He arranges concerts for his planned Festival in Bayreuth, and conducts 3 concerts in Vienna :

On 1st and 15th March, and on 6th May.

For the first time, the public can hear parts of « Götterdämmerung » such as scenes from the First Act, Siegfried's Journey to the Rhine, Siegfried's Death and the Funeral March, and the last scene of the Third Act with Amalie Friedrich-Materna and Franz Glatz.

Did Bruckner hear this concert which was called « the biggest cultural event of 1875 » ?

Not everybody in Vienna appreciated Wagner.

The satirical paper « Der Floh » (The Flea) wrote :

« It is over, this terrible week, in which Richard Wagner reigned over the musical life in Vienna. »

March 1875 : Anton Bruckner is invited to a « soirée » at which Richard Wagner speaks highly of his Third Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) , and says that, once he will have done enough to make the Bayreuth performances secure, he will conduct all Bruckner's works.

The several reports that Wagner would conduct Bruckner Symphonies all originate with Bruckner himself. No doubt Wagner actually said such things, but there is no other evidence, no mention, not even in his extensive relations with leading conductors, that Wagner promoted Bruckner's works in any way at all.

Tuesday, 13 April 1875 : Death at 14 in Iglau (Jihlava) of Gustav's younger brother, Ernst Mahler, possibly of

endocarditis : a family disorder. As he dies, Gustav tells him folk-tales of his own invention at his bed-side and bears his death grievously.

Friday, 10 September 1875 : The 15 year old Gustav Mahler goes to live in Vienna. He enrolls at the Conservatory.

Piano instructor and Schubert specialist Julius Epstein interviews father and son.

He tells Bernhard :

« Your son is a born musician. He has spirit, but he is not destined for the spirit business. » , speaking in the paronomastic style his son will cultivate throughout his life.

Mahler's concentration will be piano.

He will study with :

Julius Epstein : piano (Mahler's major) .

Robert Fuchs : harmony.

Franz Krenn : counterpoint and composition.

Later, Mahler studies history of music with Adolf Prosnitz.

Of these teachers, Mahler seems to have been closest to Epstein, for the published letters contain 2 very affectionate ones to this man : one, undated, from Iglau, which must be from 1877, since he mentions passing his matriculation at the school, there. Mahler informs Epstein that he arrived in Iglau several days too late for the end of term, so that he had to postpone his leaving examination until the autumn. He nevertheless hoped to carry out the holiday task set by Epstein to his full satisfaction.

The letter opens with the following words, which indicate the truly cordial relationship that existed between teacher and pupil :

« My dear and revered Master,

You cannot imagine the joy that your esteemed letter has given me ; I really do not know what to say in gratitude for so much kindness. But, even if I were to write page after page in the attempt to express my thanks, it would not amount to anything but : “ How I very like you. ” Let me assure you, this is not just empty talk, but something I really and truly mean. »

Mahler was recognized among the « Conservatoire » students as one of the greatest compositional talents, and this had even led to his nickname « the new Schubert ». With the exception of his piano professor Julius Epstein, his relations with his teachers were very lax : he distinguished himself in lessons with professors Robert Fuchs and Theodor Krenn through frequent absence, although as Fuchs remarked :

« There was nothing he couldn't do in the theoretical subjects. »

Mahler's teachers at the Conservatory must already have been aware of some of his principal character traits, which included ambition, lack of discipline, and an awareness of his own merits. Epstein also speaks of his high-spirits and mood changes.

The letter that Mahler sent him from Kassel a few years later includes the noteworthy remark :

« I'm still as " arrogant " as I was, aren't I ? »

But most of the people who got to know the young Gustav at this time considered him exceptional, admiring his lively mind, his ready wit, and his ability to go straight to the heart of a matter. Within his chosen profession, they were also struck by his remarkable memory and precocious maturity, both as performer and composer : according to Alma Mahler, some even regarded him as a « latter-day Schubert » .

Given that Mahler's other teachers were probably not as lenient as Epstein, his Conservatory years must sometimes have been rather tempestuous. An eyewitness of his behaviour during this period, Marie Lorenz (the one-time " fiancée " of Rudolf Krzyżanowski) disapproved of Gustav's undoubted self-assertiveness, and also of the fact that he, later on, never became one of Bruckner's disciples and devotees :

« I remember Mahler from the time when he was still leading a modest existence (still a student at the Conservatory) , and, even then, he couldn't stand anything that was somehow meant to overshadow him ! From then on, he fought his way to the top, step by step, with the occasional stroke of luck. Tyrannical to the point of heartlessness, stepping on whatever got in his way. Approachable only in moments, if you were lucky enough to catch him at the right time and in the right mood ; (and) then, he was also capable of acting obsequiously. Did he have time for Bruckner ? At times when performances were involved, yes, but for how long ? »

Marie Lorenz's antipathy surely stemmed from the fact that she adored Bruckner and tended to judge the world through his eyes. Mahler was becoming famous at precisely the time she was painting this unflattering portrait of him, and there is no doubt that she reproached him for - in her opinion - not taking enough advantage of his new-found reputation to promote Bruckner's works.

Mahler's fellow-students include : Hugo Wolf, Anton Krisper, Hans Rott, Rudolf Krzyżanowski and Arnold Rosé.

Hans Rott had enrolled at the Conservatory in 1874, only one year before Mahler, although he was 2 years older. He spent 3 full years there, studying organ with Bruckner, becoming a fine organist and an outstanding improviser on the instrument, and winning first prizes in the 1876 and 1877 organ competitions. During his second and third years, he was also enrolled in Krenn's composition course, where he was a classmate of Mahler's. Between 1874 and 1877, Rott and his friend and fellow organ student Rudolf Krzyżanowski developed a strong personal as well as professional relationship with Bruckner.

Rudolf's brother Heinrich even claims that none of Bruckner's Conservatory students was as similar to their teacher as Rott was :

« Both were deeply religious, not to say Catholic. Both belonged to the organ, and vice-versa. Bruckner was a bad pianist, and Rott at least not a very good one. They both lacked the required physical agility, Rott even more so than Bruckner. Both were eminently emotional human beings. The relationship to Bruckner is particularly pronounced in Rott's music, in which power (" das Mächtige ") , largeness and broadness, massiveness, solemnity predominate, occasionally veering off into coarse humour and Austrian music - this an expression of what he occasionally appreciated from a distance and might have liked to be himself, an appreciation of the national character, which he was born into and considered part of his heritage. This was completely evident in his music, but only in passing in real life, which seems to be the case among musicians. »

Rott was left alone to continue his studies at the Vienna Conservatory. Fortunately, both his skill and financial need were recognized and he was excused from paying tuition. While studying, he briefly roomed with Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski. Bruckner often spoke of Rott's « masculine beauty » , and his student Carl Hrubý, a friend of Rott's, noticed a striking resemblance with the Bavarian King Ludwig II.

Krzyżanowski studied violin, organ, piano and composition. He was a pupil of professor Anton Bruckner and part of professor Franz Krenn's third year composition class. Rudolf was evidently highly-gifted as a musician, equally talented not only as a violinist and pianist but also as an organist and as a composer. The Krzyżanowski family came from Eger in Bohemia.

Rudolf Krzyżanowski, Mahler's senior by one year, had arrived in Vienna 3 years before him, in 1872. Only 12 years old at the time, he had first enrolled at the Conservatory's « Vorbereitungs-Schule » (preparatory school) at first as a violinist and pianist, and then, from 1875 on - in the « Ausbildungs-Schule » (training school) - as a violinist initially, and later taking courses in harmony and composition. For unknown reasons, Krzyżanowski left the Conservatory on 9 March 1876, but returned again the following term to study choral conducting, composition, and organ (as a student of Bruckner's) . The 2 young men - both members of Krenn's composition class - were drawn to each other by their shared interests, one of which was Wagner. Gustav and Rudolf became close friends as early as 1876 and remained friendly throughout their lives, although Rudolf was a notoriously difficult type.

Together with Friedrich (« Fritz ») Löhr, Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf, the Krzyżanowski brothers (Rudolf and Heinrich) were part of the close circle of friends of Mahler.

A musical event of major importance in Mahler's Viennese years was his discovery of Richard Wagner's Opera « Götterdämmerung », which he experienced in the company of 2 close friends, Hugo Wolf and Rudolf Krzyżanowski (Alma Mahler is the source of the well-known story of their expulsion from lodgings as a result of a vigorous performance of the Trio which ends Act II) .

Mahler arrived in Vienna in the same year that Richard Wagner conducted the Vienna Philharmonic and, personally brought to the Orchestra's attention, the extraordinary qualities of Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , of which he was the dedicatee.

Mahler played percussion in the Conservatory Student Orchestra.

Mahler was often to be seen dining with Anton Bruckner and his students in the back-rooms of certain Viennese restaurants. The Master mostly appeared at his University lectures in the company of the young Mahler and left again with him.

Mahler used often to foregather with Bruckner at mid-day. Bruckner stood the beer and Mahler had to pay for his own rolls of bread ; but as he generally had no money, he had to make his mid-day meal on beer alone. Bruckner was always surrounded by large numbers of young musicians, to whom he talked with child-like unrestraint. But if there were Jews present, he always (if he had occasion to say anything about Jews) gave them the courtesy title of « the Israelitic gentlemen » (« die Herren Israeliten ») .

Although he received first grade and won a first prize in 1875, Rudolf Krzyżanowski reports that both Hans Rott and Anton Bruckner remained questionable piano players, their instrument clearly being the organ. Mahler and Krzyżanowski studied alongside him, but it was Rott who was considered to be the most talented of his circle.

Wednesday, 22 December 1875 : Lecture evening at the Vienna Conservatory with performance of a Piano Quintet by Rudolf Krzyżanowski.

1876 : Composition of the Symphonic Prelude (« Symphonisches Präludium ») in C minor.

While the exact circumstances of the composition of this Prelude have not been determined, it is certain to have been composed within the circle of Anton Bruckner and his student colleagues at the Vienna Conservatory. The manuscript (found among the items belonging to the Estate of Rudolf Krzyżanowski shortly after World War II) is a hand-written orchestral score of 43 pages (293 bars) , bearing the inscription « Rudolf Krzyżanowski copied. 1876 » on the first page, and, on the last page, in large, blue letters, « von Anton Bruckner » (by Anton Bruckner) . It seems likely that the work was at least sketched by Bruckner, possibly as an exercise in instrumentation for Krzyżanowski. It seemed clear that the entire musical substance was by Bruckner himself, most likely as an « emerging autograph score » ,

with all string parts, some important lines for woodwind and brass, and perhaps, a few passages already entirely completed.

Krzyzanowski's copy is laid-out only for Bruckner's typical orchestra of double woodwind, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 bass-tuba, timpani, and strings, the orchestration used by Bruckner from his Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) , composed in 1875-1876, revised in 1877-1878.

Mahler scholar Paul Banks, who knew only a 4 stave reduction of the work, attributed the work to Gustav Mahler. Heinrich Tschuppik - who attributes the authorship to Bruckner - showed the piece to leading Bruckner scholars Max Auer and Franz Gräßlinger, and conductor Volkmar Andreae. Andreae agreed to perform this unknown work with the Vienna Philharmonic. However, the performance, which had been planned for 23 January 1949 did not take place, because Leopold Nowak, who was asked for expertise, had not been able to come to a final conclusion about the authorship. The premiere was performed later by the Munich Philharmonic under Fritz Rieger on 7 September 1949.

Sunday, 20 February 1876 : Third concert by the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien ») Concert Series in the great-hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Johann Herbeck, conductor.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto for violin, cello, and piano in C major, Opus 56. Soloists : Josef Hellmesberger senior (violin) , Friedrich Grützmacher (cello) , Julius Epstein (piano) .

Franz Schubert : Choral works performed by the « Wiener Singverein » .

Robert Schumann : ? . Soloists : Niegel, Neumann, Baron Julius von der Tann, Maas.

Anton Bruckner conducts the second performance of his Second Symphony in C minor (**WAB 102**) - in a version that was shortened and re-worked on the advice of his dear friend Herbeck.

Count Ferdinand Laurencin, Eduard Hanslick, Doctor Franz E. Gehring, Eduard Kremser and August Wilhelm Ambros were in the audience. Conservatory student Gustav Mahler may also have been present.

Bruckner made additional, smaller changes in 1875 and 1876 : mainly cuts in the coda of the first movement, and in the development of the second theme and the coda of the Finale. In the Finale, some material from the 1872 version, cut in 1873, was restored, the new passage added in 1873 was shortened, the fourth trombone was removed from the final bars and, instead, unison strings were introduced at the very end.

The revision Bruckner undertook following the premiere of his Second Symphony, engineered and supervised by Herbeck, opened a difficult new chapter in Bruckner's career. At first, this process was more damaging to Bruckner's

fragile self-esteem than to the music itself, though, in later years, that was to change, too. From the Second Symphony on, each symphony was finished and then set out to be picked apart - Herbeck was quickly succeeded in this task by 2 of Bruckner's eager pupils, Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe, and later by Franz's brother, Josef. From then on, Bruckner seldom trusted his own instincts.

Herbeck was well-meaning and highly-musical and he was certainly less self-serving than Löwe and the Schalk brothers who were soon to inherit his role. Still, he coaxed Bruckner into several substantial changes that a composer of stronger back-bone would never have sanctioned : cuts in the first, second, and fourth movements ; the elimination of the repeats from both « Scherzo » and Trio ; and a number of details, including the substitution of the clarinet for the horn in the coda of the slow movement. Bruckner was swept along ; he even began to refer to his symphony, in its original form, as « the old arrangement » . Perhaps Bruckner realized that Herbeck's recommended changes might help the work find more sympathetic listeners, which was his intention. But what Herbeck perhaps did not understand was that, with this symphony, Bruckner had begun to explore new territory, and it was a landscape so singular and bold that it was not readily grasped, even by practiced musicians.

Friday, 23 June 1876 : At the annual « Concours » for first year students, organized by the Vienna Conservatory at the Small Hall (« Kleine-Saal » or « Brahms-Saal » , 598 seats) , Gustav Mahler wins a First Prize for piano of the Vienna Conservatory for his performance of Franz Schubert's Sonata in A minor.

Saturday, 1 July 1876 : At the annual « Concours » organized by the Vienna Conservatory at the Small Hall (« Kleine-Saal » or « Brahms-Saal » , 598 seats) , Gustav Mahler wins a First Prize in composition by performing the first movement of his Piano Quintet in A minor.

July 1876 : Fellow-student Natalie Bauer-Lechner introduces herself to Gustav at a concert. She will write the single most valuable memoir of Gustav Mahler. « A fine kid » , he says of her, somewhat disrespectfully. His behaviour is erratic, marked by breaches of discipline alternating with obsequious remorse.

In a fit of frustration and self-loathing, he resigns from the Conservatory, then begs to be re-instated :

« It has all been a misunderstanding. »

Tuesday, 12 September 1876 : Benefit-concert organized by Gustav Mahler, student at the Vienna Conservatory, with the kind assistance of August Siebert (1856-1938) and Eugen Grunberg (1854-1928) , both members of the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra, and Mahler's Conservatory friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski. The concert is given at the « Kleiner Fest-Saal » of Hotel Čzap, located at Number 15-1696 Zizkova Street (Sancta Johann's « Platz » Number 50-51) ; now, the « Dělnický dům » (Workers Home) .

The net income will be donated to the local Imperial and Royal « Gymnasium » to provide teaching materials.

Programme

Gustav Mahler : Sonata for violin and piano ; Quartet for piano, 2 violins and viola (both works are lost) .

Other works by Rudolf Krzyżanowski, Henri Vieuxtemps, Franz Schubert, Frédéric Chopin, Jean-Delphin Alard.

Soloists : Gustav Mahler (piano) , Eugen Grunberg (1854-1928) (violin) , Rudolf Krzyżanowski (violin) , August Siebert (1856-1938) (violin) .

Saturday, 9 December 1876 : Rudolf Krzyżanowski and Gustav Mahler gave a concert in Jihlava (Iglau) , at the Hotel Čzap, located at Number 15/1696 Zizkova street (Sancta Johann's « Platz » Number 50/51) .

March 1877 : Hugo Wolf is expelled from the Vienna Conservatory.

Friday, 16 March 1877 : Gustav Mahler attends Franz Liszt's public concert given in Vienna.

Wednesday, 20 June 1877 : Second internal student concert given at the Small Hall (« Kleine-Saal » or « Brahms-Saal » , 598 seats) by the Vienna Conservatory Orchestra conducted by Director Josef Hellmesberger senior.

Gustav Mahler won a First Prize for piano by performing Franz-Xaver Scharwenka's Piano Concerto No. I (he had only a few months to learn the difficult solo-part) and Robert Schumann's « Humoreske » .

Mahler declined to compete for the composition prize.

Thursday, 21 June 1877 : At the annual « Concours » for the second year piano students, Gustav Mahler is awarded (although not unanimously) a First Prize at the Small Hall (« Kleine-Saal » or « Brahms-Saal » , 598 seats) of the Vienna Conservatory for his interpretation on his set subject (Robert Schumann : duration around 20 minutes) .

Summer 1877 : Gustav Mahler works on the Opera « Die Argonauten » (the score is lost) .

Saturday, 12 September 1877 : Gustav Mahler enrolls in the class in counterpoint of Franz Krenn but does not complete the course. A rather distinguished (and pedantic !) teacher, he is nicknamed « Old Krenn » !

The matter of Mahler's contrapuntal studies must have seemed of great import to Robert Hirschfeld, the « Wiener Abendpost » critic who was Mahler's most vitriolic enemy in the Vienna press during the second half of his tenure at the « Hofoper » .

On 15 March 1912, one year after Mahler's death, Hirschfeld wrote the following to Ludwig Karpath :

« Mahler's disciples have claimed that he skipped counterpoint and joined the composition class straight away. But I can provide documentary evidence that he received a third-class grade in counterpoint, with the result that his name was “ discreetly ” omitted from the final report ! Please do not mention this to anyone, as it is a great secret. At that time, it was Bruckner who was teaching counterpoint. Thus, he was a student of Bruckner's after all, but he failed ! With Professor Krenn, it was easier to get a first-class mark, and in composition, without counterpoint. »

Hirschfeld's assertion that an academic establishment as prestigious as the Vienna Conservatory might have « suppressed » a student's results out of a sense of « discretion » is highly-questionable.

...

« Abitur » in Iglau (Jihlava) .

October 1877 : Still uncertain that his destiny is music, Gustav Mahler enrolls at the University of Vienna. He attends courses in early Germanic literature, history of Greek art, history of art, ancient philosophy and philosophy of art.

Mahler begins to attend Anton Bruckner's harmony and counterpoint lectures at the auditorium. In spite of being temperamentally quite different from his elderly mentor, Mahler obviously had a great respect for him and was one of the first to recognize and appreciate his stature.

Mahler biographer Paul Stefan writes :

« There is little doubt that Mahler attended Bruckner's (University) lectures. »

Mahler may well have treated lightly university classes but not Bruckner's.

He chose the following courses :

6 hours a week of medieval German literature and Middle High German exercises based around the « Parzival » of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Herta Blaukopf states :

« Both courses were taught by Richard Heinzel, who was professor of German language and literature. Mahler's choice may appear surprising at first sight, but we should not forget that with the revival of Romantic poetry in the 1880's the world of early German legends was again popular, not least as a result of the works of Wagner, who was now already grappling with the subject of " Parzival ". In addition, Mahler may have heard Heinzel's name from his friend Heinrich Krzyżanowski. »

4 hours a week on the history of Greek art, a course taught by Otto Benndorf.

General history (like Bruckner's course, this class was later deleted from Mahler's student records) .

2 hours a week with Rudolf Eitelberger, who offered a course of « Practical exercises in explaining and identifying works of art » .

Even if Bruckner was considered as a composer « out of the ordinary » , his growing fame will benefit the University. Students came from all corners of the Monarchy and all walks of life and were not all destined for musical professions. Some students of the Conservatory (like Gustav Mahler) attended his lectures to perfect their art.

Mahler did not study with Bruckner, but, at the start of his third year at the Conservatory, he did enrol at the University and immediately put his name down for Bruckner's class - an entry that was later deleted from his records. The most likely reason for this is that students who wanted official recognition of the courses they had followed needed to ask their teachers to sign their personal record, and the teacher would only do so if the student had attended his class on a regular basis. It may be that Mahler chose not to obtain Bruckner's signature, knowing that he had been unable to attend his class regularly enough.

Herta Blaukopf states :

« Mahler's personal University record for the 1877-1878 winter-term also includes an entry relating to lectures in general history. »

Blaukopf explains that his reason for abandoning those courses was surely not financial, since Bruckner's lectures were free during the relevant semester, and the history class would have added only 5 Gulden to his monthly fee.

« It is much more likely that these lectures clashed with commitments at the Conservatory or with other lectures, or that Mahler simply felt that 12 hours of lectures a week at the University were enough. »

If Mahler attended a few of Bruckner's classes, it was presumably because of the esteem and admiration he felt for him, feelings that would remain undiminished for the rest of his life. However, he never included him among the great

masters, because he obviously had serious reservations about Bruckner's conception of form and never ceased to regard Brahms as the greater composer.

Mahler becomes friendly with Hugo Wolf. They share the same room.

Although still a pupil at the Vienna Conservatory, Mahler matriculated to the University of Vienna. The registration forms, called « Nationale » in Austria, for a total of 3 semesters are preserved in the archive of the University. But not a single document, no letter, no « post-facto » account indicates why the developing musician took on a second program of study before completing the Conservatory. Was it the wish of the parents, in whose eyes a university degree had greater weight than the diploma of the Conservatory ? Was it Gustav's own decision because he had recognized the inadequacy of his « Gymnasium » (High-School) education ?

Monday, 1 October 1877 : Winter Semester begins.

University students of Anton Bruckner at the Faculty of Philosophy :

Karl Dümmler, Martin Einfalt, Max Herbeck, Carl Kreutzer, Gustav Mahler, Josef Mayer, Johann Petkovsek, Richard Plasche, Emil Stöbel, Edmund Ullrich.

Bruckner's university harmony lectures are crossed, again and again, in Mahler's student book probably because Mahler didn't care about Bruckner's confirmation at the end of the semester.

Bruckner was now well-established in 3 important Viennese cultural institutions : the « Hofkapelle », the Conservatory and the University. But the deficit was becoming more and more important between the quantity of new works and their public creation.

His hopes were re-kindled when « honorary » « Kapellmeister » (devotee and friend) Johann Herbeck took-over the helm of the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien ») Concert Series.

After conducting the second performance of the Symphony No. 2 in C minor, on **Sunday February 20, 1876** (asking the composer to make several changes) , Herbeck decided, in a courageous gesture, to include the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) in the second winter subscription-concert of the « Gesellschaft » to be held on **Sunday December 16, 1877**.

Friday, 12 October 1877 : Date at end of the score of the Adagio of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . Wilhelm Tappert is informed of the work's completion and the forthcoming performance.

Alas ! After announcing the first phase of his pro-Bruckner campaign, Herbeck died prematurely of pneumonia (he suffered from respiratory problems several times during his life) on **Sunday October 28, 1877**, aged 45 (10 months

and 3 days) ; about 2 months before the premiere. He also rehearsed, 6 days before his death, choral works by Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven (the 9th Symphony) with the Vienna « Singverein » . Herbeck anticipated this concert with great interest.

Bruckner was strongly shaken by this tragedy. The same day, he conducted for the last time the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » and the Linz « Sängerbund » during a memorial concert at St. Florian monastery.

Saturday, 20 October 1877 : Gustav Mahler plays the first movement of Xaver Scharwenka's Piano Concerto No. 1 at the Vienna Conservatory.

Sunday, 28 October 1877 : Everything seemed to be falling apart for Bruckner !

He acted promptly by rushing to the well-known Viennese restaurant « Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” », located at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the First District, to meet the parliamentary of the « Reichstag », August Göllicher senior. In his haste and clumsiness, the robust Upper-Austrian accidentally threw the man to the ground !

August Göllicher junior recalled in his biography that Bruckner had forced its way through « like a steam-roller » hustling servers and customers to finally arrive at the table occupied by his father. Very agitated, Bruckner begged him to intervene in collaboration with the Liberal politician and industrialist Nikolaus Dumba, who served as vice-president of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde », to save the premiere « in extremis ». Without thinking of the dramatic consequences, Bruckner « sacrificed » himself to replace Herbeck. The performance by the Vienna Philharmonic was re-scheduled.

Everything was set ... for the great « débâcle » .

August junior, son of Austrian parliamentary (« Herr Reichsrat ») Göllicher senior, tells the story :

« As a music-student at the Conservatory, I met professor Bruckner (which my father had always cherished) for the second time during one of my first evenings “ at Gause’s ” Restaurant.

Soon after we had settled-down at one of the few free tables, we saw Bruckner coming towards us like a steam-roller jostling customers and table boys.

In his haste and clumsiness, the rugged man accidentally threw my father to the ground !

Deeply grasped, my father endeavoured to comfort the poor man and agreed to do everything in his power to fulfill his wish, and, for a long time, rejoiced at the possibility that the composer would be able to conduct his own work on the 16th of December. »

Highly-agitated, Bruckner begged Göllicher senior to intervene along with Nikolaus Dumba, Vice-President of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , and Karl Ritter von Stremayr, the Ministry of Culture, to keep the new Symphony on the programme, and offering, in his eagerness, to conduct the work himself.

The rehearsals of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) were a fateful prelude to the evening itself. When the musicians of the Philharmonic saw the score, they were even less impressed and remained uncooperative until the end. The effusive dedication to Richard Wagner, « to the unreachable world-famous sublime “ Master of poetry and music ” » , prejudiced opinion from the outset. The allusions to Richard Wagner's music throughout (the famous cascading strings from the « Tannhäuser » Overture being the most obvious) compounded matters in a music capital that was stubbornly anti-progressive and anti-Wagner.

As the new Symphony took shape for the first time, in real instrumental sound, the peals of laughter ringing-out from the Philharmonic players' desks struck Bruckner full in the face. When the composer stopped the music and tried to make himself understood to the Orchestra, witty remarks began to be muttered and the high-spirited antics escalated. Although a decent choir-Master, Bruckner was a barely competent and fluent orchestral conductor.

Bruckner never had a real friendly relationship with the Vienna Philharmonic. It is largely through the efforts of rich and powerful admirers of the composer (and the intervention of an influential Minister) that the Orchestra had to resign itself to play the programmed work, considered « unplayable » during rehearsals.

One of the composer's friends, Theodor Rättig, owner of the publishing-house « Bussjäger & Rättig » , attended most of the rehearsals.

He wrote :

« It was a pitiful and scandalous spectacle to see how the young players in the Orchestra made fun of the old man's incompetent conducting. Bruckner had no real idea how to conduct properly and had to limit himself to giving the tempo in the style of a marionette. »

In frustration, just before the concert, Bruckner wrote to a friend in Berlin :

« I shall never submit any of my works to our Philharmonic again for they have rejected my offerings repeatedly. »

Tuesday, 11 to Thursday, 13 December 1877 : The performance of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is advertised in the Viennese Press and the « Linzer Volksblatt » .

Sunday, 16 December 1877 (11:00 am) : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Second concert of the season 1877-1878 of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») consisting in a « Farewell Concert » honouring professor Josef Hellmesberger senior for his teaching career at the Vienna Conservatory. It is also the 107th anniversary of birth of Ludwig van Beethoven.

The Viennese audience essentially bought a ticket to be part of this special event, which is conducted by Josef Hellmesberger senior himself. Most were suspicious about the fact that Richard Wagner himself approved the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) and that Bruckner's admiration for the « Master » was « unlimited » and even exaggerated.

What was supposed to be a memorable evening became a total failure, mainly because of the ambivalence and hostility of the musicians towards Bruckner.

The few eyewitness accounts that have come down to us speak not only of a disastrous lack of skill on the part of the conductor-composer, whose gestures were supposedly those of an uncoordinated puppet, but also of the audience's bafflement and of outright sabotage on the part of the musicians, who were rumoured to have deliberately introduced wrong notes and added ornaments of their own invention.

Unfortunately for Bruckner, the first half of the programme had already been so long that one critic even remarked that the Beethoven cantata should have been left out, since it served to « lengthen, rather than enrich » the evening.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music for Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Cantata for chorus and orchestra « Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt » (Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage) , Opus 112 ; based on verses by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and dedicated to him.

Louis Spohr : Violin Concerto in D minor. Soloist : Jacob Maurice Grün.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Aria from « Le nozze di Figaro » . Soloist : « coloratura » soprano Clementine Edle von Schuch-Proska (born Procházka) .

Peter von Winter : Aria from the heroic Comic-Opera « Das unterbrochene Opferfest » (« The interrupted Sacrifice ») , originally planned to be preformed on 11 December.

Carl Heinrich Graun : Aria.

Intermission

The new « Musikverein » concert-hall on the « Karlsplatz » had begun to empty even during the intermission. Then,

the 53 year old Anton Bruckner arrived at the podium.

Abridged version of the Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (the 3rd revision published in 1878 without incorporating the 1876 Adagio) (**WAB 103**) . Duration : 45 minutes.

The performance will prove to be long and painful. The atrociously obstinate musicians, irked by Bruckner's muzzy beat, played wrong notes and made rude faces.

During the first 3 movements, a battle raged, with some audience members applauding so strongly - « in spite of a pallid performance on account of far too few rehearsals » - that efforts on the part of the « opposition » to hiss them down did not succeed.

Josef Hellmesberger senior (markedly ambivalent to Bruckner's music) started to laugh loudly. Soon, another colleague got involved. Thereupon, most of the students of the Conservatory made antics. Then, many in the audience began to laugh, whistle and hiss, expressing their own disapproval. Then, more rose abruptly to leave the premises. This scenario was repeated after each movement (instead of applause like it was the custom in the 19th Century) .

A « mass-exodus » developed before and during the Finale, which actually consisted of the noisy departure of the Brahmsians followed by the ordinary public, because it was fashionable for the Liberal « bourgeoisie » to favour Brahms against Bruckner.

Most of the Orchestra vanished even before the last notes had died away, leaving Bruckner completely alone at the rostrum.

Only 7 people remained in the stalls - out of a paltry ; 25 in the entire concert-hall. Some of them were said to be laughing and heckling, shouting : « da capo » and « bis » . A handful of dedicated hardcore supporters and faithful students of the Conservatory standing in the back of the « parterre » , including Josef Schalk, Eduard Kremser, Ernst Décsey, Hans Rott, Hugo Wolf, the 17 year old Gustav Mahler and his fellow-student Rudolf Krzyzanowski, carried on applauding, rushing towards the « Master » with tears and broken heart, unsuccessfully trying to cheer him up with some consoling words, ready to present him with a big laurel wreath.

A music-critic who witnessed the scene mentioned the presence of this « little host of hardy adventurers » .

Moreover, general-secretary « Herr » Professor Leopold Alexander Zellner - « who recommended a specific æsthetic use for the paper of his symphonies » - prevented them from handing-over the laurel wreath to their « Master » !!!

Theodor Helm left a vivid recollection :

« It was an unforgettably touching moment, when Bruckner at the end of the concert, all alone in the middle of the podium - for the orchestra musicians too had fled the stage as fast as possible - collected his manuscript parts, took

them under his arm and, his large floppy hat on his head, cast a long, wistful glance into the empty auditorium. (...) In the side hallway of the “ Musikvereins-Saal ”, some of his students came up to the Master and wanted to explain to him, with consoling and friendly words, how they had received the work :

“ Let me out, people don’t want to know about me ! ” (“ Laßt’s mi aus, die Leut’woll’n nix von mir wissen ! ”) , he exclaimed over and over. »

This was, no doubt, one of the saddest events in the history of music.

Bruckner was mauled in the press when the reviews appeared 2 days later.

Most generous was the « Wiener Zeitung » , which only called the Third « audacious » and « peculiar » , if unrestrained and undisciplined.

The « Deutsche Zeitung » was baffled :

« We heard an utterly bizarre work which might rather be described as a motley, formless patch-work fabricated from scraps of musical ideas than anything that is signified by the melodious title “ Symphony ”. »

The influential and famously caustic 52 year old music-critic Eduard Hanslick writing in the « Neue Freie Presse » , could not restrain his venom :

« It is not our wish to harm the composer whom we rightly respect as man and artist, for his artistic intentions are honest, however oddly he employs them. Instead of a critique, therefore, we would rather simply confess that we have not understood his gigantic Symphony. Neither were his poetic intentions clear to us - perhaps, a vision of how Beethoven’s Ninth made friends with Wagner’s “ Walküre ” and ended-up under her horse’s hooves nor could we grasp the purely musical coherence. The composer was greeted with cheering and was consoled with lively applause at the close by a fraction of the audience that stayed to the end for the flight of the rest. »

Referring to the length of the concert as « too much of a good thing » , but completely ignoring the exodus of the audience, the critic of « Die Presse » felt that :

« The “ Symphony ” of Bruckner again supplied proof of the composer’s creative powers. It contains a wealth of ideas, but, unfortunately, its impact is hindered by the infinitely scattered and broad form of its structure. However, “ Herr ” Bruckner received encouraging signs of appreciative reception from various parts. »

However, the anonymous critic of the « Wiener Abendpost » was much harsher :

« It is an outrageous (“ ganz ungeheuerlich ”) work, and it is impossible to characterize its ventures and oddities in a few words. (...) In this perplexing music, an unbridled and uneducated naturalism is at work for which no crudity is

too much, no logical leap too far, and which commits the most outrageous acts (“ das Unerhörteste ”) with a truly childlike credulity. “ Herr ” Bruckner murders father and mother in the conviction that this has to be. His use of general pauses reaches fantastical proportions (“ reicht ans Märchen ”) . One can’t stop shaking one’s head listening to this music and occasionally reaches for a pulse to make sure that what one is hearing is not the product of a fever. Nevertheless, this belated messenger from the ante-diluvium fascinates by a very specific claim he makes towards life (“ einen ganz bestimmten Anspruch, den er auf das Leben erhebt ”) , more so, and more interestingly and persistently than many a well-constructed and pleasant symphony of a dry school master. »

August Göllerich junior will dismiss any attempts made by Eduard Hanslick, Max Kalbeck, and Doctor Theodor Billroth to approach Bruckner’s private Circle.

Among those present at the « débâcle » , and impressed by the work nevertheless, was the music-publisher Theodor Rättig (one of the few who stayed until the end - and attended the rehearsals) of the Viennese firm « Bußjäger & Rättig » . Rättig approached the young supporters (like an Angel coming from Heaven ...) to praise the Symphony. Bruckner looked incredulously at this strange character who dared to show such courage at such a difficult moment.

« Bruckner looked at him as if he were a phantom and could barely believe the earnest intent of the admirer he had gained.

“ But I must have the score ! ” (“ I’ muß aber d’ Partitur haben ”) , he finally cried out. »

(August Göllerich - Max Auer. « Anton Bruckner » , iv / i , page 478.)

Rättig agreed and decided to publish not only a full score and parts, but also an arrangement of the symphony for piano 4 hands.

It was to be the first orchestral work of Bruckner’s ever to be published.

Gustav Mahler and other sympathetic students including Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe and Rudolf Krzyżanowski later prepared a piano version of the Symphony, which they presented to Bruckner. Mahler was still receiving his grammar school education as a day-boy in Iglau, while he was studying at the Conservatory at the same time. He admired Bruckner, 36 years his senior.

Theodor (Heinrich Arthur) Rättig was born on 28 June 1841 in Gumbinnen, East-Prussia (now : Gussew, Russia) . He became a civil servant and part-time musician. Choir-director of the Rostock Liedertafel, he came to Vienna around 1870, where he worked as a bank clerk. He became a member of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society. In 1877, Rättig took over in Vienna the book and music publishing-house of Carl Schlesinger and worked until 1880 with a partner, Rudolf Bußjäger, leading a quiet existence publishing mainly works for male-choir. After the merger with Adolf Bösendorfer and Emil Wetzler (Julius Engelmann) (« Adolf Bösendorfer’s Musikalien-Handlung und Leihinstitut Bußjäger & Rättig ») , Rättig published 8 vocal works by Anton Bruckner (other composers in his catalogue are almost all minor Viennese musicians) - but there was one exception : the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . Bearing in mind the

length of Bruckner's symphonies, and the composer's tendency to make several revisions even after first publication, one symphony by this composer provided the publisher with as much business as 5 by any other composer ! Röttig was responsible for publishing the first edition (1877) . He was almost alone among the Viennese musical establishment in his enthusiasm. He issued a full-score and, shortly afterwards, a version for piano duet by the 18 year old Gustav Mahler, the latter's first publication. By the end of 1880, Röttig was operating on his own. He continued his passionate advocacy of Bruckner's music with the publication of the « Te Deum » (1885) , 4 Graduale (1886) and the revised 1889 version of the Third Symphony (1890) . A branch of Röttig's publishing-house opened in Leipzig in 1897. Röttig was one of the founding members in Vienna on December 5, 1897 (date of the constituent general assembly) of the Society of Authors, Composers and Music Publishers (« Autoren, Komponisten und Musikverleger » , or AKM) . The history of the AKM is closely linked to the development of copyright law (the founding efforts began shortly after the law was passed in 1895) . In the late-1890's, Röttig's publishing firm moved to Leipzig. It was taken back by Carl Schlesinger (Robert Lienau) around 1910. Theodor Röttig died on 5 July 1912 in Heiligenbach, Lower-Austria.

...

Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor (**WAB 103**, 1877 version, edited by Leopold Nowak) ...

Johannes Wildner, New Philharmonic Orchestra of Westphalia (2002) Naxos :

Total Duration : 77:44.

1) Gemäßigt, misterioso (21:19) - <https://youtu.be/l8gBw0IsJHQ>

2) Bewegt, feierlich (15:38) - <https://youtu.be/clpuBqxHfcU>

3) Ziemlich schnell (7:16) - <https://youtu.be/xXIA47mDBDY>

4) Allegro (15:16) - <https://youtu.be/YBvG7v0ar7o>

...

Michael Gielen, SWR Sinfonie-Orchester des Südwest-Rundfunks (SWR Classic) :

1) Gemäßigt, misterioso (18:29) - <https://youtu.be/sRJ5LIQH0YU>

2) Bewegt, feierlich (15:43) - <https://youtu.be/a3bu-356lUI>

3) Ziemlich schnell (6:55) - https://youtu.be/zwKp_-__kClS

4) Allegro (14:08) - <https://youtu.be/iqDciI-IMdQ>

...

Theodor Rättig was even willing to risk publishing the score in his catalogue, at his own expense (3,000 « Gulden ») .

The composer was very particular about the dedication page :

Symphony in D minor
To the eminent Excellency
Richard Wagner
the Unattainable,
World-Famous, and
Exalted Master
of Poetry and Music,
in Deepest Reverence, dedicated by Anton Bruckner.

His rapture was modified upon receipt of the beautifully engraved and bound first printed copy to find that its dedication to Wagner was « in deepest veneration » (« Verehrung » : worship, veneration, adoration) and not « in deepest reverence » (« Ehrfucht » : awe, reverence, veneration) . Bruckner demanded it be changed.

The generous publisher comments :

« But great and naïve individuals are not grateful people, and there is probably nobody who made the lives of his warmest friends and admirers as difficult as did Anton Bruckner. »

According to biographer August Göllerich junior, Bruckner will receive in 1885 a sum of 150 Guilders as royalties. Not only a full-score and parts, but also a piano reduction for 4 hands, the preparation of which was entrusted to Gustav Mahler : he was aided in his task by his friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

Alma Mahler mentions in her memoirs that Ferdinand Löwe was originally supposed to work on the last movement.

Spring of 1878 : On particularly close terms with Mahler at that time, Anton Bruckner entrusted to the extraordinary gifted 17 year old the task of preparing the piano-arrangement for publication - his first ! This task, which was no small undertaking, undoubtedly made a deep impression on the young student, personally and musically. Mahler's involvement was an altruistic labour of love : it must be viewed as very instructive training in practical terms as he created a whole world using the whole range of then available techniques. And some influence can be detected in his own First Symphony, composed in the 1880's.

The score, which must have met with Bruckner's approval, was published by Theodor Rättig in **January 1880**, with Mahler listed as the arranger. The Master will offer the manuscript score of the first 3 movements to Mahler as a token of gratitude. Ultimately, Mahler's relationship with this document was to be marked by deep emotional turmoil

(until his death in 1911) . The autograph score of the Finale was later returned to Bruckner, presumably by Rudolf Krzyzanowski himself, and it was eventually included in Bruckner's legacy to the Austrian National Library :

To access the manuscript online, type **Anton Bruckner** at <https://onb.digital/search> and go to **Manuskript Wagner Sinfonie No. 3 D moll** at the bottom of the page, or https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5550330&order=1&view=SINGLE .

Franz Schalk entered the Vienna Conservatory with the intention of becoming a violinist, but was soon studying composition under Bruckner. It was on his advice that he turned to conducting. At this time, Schalk also became acquainted with another fellow-student and admirer of Bruckner : Gustav Mahler.

Piano versions of the Master's Symphonies had been the exclusive privilege of his own students, in particular, the brothers Josef and Franz Schalk, later joined by a third Bruckner pupil, Ferdinand Löwe. These 3 individuals formed Bruckner's closest « body-guard » ; they were always around him, trying to make themselves useful to him (a man who lived only for his music) occasionally tyrannizing him over material matters and jealously guarding his every step in their youthful devotion.

There can be little doubt that the distinction Bruckner bestowed on Mahler in assigning to him the completion of the piano edition was felt as a snub by the Master's « body-guard » and aroused considerable jealousy towards the « Jewish intruder » .

Based on Mahler's own information, Alma Mahler describes this in her memoirs as follows :

« Bruckner had 2 pupils who made all the piano transcriptions of his Symphonies but seem to have bullied and tormented him. They were 2 brothers called Schalk. Bruckner was very fond of Mahler and entrusted the piano edition of his Third Symphony to him.

When Mahler brought him the first movement, Bruckner was childishly pleased and said with a roguish smile :

“ Now, I shan't need the Schalks any more ! ”

This saying became a household word with us and was dragged in on all possible, and impossible, occasions. »

In the private conversations between Mahler and the Master (and Guido Adler has confirmed that Mahler made frequent visits to Bruckner's apartment on « Heßgasse » Number 7) , Bruckner's works were certainly the main topic. Mahler's artistic development clearly showed that, at some point, he recognized the true significance of Bruckner's unique Symphonic technique as a new Symphonic « Will to Form » (« Form-Wille ») to which was assigned not only the creation of wide-ranging architectonic connections between the individual parts of a movement (one part compellingly preparing another and allowing what follows to grow organically out of what has gone before) but, also, the formation of a new overall coherence between the individual movements of a Symphony.

It is not out of place to assume that, in the first half of 1878, Mahler at least was too busy with his own work to be able to devote himself to completing the piano score. In any case, the piano score shows signs of being completed in haste. The ambitious alterations and the free handling of the original lend the movement the character of a genuine arrangement designed for performance in a medium foreign to the original concept of the composition. This is replaced by pure transcription in the second and especially the third movement. What is more, our assumption is supported by the fact that details of the original are increasingly suppressed as the dynamic marks become less and less frequent.

The original manuscript(s) of the arrangement have been lost, but Mahler and Krzyzanowski undoubtedly worked from Bruckner's autograph score of the second version (Mus.Hs. 19.475 in the « Österreichischen National-Bibliothek ») . Both wrote their names and addresses on the « August » page of Bruckner's diary - the « Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1878 » - perhaps an indication that they had borrowed this autograph full-score for the purpose of preparing a piano-arrangement. Bruckner expressed his thanks more than generously to Mahler. In appreciation of his efforts as an arranger : he presented the 18 year old student with the autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements as a gift. As for Krzyzanowski, he returned the manuscript of the 4th movement (Finale) to Bruckner.

Röttig published the first printed full-score and parts in late-1879, and the piano reduction (edited by Professor Julius Epstein) by Mahler (first 3 movements) and Krzyzanowski (4th movement) in early-1880. It was without doubt an extremely generous gesture on the part of Röttig, but we also owe a debt to both Mahler and Krzyzanowski who were jointly responsible for the preparation of the piano-duet version.

Julius Epstein (1832-1926) was a professor of piano at the Vienna Conservatory from 1867 to 1901. He was especially concerned with plain, unaffected performance. No doubt Epstein provided both practical and editorial advice to pupils Mahler and Krzyzanowski.

After a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in the large-hall of the « Musikverein » , Anton Bruckner exclaimed :

« Oh, what a great work ! What do I weigh next to him ? »

His colleague at the Conservatory, Professor Julius Epstein, heard him and replied :

« You are among the greatest. »

The composer's reply was immediate :

« No, I feel more like a little puppy trying to chase him. »

Mahler worked effectively (but with some restraint) on the first 3 movements. Aside from the Wagner sonorities, Mahler's ear has been caught by a funeral melody in the horns echoed by jollity in the strings, a hint that music has

the potential to convey polar opposites. For its part, Krzyżanowski took care of the Finale, adding a touch of colour and playfulness. The result is superb and very faithful to the orchestral score.

Paul Stefan, the Viennese music historian and Mahler specialist, writes :

« His piano score follows the orchestral one exactly, and attempts to keep the various parts in the characteristic pitch of the instruments, even at the expense of not being easily playable. »

While it has been accepted that Rudolf Krzyżanowski arranged the Finale of Bruckner's Third, there was always some uncertainty. In a recent article, however, Stephen McClatchie mentions a letter from Hans Rott to Heinrich Krzyżanowski, Rudolf's brother, which confirms Rudolf's involvement, although Mahler's is the only name on the title-page (see : « Music & Letters » , Volume 81, No. 3, August 2000 ; page 395, note 15) .

...

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 (**WAB 103**) , arranged for piano 4 hands by Gustav Mahler (1-3) and Rudolf Krzyżanowski (4) .

Performers : Evelinde Trenkner, Sontraud Speidel.

Instrument : Steinway Grand-Piano, Model D (1901) .

Recording : Fürstliche Reitbahn Arolsen, June 1994.

Label : MDG Gold (MDG CD 330 0591-2) , DDD, Germany (1995) .

Barcode : 7-60623-05912-9

Total Duration : 58 min, 45 sec.

Track 1 - Moderato, con moto (22:45)

Track 2 - Adagio. Bewegt quasi Andante (17:05)

Track 3 - Scherzo. Ziemlich schnell (5:49)

Track 4 - Finale. Allegro (Nicht schnell) (12:49)

...

In a piece of unbeatable music-geek trivia, this Symphony adaptation constitutes Gustav Mahler's first published work. Even if you have no idea how this thing might sound, you already have the ideal gift for both the obsessive Brucknerian and the obsessive Mahlerian.

The middle-movements are barely altered although the debatable coda of the « Scherzo » is omitted. The last movement contains some cuts towards the end, perhaps foreshadowing the later 1889 revision of the work. In the first movement, it seems as though Mahler occasionally used his creative powers but essentially this sounds like Bruckner throughout.

There are inevitable losses since it is impossible to recreate the levels of contrast which the orchestra brings. In particular, the brass is most missed and not only in the famous trumpet solo near the opening. But we find gains in clarity, and Bruckner's vision does not merely survive in this performance — it burns brightly. Speidel and Trenkner are an impressive duo, combining great technical skill and functioning as one. Most of all, they recreate the music in an interesting and valid way. Some of their tempi are daringly slow in the first 2 movements - more than 22 and 17 minutes respectively puts them amongst the slowest on record for the 1877 version. For an example of how good this is, listen to the feeling of mystery the pianists manage to create at the letter C in the second movement.

In the last 2 movements, speeds are generally quicker than the norm. The « Scherzo » in particular fizzles along and sounds quite spectacular - making this a « must hear » for any Brucknerian. In the Finale, the striking section juxtaposing polka and chorale comes off surprisingly well. The very end of the work is never quite going to pack enough punch on the piano but Speidel and Trenkner give it their best shot and the Finale as a whole is impressive.

Commentor on amazon :

« This recording deserves 5 Stars and anything less is frankly unfair. The problem I see before me is persuading either the heaviest Bruckner zealot or the classical music neophyte that Bruckner's Third can and should be enjoyed as a work for 2 pianos. Sadly, there is a tendency to view piano-transcriptions or arrangements for 2 pianos as lackluster « piano reductions », which only served a unique purpose in the pre-recording age as a means to hear the music. From my own listening experience, Bruckner's Third is a prodigious and powerful musical entity on 2 pianos. I didn't long for the trumpets or orchestral fanfares or the pianissimo strings or anything else ; you might be surprised that on 2 pianos, this Symphony has a life of its own and sounds like an epic Piano Sonata.

Additionally, it's important to appreciate what kind of piano-duo we are dealing with. Trenkner and Speidel are an « élite » team that have recorded Max Reger's Bach transcriptions and various 19th Century rarities. Having heard these myself, I can vouch for this piano duo's pianism : it is superior in every respect. Thus, I'm not surprised to find their musicianship and interpretation of Bruckner's Third also exemplary. Most Bruckner fans know the tragic and complicated history behind Bruckner's Third, its multiple revisions and editions, the failure of its premiere, and Wagner's enthusiasm for this work which helped bestow its « Wagner Symphony » nickname. The piano-arrangement's genesis stems from the bad reception it received and is a result of the collaboration between Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyzanowski. Furthermore, and the liner-notes clarifies it best, the piano-arrangement of Bruckner's Symphony No. 3

attests not to the final version of 1888-1889, the version familiar to us today, but to the second version of 1877.

Those familiar with the Third Symphony, who are perhaps even aware of its multiple editions which amounted to at least 9, already know what to expect as far as the caliber and substance of the music content. No matter how insuperable the orchestral version is, I can't help but be engrossed and enchanted with this piano-arrangement. I wasn't fixated on the absence of the orchestra because 2 pianos are capable of translating Bruckner's ideas ; the whole movement is mystical, voluptuous and arresting in its beauty. I found the second movement downright seductive and sublime, owing to Trenkner's and Speidel's coordinated dynamics and silky touch. The « Scherzo » movement is given an emphatic performance and the Finale is a pianistic « tour de force » . Those who have never heard Bruckner's Symphony before might listen to this piano-arrangement and think it a monumental Piano Sonata for 2 pianos. And that is what this arrangement should be admired for : a rendering of Bruckner's symphonic work that sounds like a stellar piano composition.

Bottom-line : In the execution of this Symphony, Trenkner and Speidel are technically adroit and emotionally involved all the way through. The arrangement itself effectively projects sonority, crystalline lines, and the many nuances of this great symphonic work. And seeing how this is the only recording of such a piano version of Bruckner's Third, I can only support it further. It is a spell-binding realization and certainly presents a new angle and fresh perspective to Bruckner's music. »

...

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 (**WAB 103**) , arranged for piano 4 hands by Gustav Mahler (1-3) and Rudolf Krzyzanowski (4) .

Performers : Dino Sequi, Gerhard Hofer.

Instrument : Piano constructed in 1906.

Recording : Old Linz Cathedral (« Alter Dom ») on September 4, 2010, to honour Anton Bruckner's birthday.

Total Duration : 58 min, 51 sec.

Track 1 - Moderato, con moto (22:23)

Track 2 - Adagio. Bewegt quasi Andante (15:58)

Track 3 - Scherzo. Ziemlich schnell (7:07)

Track 4 - Finale. Allegro (Nicht schnell) (13:21)

...

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 (**WAB 103**) , arranged for piano 4 hands by Gustav Mahler (1-3) and Rudolf Krzyzanowski (4) .

Performers : Marialena Fernandes, Ranko Marković.

Recording : Steinway-Haus, Linz, Upper-Austria, 6-7 January and 2 October 2011.

Label : Gramola (CD GRAM98948) .

Barcode : 9-00364-398948-1

Track 1 - Moderato, con moto (20:37)

Track 2 - Adagio. Bewegt quasi Andante (16:41)

Track 3 - Scherzo. Ziemlich schnell (6:54)

Track 4 - Finale. Allegro (Nicht schnell) (14:37)

...

Ken Ward :

« As those who have been to the last couple of “ Bruckner Journal Readers Conferences ” will attest, it is always intriguing to have the opportunity to hear Bruckner Symphonies in versions for piano. It is not merely the historical fact that this is how the composer would have expected the majority of the audience to get to know the works in the first place, in the days before recordings were available, but it is also the revelations available from this unusual slant on the work. In many ways, the structure of the melodic and harmonic texture is laid clear in way that is often not so apparent in the full-orchestral sound, and different voicings and events come to the fore which previously didn't register so strongly, and which can then inform and enrich one's listening to the orchestral performance. One of the many difficult choices for the performers is whether to try and imitate the orchestra, or to try and make the best of it as a work for piano. The first recording of it, that by Evelinde Trenkner and Sontraud Speidel on MDG Gold from 1994 (MDG 330 0591-2) , presents the work with considerable power, and plenty of pedal, in this way suggesting the strength available to the full-orchestra. Mariealena Fernandes and Ranko Marković in this present recording are generally lighter in touch with a more pianistic approach to the work. In the opening, there is a livelier rhythmic sense and more purposeful progress. Trenkner and Speidel seem to ensure that they play together by keeping the rhythm firm, whereas Fernandes and Marković have a remarkable musical sympathy one with another which allows them to vary the tempi with great warmth and expressive effect. The extraordinary performance of Deno Sequi and

Gerhard Hofer (available from www.abruckner.com, BSVD-0110) is in a class of its own, a live event with plenty of audience noise and resonant acoustic, and, at times, they fail to come in together at all - but for all that, it is an absolutely gripping performance, with much lyricism and plenty space for the music to breathe, and a palpable sense of occasion. You are with them all the way and it's hard not to stand-up and applaud with the recorded audience when they finish. If one wished to choose between these 3 performances, then this new one on Gramola label is unarguably the best recorded and the best played. Although Trenkner-Speidel have much dramatic power, at times, their interpretation lacks interest and imagination, there's not a lot of lilt to the frequent dance-like passages, and their rushed presentation of the closing statement of the motto theme fails to reflect the large-scale and aspiration of the work. Fernandes and Marković pace the final pages with the same sensitivity to small changes in tempo that informs their performance throughout, the last bars are very exciting indeed. Possibly, the high incessantly repeated 4 rising quavers (on violins in the orchestral original) are too dominating at the expense of the middle and bass texture, but they progress indomitably to the final statement of the Symphony's main-theme which is given with a grandeur worthy of its blazing inspiration. In November 2006, Fernandes and Marković performed this work at a joint-meeting of "Bruckner Journal" readers and the "Gustav Mahler Society UK", which took place in the grand surroundings of the Austrian Ambassador's residence in London. Those lucky enough to have attended need have no doubts that this recording lives up to the quality of the performance on that occasion : it's been a long wait, but now, they have a memento of very special event. »

Tutoring brought Mahler in his basic wage but his finances might have been increased by payment for his work on the published piano-duet version of Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) (the commission was, in any event, a trophy that probably gave satisfaction at home) . It is likely that Mahler, even when home on holiday, attempted to supplement his pocket money, or wholly support himself ; by means of piano lessons (this was certainly true of later years, though, by then, Mahler had moved outside Iglau (Jihlava) for his pupils) .

Hans Rott did for his teacher Anton Bruckner what he could. Together with his fellow-students Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyzanowski, he wrote a piano-score of the flopped Third Symphony - a time-consuming task endangering the urgent preparations for the eminent examination at the Conservatory ! As with the Third Symphony, Hans Rott also would have gained a detailed knowledge of the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) , then in progress : Bruckner wrote it in those years (1875-1878) during which he taught Hans Rott the organ.

Anton Bruckner was so traumatized by the December 16 concert that he stopped composing for almost a year. He will make several revisions of the Symphony, leaving-out significant amounts of music. He embarked on scrupulous revisions, « encouraged » and supported by his pupils Franz and Josef Schalk. The goals of the Schalks were an adaptation to Richard Wagner's orchestral sound ideal, a formal consensus with contemporary listening customs and a smoothening of the most radical compositional audacities. In the meantime, the now established Mahler visited his erstwhile harmony teacher and termed all of Schalks' revisions superfluous, indeed even detrimental to the work. He expressly urged Bruckner not to yield to his influential Circle who advised him to « adapt » the Third Symphony before popular pressure. The Schalks were desperate and jealous and, at Bruckner's behest (encouraged by Gustav Mahler) , the expensive printing plates of the « improvements » had to be scrubbed by the benevolent music-publisher Theodor

Rättig, which finally exhausted the latter's financial means. After Mahler's departure, the psycho-drama continued. Now, the Schalks largely went on working on the Third Symphony on their own account behind Bruckner's back.

At the time of writing « Das klagende Lied », Mahler certainly knew one score by Bruckner intimately, the Third Symphony. Bruckner may have discussed other works (including the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, which he finished revising in 1878) with the young Mahler.

It is doubtful that 1878 is the correct date of publication of the Symphony. It is more likely to be 1879 or 1880, whichever year it was, in fact, in which Theodor Rättig brought out the score of Bruckner's Third Symphony.

In 1888 and 1889, against Gustav Mahler's advice, Anton Bruckner made another thorough revision of the score for re-publication, with the assistance of his pupils Franz and Josef Schalk.

The Third Symphony in its more familiar 1889 version will be part of the fourth Sunday subscription-concert by the « Wiener Philharmoniker » (conducted by Hans Richter) on **Sunday, December 21, 1890**. Although this new « premiere » will greeted with « storms of applause », the memory of the « débâcle » remained with Bruckner.

From the fall of 1877, Anton Bruckner revised the Third Symphony further :

In the Adagio, part 3, devoted to the A theme, was completely deleted along with the first third of Part 4 (bars 129-176) , and, in part 5, the quote of the Overture of « Tannhäuser » was replaced by another motive. The result was a sort of approximation to a 3 part song form ABA.

An additional cut in the Finale of a passage, in which the chorale theme from the B theme group is played unexpectedly loudly, accompanied by material from the A theme and the trumpet theme from the first movement, followed by a dialogue between the loud C theme and the quiet B theme chorale, was also done.

In 1878, a powerful coda was added to the « Scherzo » of the Third.

After 16 December 1877 : (As reported by Adalbert von Goldschmidt) After a Conservatory class, fellow-students Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski play the piano reduction for 4 hands of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) in public, in the presence of Josef Schalk (*) and Karl Goldmark. (**)

(*) As reported by Adalbert von Goldschmidt.

(**) Mahler will resent jury committee member Karl Goldmark for not awarding him the « Beethoven Prize » for composition supervised by the Conservatory.

Early-1857 : Parents of the unborn Josef and Franz Schalk move from Linz to Vienna, presumably for business reasons.

Tuesday, 24 March 1857 : Josef Schalk is born in Vienna. The first son of Ignaz and Anna Schalk.

Wednesday, 27 May 1863 : Franz Schalk is born in Vienna. The second son of Ignaz and Anna Schalk.

The couple also has 2 daughters : Anna, the eldest, and Maria, nick-named « Mizi » . Both are born between Josef and Franz.

Probably around 1870 : Ignaz Schalk dies at the young age of 35, passing on to his widow Anna the responsibility for the care and up-bringing of the children. Josef, now in his teens, is very helpful to his mother in this regard, which means a delay in his own education.

Late-spring 1878 : After flunking his first « Abitur » , Gustav Mahler finally graduates from the Vienna Conservatory.

Summers at home in Moravia. He meets his first girl friend, a cousin of Emil Freund. She will kill herself 2 years later.

Sunday, 14 April 1878 (Palm Sunday) : Letter from Hans Rott to Heinrich Krzyzanowski (brother of Rudolf) :

Rudolf Krzyzanowski expresses his irritation with the new « Hunting Scherzo » from Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony (WAB 104) .

Thursday, 25 April 1878 : Summer semester at the Vienna University, where Gustav Mahler studies Classical sculpture, history of Dutch painting and philosophy of the history of philosophy.

Mahler's emotional life was subject to extremely powerful mood swings that go far beyond anything that might be thought of as normal in late-pubescence. His acute sensitivity is clear from the few surviving letters that he wrote to 4 of his friends of this period : Josef Steiner, Emil Freund, Albert Spiegler and Anton Krisper.

Anton Bruckner's university students registered at the Faculty of Philosophy :

Karl Dümmler, Martin Einfalt, Joseph Goldhahn, Gustav Mahler, Josef Mayer, Johann Petkovsek.

Mahler's courses were much the same as those he had attended the previous semester. In addition to « History of the Philology of the Middle-Ages » (on this occasion, the set text was Hartmann von Aue's « Iwein », again taught by Richard Heinzel), he also took 3 new courses : « Philosophy of the History of Philosophy » was taught by Franz Brentano, the nephew of the German poet Clemens Brentano, « co-editor of « Des Knaben Wunderhorn », whose work Mahler read and cherished throughout his life » ; then, there was Moriz Thausing's course on the history of German and Dutch painting from the 14th to the 17th Century ; and finally, a course on Classical sculpture, based on plaster casts and taught by Otto Benndorf. It is surprising to find Mahler taking an interest in the fine-arts, a subject for which he never exhibited any pronounced interest until the time of his marriage.

Alma writes :

« Mahler had no true appreciation of the visual arts, he too clearly came from literature. But gradually, as a result of seeing a great deal and through his tremendous enthusiasm for learning about everything, he acquired a delight in purely pictorial works and could even form an opinion on them. »

The University must have taken up only a small part of Mahler's energies, because he did not even make the effort to re-register for the winter-term of 1878-1879. As a matter of fact, his name does not re-appear in the institution's records until the winter-term of 1879-1880, when he enrolled for the last time. And, once again, there was no reference to Bruckner's course in Mahler's end-of-year report.

Thursday, 2 May 1878 : Rudolf Krzyzanowski plays an organ fugue by Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck during the evening lecture at the Vienna Conservatory.

After the event, John Leo Löwi, Hans Rott (presumably Rott's half-brother Karl and Friedrich Löwi-Lœhr) and Rudolf Krzyzanowski will go to the pub of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant (« Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus ») located at the corner of « Wickenburg-Gasse » Number 15 and « Schlöbel-Gasse » Number 12 (14), in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

Saturday, 4 May 1878 : Third private « soirée » of the Vienna academic Wagner Society at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

John Leo Löwi, Hans Rott and Rudolf Krzyzanowski are attending. On the programme, among others, lieder by Richard Wagner.

After the concert, they joined Karl Rott and Friedrich Löwi-Lœhr at the pub of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant (« Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus »), located at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schlöbelgasse » Number 12 (14), in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

Monday, 6 May 1878 : Letter from Hans Rott to Heinrich Krzyżanowski :

(...) The final examination of the year at the Vienna Conservatory will take place on 27 May 1878. Hans Rott now often goes at the pub of the « Gasthaus zum Riedhof » Hotel-Restaurant. There, he meets Anton Bruckner for the last time. (...)

Monday, 27 May 1878 : Final examination of the academic year at the Vienna Conservatory. Hans Rott receives a classification grade « One » for his « Prelude to a Suite » which give him the right to participate in a composition competition. Last private « soirée » of the season for the Vienna academic Wagner Society.

Rott now often goes at the « Riedhof » pub. (It is there where he will meet Anton Bruckner for last time.)

The « Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus » is located at the corner of « Wickenburg-Gasse » Number 15 and « SchlöBel-Gasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

Summer 1878 : Gustav Mahler submits the Overture of « Die Argonauten » to the jury committee of the « Beethoven Prize » but does not win.

Tuesday, 2 July 1878 : Composition competition of the Vienna Conservatory.

Gustav Mahler wins First Prize for the « Scherzo » from his Piano Quintet and receives his diploma.

Mathilde Kralik received First Prize for her thesis, « Intermezzo from a suite » . Kralik graduated with a diploma in composition and the Silver Society Medal.

Also successful (awarded a prize) : Rudolf Krzyżanowski with his Adagio from a String Sextet ; Rudolf Pichler with his Prelude and Sarabanda from a Suite ; and Anton Bruckner's organ pupil Fortunato Luzzatto with a Quartet movement for piano.

For its part, Hans Rott received only ridicule and laughter from the jury for the premiere of his « Pastoral Prelude for Orchestra » . Anton Bruckner puts his foot down.

Gustav Mahler mentions a number of anecdotes about Hans Rott's activities as organist at the Piarist Monastery in Vienna, where he played for a pittance in return for free accommodation. Mahler remembered seeing a string of sausages hanging on a nail in his room, like a kind of a wreath. He would eat them, one by one, in order to appease his hunger. He ostensibly lost his post when the monks accused him of stealing their books.

Thursday, 11 July 1878 : Annual « Concors » organized by the Vienna Conservatory at the Great Hall (« Golden-Saal » , 2,063 seats) . First of 2 concerts by the First Prize winning music students.

Programme

Works by Frédéric Chopin, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Carl Maria von Weber, Gustav Mahler, Félix Godefroid, Weber-Liszt.

Mahler : Premiere of the « Scherzo » of a Piano Quintet (manuscript lost) .

Soloists : Gustav Mahler (piano) , Johann Kreuzinger (violin) , Friedrich Skallitzky (violin) , Stefan Wahl (violin) , Eduard Rosenblum (Rosé) (violoncello) .

Saturday, 20 July 1878 : Anton Bruckner could punish absenteeism by dropping-in on the offender.

Hans Rott interrupts one letter to his Conservatory friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski, stating that Professor Anton Bruckner had just come to his door to express his consternation at not seeing more of « his favourite student » at the local pub !

« I have just been interrupted by a visit of Professor Bruckner who severely blamed me because of my infrequent visits to the “ Riedhof inn ” ; so, I will go there tonight. »

The « Zum Riedhof Wirtshaus » is located at the corner of « Wickenburggasse » Number 15 and « Schlößelgasse » Number 12 (14) , in the District of « Josefstadt » (8th) .

August 1878 : Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar entry (unknown hand-writing) :

« Gustav Mahler studying philosophy on “ Wiengasse ” in Jihlava, Moravia. »

« Rudolf Krzyzanowski, in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) . Porcelain store in Kleeblatt. »

Monday, 5 August 1878 : Letter from Hans Rott to his friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski :

One week ago, on the advice of Anton Bruckner, Rott had applied for a job as organist at the monastery of Klosterneuburg.

Tuesday, 13 August 1878 : Dairy entry by Hans Rott :

« Tuesday, 13th (...) Bruckner (and others ...) Letter (...) »

Autumn 1878 : Gustav Mahler leaves the University of Vienna abruptly. He is a free-agent and a qualified young musician of recognized gifts. He joins the Wagner Society with Hugo Wolf, and dabbles in vegetarianism. His gastrointestinal system will carry the marks forever. Later, the scent of anti-Semitism drives him out of the Society ; unpalatable.

Thursday, 26 September 1878 : Letter from Hans Rott to his friends Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyzanowski :

« (...) Tomorrow, I will go to meet Anton Bruckner (...) »

Thursday, 3 October 1878 : Letter from Hans Rott to his friend Heinrich Krzyzanowski :

(...) Anton Bruckner rushes Hans Rott to contact Rudolf Krzyzanowski at Eile for the piano reduction of the Third Symphonie (**WAB 103**) , since music-publisher Theodor Rättig has visited him 5 times ! (...) Bruckner believes in the re-entry of Rudolf Krzyzanowski's into his organ class (...)

« Bruckner sends his greetings to Rudolf and asks him to please hurry along with the Symphony ; Rättig is pressing him ... »

Wednesday, 9 October 1878 : In a letter to Wilhelm Tappert, Anton Bruckner recommends both the Second and Third Symphonies for performance in Berlin. He also refers to the piano arrangements which are to be made of the 2 symphonies.

Friday, 13 December 1878 : Diary entry by Hans Rott :

« Friday 13th, Anton Bruckner - finished. » (Work on the Third Symphony or Fourth Symphony ?)

Mid-February to mid-May 1879 : Hugo Wolf rents a room at « Opernring » Number 23 (4th floor) , which is shared at times, in a classic Viennese « La Bohème » existence, with Rudolf Krzyzanowski and Gustav Mahler. The exact dates

of Mahler's stay there are unknown.

Alma Mahler writes :

« All 3 were very poor and, as musicians, very sensitive to noise. If one had work, the others were reduced to wandering in the streets. »

They wrote their earliest music in one another's company. They scabbled pennies from teaching to attend the Opera together. Mahler and Wolf are even said to have shared a bed, though there is no suggestion of a sexual relationship. But it was probably at around this time that Wolf contracted the syphilis that was eventually to kill him.

...

Otto Mahler goes to the primary school for boys (Number 2-5 « Jostova » Street ; Number 119 « Obere Elnergasse ») in Iglau (Jihlava) .

Friday, 14 February 1879 : Viennese premiere of Richard Wagner's « Götterdämmerung » (in an abridged version) .

Alma reports the great enthusiasm of Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf and Rudolf Krzyzanowski at this occasion.

Returning to Vienna after the **summer of 1879**, during which he is hired by a wealthy Viennese merchant as a piano teacher for his daughters, Gustav Mahler moves again and settles for some time in Währing, in the 19th District of Vienna, in an English style villa where he stays until the **end of November**.

Sunday, 31 August 1879 : Alma Maria Schindler is born. Her future husband, Gustav, is 19.

Gustav Mahler « shared with Wolf the miseries of unquiet Viennese lodging-houses » (Mahler remained ever acutely sensitive to the disturbance of extraneous noises) and adds that « Heinrich Werner records a story that Mahler lived with Hugo Wolf, and even shared a bed with him, on the 4th floor of “ Opern-Ring ” Number 23 » . It is, once more, through Wolf's biography that we catch a further glimpse of Mahler's movements in 1879, information that, again, suggests a close acquaintance between the 2 composers at this time.

Autumn 1879 : Gustav Mahler moves round the corner to the « Rennweg » , a major thoroughfare that leads out of the town from the « Schwarzenberg-Platz » , past the Belvedere Gardens.

Wednesday, 1 October 1879 : Announcement in the « Neue Wiener Zeitschrift » of the imminent publication (« in a few days ») of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

November 1879 : Anton Bruckner's pocket calendar entries :

(Hans Rott's hand-writing) « Hans Rott, First District, “ Rothenthurm-Straße ” Number 16, 4th floor. »

(Anton Bruckner's hand-writing) « Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Wienhaus building, “ Johannesgasse ” Number 28. »

Wednesday 12 or Thursday, 13 November 1879 : Third musical evening organized at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » by the Academic Wagner Society of Vienna.

Performers : Doctor Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl.

Anton Bruckner, Professor Julius Epstein, Josef Hellmesberger senior, Anton Door, Josef Gänsbacher (and most probably Gustav Mahler) are in the audience.

Programme

Franz Liszt : Symphonic poem « Die Ideale » (« Les Idéaux ») S. 106, in the arrangement for 2 pianos made by the composer.

Anton Bruckner : Second and third movements - « Adagio » and « Scherzo » - from the Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » (3rd revision published in 1878) (**WAB 103**) , arranged for piano 4 hands by Gustav Mahler.

The Bruckner is mostly well-received.

Professor Julius Epstein allegedly is enthusiastic about the work, especially the second movement (Adagio) .

While Hellmesberger senior is said to have uttered :

« I don't understand Epstein - it is a totally muddled piece. »

For reasons that are unclear, Mahler subsequently leaves the « Wagner-Verein » , as do Anton Krisper, Hans Rott, and Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

...

Mahler's piano reduction reveals him to have been a scrupulous transcriber with an almost excessive respect for the original, often to the detriment of pianistic facility. But Bruckner was so delighted with Mahler's efforts that he gave his young colleague the manuscript of the first 3 movements as a gift. A well-known anecdote that found its way into Alma's « Erinnerungen » tells of a visit that Mahler purportedly paid to the older composer to show him his arrangement of the first movement.

The 2 Schalk brothers, Josef and Franz, did in fact prepare piano versions of most of Bruckner's Symphonies, but not until much later. Fortunately, a previously unpublished passage in Natalie Bauer-Lechner's Memoirs clarifies the issue and identifies the person to whom Bruckner had made this remark about the Schalks as Hermann Behn, a lawyer who in the 1890's would become Mahler's friend and benefactor in Hamburg.

Hermann Behn came to Vienna in 1883 to study composition with Bruckner, whose Seventh Symphony (WAB 107) he had already transcribed for 2 pianos. He brought this transcription to the old composer and offered to work for him - correcting proofs or preparing piano reductions - at a time when the somewhat exclusive domination of the Schalk brothers was beginning to irk Bruckner.

He thus thanked Behn warmly, greeted him as his saviour, and called out triumphantly to his cook :

« Leni, Leni, come here ! Just think ! From now on, this gentleman will do my piano scores for me, we shan't need the Schalks anymore ! »

Hermann Behn was born in Hamburg and became a lawyer before dedicating himself to music. Although an avid Wagnerian, he studied with Josef Rheinberger in Munich, Anton Bruckner in Vienna, and Herman Zumpe in Hamburg, where he settled for good in 1887. From 1897, he taught the history of music, wrote songs, and specialised in preparing piano-duet versions of a large number of orchestral works.

Wednesday, 19 November 1879 : « Die Presse » reports :

« The so-called “ internal evenings ” of the “ Wagner Verein ” have reached a position which is growing stronger from year to year. »

As one of the major aims of the Society was to direct attention not only to Wagner but also to other « German » composers whose music could not be heard in the concert-halls :

« We are indebted to the “ Wagner Verein ” for the opportunity in recent years to hear rare works which were unknown to the musical public. »

End of November : Gustav Mahler is once again outside the city, living in one of Vienna's suburbs at « Rennweg » Number 3, ground-floor, door 10b - which is close to the apartment that he will occupy when appointed Music-Director of the Vienna Opera.

When Mahler left this place, Hugo Wolf moved in.

Tuesday, 25 November 1879 : Paul Stefan (originally, Paul Stefan Grünfeld) is born into an assimilated Jewish family in Brünn (Brno) , Austria-Hungary.

Winter 1879-1880 : Third term at the University of Vienna, where Gustav Mahler attends courses in archæology, history of ancient philosophy, history of Europe at the time of Napoléon Bonaparte, and Eduard Hanslick's course on the « History of music since the death of Beethoven » .

Mahler constantly change address during this period. Although some of them can no longer be identified, it seems that when he started studying in Vienna, he lived on the « Margarethen-Straße » near the « Naschmarkt » , within walking distance of the Conservatory, but from there, he moved to the « Salesianer-Gasse » near the « Schwarzenberg-Platz » , a quarter that evidently appealed to him as he later took rooms at the « Auenbrugger-Gasse » , just round the corner from here, during his tenure as director of the Vienna Court Opera.

Sunday, 28 December 1879 : The publication of the Mahler - Krzyzanowski piano-arrangement of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) , the following week, is advertised in the « Linzer Tagespost » .

Thursday, 1 January 1880 : Date of publication by Bussjäger and Rättig in Vienna of the transcription for piano-duet prepared by Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

To access the manuscript online, type **Rättig** at <https://onb.digital/search> and go to **Symphonie in d-Moll für grosses Orchester**, or https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_2866607&order=1&view=SINGLE .

The music-publisher gives credit only to Mahler.

According to Henry-Louis de la Grange, the piano transcription was published on February 1880. He quotes Alma Mahler's statement that the Finale was not transcribed by Mahler but by Ferdinand Löwe - and, thus, not by Krzyzanowski. The absence of Krzyzanowski's name on the title-page of the score is all the more surprising as he is now known to have transcribed the Finale. Alma Mahler claims that the 1878 transcription of the Finale was Ferdinand Löwe's work, while it was in fact Krzyzanowski's, but she is probably confusing the version prepared by Mahler with the revised version of 1890.

The dates announced for the publication of this piano transcription vary considerably.

August Göllerich - Max Auer. « Anton Bruckner » iv / i , page 481, has « 1878 » , whilst the 28 December 1879 issue of the « Linzer Tagespost » announces it « for the following week » . The « Neue Freie Presse » of 21 December 1879 mentions that it will be published on 1 January 1880, but the « Musikalisch-Literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen » for the year 1880 (Leipzig, Friedrich Hofmeister Musikverlag, page 74) announces only the imminent publication of the orchestra score for the month of March (although the piano transcription is mentioned on the cover) . On 10 March of the same year, the « appearance of the piano reduction » of the Third Symphony is announced in Part 17 of Bösendorfer's « Neue Wiener Zeitschrift für Musik » , pages 323 and 351, and « Bruckner, Anton. 3. Symphonie D-moll » , Opus citatum, pages 356ff. Finally, the « Neue Freie Presse » of 19 May 1880 announces the availability of the orchestral score and parts, and that of the 4 hands piano reduction. Another transcription of the third version of the Symphony for piano 4 hands was made by Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe. It was also published by Theodor Rättig in 1890 and it is still available from Universal-Edition as UE No. 422 (see Renate Grasberger, Opus citatum, page 112) . In addition, Josef Schalk had made an arrangement of the « Scherzo » of the Symphony « for concert performance » , which was announced in April 1880 (« Musikalisch-Literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen » , Opus citatum, page 83, and « Jahresbericht über das Conservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien » , page 31) , and which he performed at the Bösendorfer Hall on 24 March 1882 and 22 December 1884.

...

Bruckner gives his autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements to Mahler as a token of gratitude.

After 16 January 1880 : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner :

« Gustav Mahler, 4th District, “ Floragasse ” Number 7, Florabad, 4th staircase, 3rd floor. »

(10 years later, Mahler will send his younger brother Otto to study harmony and counterpoint with Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory.)

Wednesday, 4 February 1880 : Article entitled « Portrait of a Vienna Musician » published in the « Deutsche Zeitung » , which mentions that Richard Wagner had promised to perform Anton Bruckner's Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) as an Interlude (« Zwischenakt-Musik ») in his opera « Die Walküre » .

That would have been a marathon !!!

February 1880 : Gustav Mahler is living at Number 39 on « Windmühlgasse » in the 6th District of Mariahilf, a street that leads off the « Mariahilfer-Straße » .

Within only a matter of weeks, Mahler had moved again, this time to Number 12 « Wipplinger-Straße » in an entirely different part of the city, a street that runs past the « Juden-Platz » . There were also practical reasons for this restlessness : moving was easy, as pianos could be hired without difficulty, and Mahler's belongings could be packed-away in a few cases, consisting, as they did, in a small amount of cash, books, scores and not many clothes - a young enthusiast like Mahler needed nothing more, a modesty that he retained throughout his life. He was also sensitive to noise. True, he occasionally reduced his fellow-tenants and neighbours to a frenzy of despair by practising loudly on the piano, but he was easily disturbed by others.

And so, we find him writing to his friend Anton Krisper from the « Windmühlgasse » :

« In the next room lives an old maid who stays at her spinet the whole day long. Of course, she does not know that on account of this I am going to have to take-up my walking stick again, like Ahasuerus. Heaven knows whether I shall ever settle-down anywhere. There is always some heedless fellow to drive me from one room to another. »

(It is worth adding that this is the first occurrence of the Ahasuerus motif in Mahler's letters, here, without any reference to the fate of the Jews as a nation.)

March 1880 : Advertisement in the « Hofmeister Monats-Bericht » for the score and orchestral parts of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) ; the piano-arrangement is not mentioned.

Wednesday, 10 March 1880 : The piano-arrangement of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is advertised in the « Neue Wiener Zeitschrift für Musik » , Number 17.

Far from limiting oneself to the door of the Conservatory amphitheatre, the relations between Master and disciples continued in the city life ; and Anton Bruckner always brought a group of young people with him to the restaurant, where they talked late at night while eating good food and drinking mugs of « Pilsner » .

April 1880 : Gustav Mahler re-registers at the University of Vienna (Goethe, Napoleon, Greek art, History) . He shares an interest in folklore with Hugo Wolf. Mahler is in love again.

(Mahler will leave the University again.)

Anton Bruckner sends Gustav Mahler a card inviting him to a meeting after one of his classes.

Sunday, 4 April 1880 : Pocket calendar entry by Anton Bruckner at « The Red Porcupine » (« Zum Rothen Igel ») Restaurant-Hotel :

Notes on a card-game (?) or similar ...

« On 4 April, the funniest people at the “ Hedgehog ” :

1) Rosner (Leopold Rosner ?) .

2) Wildner.

3) August (Göllerich or Stradal ?) .

4) Pruda.

5) “ Ego ” (me, Bruckner) .

Tuesday, 27 April 1880 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Gustav Mahler :

Bruckner asks Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski to come at the Vienna Conservatory between 5:00 pm and 7:00 pm, or later in the evening, at « The Red Hedgehog » Restaurant-Hotel (« Gasthof Zum Roten Igel ») for an important meeting.

Max Graf :

Thus, musical history promenaded on the « Ringstraße » between noon and one o'clock. The greatest musicians of the new era were at home there. They had not yet become monuments, but enjoyed, like everyone who lived in Vienna, the beautiful city in which they worked and struggled, and from where their works went forth into the wide world. One encountered the musical great at all kinds of social gatherings, at the Opera and concerts, on excursions, in the restaurants and taverns of Vienna. « At Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») or « The Red Porcupine », taverns in the inner-city, one could often see Brahms with his friends, a glass of light beer in front of him, and at another table, Anton Bruckner with his pupils, like Franz Schalk or Ferdinand Löwe, both of whom later became famous conductors. Bruckner would eat his beloved roast pork with a mountain of cabbage, and drink his « Pilsner » beer, just like other mortals, and would look anxiously, from time to time, toward Brahms' table. When Bruckner rose to go, he made the same kind of deep bow which, as organist of the St. Florian Monastery, he had made to the Archbishop Rüdiger of Linz, to Brahms, who laughed mockingly. As one of the Directors of the « Society of Friends of Music », Brahms was Bruckner's superior. The Conservatory where Bruckner was a poorly-paid teacher had been founded by the Society, and was its own school. Thus, we see that Brahms and Bruckner were also only human, and had not yet

become historical figures.

1838 : The famous « Red Hedgehog » Inn (« Gasthof Zum Roten Igel ») opened its doors - occupying the ground-floor and the first floor.

The inn stood right next to the « Red Hedgehog » House (housing the old « Conservatorium ») . A « porte cochère » gave easy access to the « café-restaurant » which would soon become an important meeting-place for the fine society : artists (Austrian painter Moritz von Schwind) , musicians (Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy) , professors and students of the « Konservatorium » , and regular users of the music library. Conviviality and passionate conversations were accompanied by coffee, delicious meals, beer and alcohol.

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

Sunday, 23 May 1880 : According to an advertisement in the « Neue Freie Presse » , the full-score and parts of the 1877 version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) had just appeared in print by Theodor Rättig in Vienna.

Tuesday, 25 May 1880 : Anton Bruckner sends a postcard to Gustav Mahler, the Music Director of the town of Bad Hall, Upper-Austria.

Unsigned correspondence-card by Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to « Herr Kapellmeister » Gustav Mahler (« Wohlgeboren, Theater-Gebäude, Hall, Ober-Österreich » - Mr. Music-Director Gustav Mahler Esq. , Theatre Building, Bad Hall, Upper-Austria) , including 2 lines of music (intended as humorous consolation for the ignoble tasks with which the recipient is then burdened) sketched on the back-side : a fragment of the Trio taken from the March entitled « Vorwärts mit frischem Muth » (Let's march forward with good cheer) of Franz von Suppé's operetta « Faninitza » , and the « Walhalla » theme from Richard Wagner's « Ring des Nibelungen » . Bruckner writes 2 Bible verse references on the top of the front-side : « Matthew 24:15 » and « Mark 13:13 » .

The first 2 words of the message are : « Durch Nacht » (Through the night) , and, underneath, is a musical quotation from Suppé's operetta « Fatinitza » . The exhortation « Vorwärts » (Onwards) is then followed by the Walhalla theme from « Das Rheingold » , and the card ends with the words « Zum Licht » (To the light) . Bruckner must have been the sender, since it is acknowledged that he had remained in close touch with the Conservatory student who had made a piano transcription of his Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . Bruckner would thus have heard from Mahler about the Bad Hall engagement and come-up with this charming anonymous way of lifting the young man's spirits. By now, Bruckner's hand-writing has of course been clearly identified.

« Fatinitza » was the first full-length, 3 Act operetta by Franz von Suppé. The libretto by « Friedrich Zell » (a pseudonym for Camillo Walzel) and Richard Genée was based on the libretto to « La Circassienne » by Eugène Scribe

(which had been set to music by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber in 1861) , but with the lead-role of Vladimir, a young Russian lieutenant who has to disguise himself as a woman, changed to a trousers role ; in other words, a woman played the part of the man who pretended to be a woman. It premiered on 5 January 1876, at the « Carl-Theater » in Vienna, and proved a huge success, running for more than 100 performances, including the March « Vorwärts mit frischem Muth » (Let's march forward with good cheer) , proving to be a particular hit. The Opera, as a whole, is no longer in the popular repertory, but the Overture is performed as a stand-alone piece.

October-November 1880 : Gustav Mahler ekes out a precarious living by teaching.

Hans Rott is declared insane.

Through the Academic Wagner Society (« Akademische Wagnerverein » , founded in 1873 at the University of Vienna) Gustav Mahler must have obtained a copy of Richard Wagner's essay « Religion and Art » soon after its publication in 1880 (it occupied the entire **October 1880** issue of the « Bayreuther Blätter ») .

(It is also true that he belonged to a Vienna Socialist-vegetarian group in 1880.)

In the late-1880's, Anton Bruckner went through a period of collaboration with 2 of his students, Franz and Josef Schalk, during which time he produced versions of the Third, Fourth and Eighth Symphonies (**WAB 103, 104, 108**) . While working on this revision of the Third, the Master received a visit from his friend Gustav Mahler, who told him to leave it as it was.

Monday, 1 November 1880 : Gustav Mahler writes to Emil Freund :

« (...) For the last month, I have been a strict vegetarian. The moral effects of this way of life are immense, owing to the voluntary subjugation of the flesh and the resulting absence of desires. You will appreciate how full I am of this idea when I tell you that I expect it to work the regeneration of man-kind. I advise you to change over to a natural way of life, with proper nourishment (compost-grown, stone-ground, wholemeal bread) , and you will soon see the fruit of your endeavours. »

Saturday, 23 April 1881 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Marie Lorenz, Rudolf Krzyzanowski's sister-in-law (Eger) :

Bruckner thanks Marie for the flowers and her recognition of his compositions - especially, the « Romantic Symphony » (**WAB 104**) .

1881 : According to the memoirs of Friedrich Eckstein (another of Anton Bruckner's pupils and friends) , the 17 year old Franz Schalk makes his debut as a violinist in a recital at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » , performing before a large and enthusiastic audience Johann Sebastian Bach's « Chaconne » for solo violin from the Partita No. 2 in D minor (BWV 1004) .

Academic year 1881-1882 : Rudolf Krzyzanowski who acted as piano accompanist for singers left the Vienna Conservatory in the course of the academic year.

Before 16 November 1881 : Rehearsals by the Winkler Quartet in Josef Schalk's apartment of the first 3 movements of the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) .

Bruckner will only assist to the last one. Re-assured by Schalk and Julius Winkler (the first violin) , the Master is highly-satisfied and overjoyed by what he heard.

The premiere performance is made possible by the personal initiative of Schalk.

Wednesday, 16 November 1881 (Day of Prayer and Repentance) : General rehearsal in the afternoon of the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) which takes place in the « foyer » of the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » in the presence of Ludwig Speidel and Julius Epstein.

The Master then reports (again very submissively) to music-critic Eduard Hanslick.

Thursday, 17 November 1881 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to a Court conductor (presumably Josef Hellmesberger senior) :

Bruckner invites him to assist to the premiere performance of the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) , which will take place this evening.

...

7:00 pm : Third private concert of the season by the Academic Wagner Society of Vienna given at Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Programme

Anton Bruckner : (Premiere) String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) - first 3 movements ; Gemäßigt - Andante, quasi

allegretto - Scherzo. Schnell. Trio. Langsamer.

Performers : The (enlarged) Winkler Quartet.

Julius Winkler (first violin) , Carl Lillich (second violin) , Johann (Hans) Kreuzinger (first viola) , Franz Schalk (second viola (replacing Julius Desing) , Theodor Lucca (violoncello) .

Johann Sebastian Bach : ?

Richard Wagner : Hans Sachs's final speech, and final choir scene from Act 3 of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

Soloist : Kurt (Christoph Gottfried) Sommer, tenor.

(Born in 1868 in Altengottern, Thüringen, Sommer studied singing at the Conservatory of Dresden under Gustav Scharfe.)

Carl Löwe : « Der Mönch zu Pisa » (The monk of Pisa) , ballad for voice and piano, Opus 114 (1846) . Soloist : Kurt Sommer, tenor.

The planned aria for soprano by Christoph Willibald Gluck is canceled due to the - not so rare sudden - illness of « Frau » Amalie Materna.

Peter Cornelius : 2 songs from the cycle « Weihnachts-Lieder » (Christmas Songs) , Opus 8.

Louis Brassin : Piano transcription of « Du bist der Lenz » (You are the spring) from Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » .

Franz Liszt : « Les Préludes » , transcription for piano 4 hands. Soloists : « Frau » Olga Varet-Stepanoff and Eduard Schütt.

Franz Liszt : Piano transcription of the Spinning song from Richard Wagner's « Der Fliegende Holländer » .

Other performers : Doctor Gustav Deycks (baritone) , Josef Schalk.

Also present : August Göllerich junior (who compares the String Quintet with the Quartets of Ludwig van Beethoven) , Doctor Eduard Kremser, Doctor Theodor Helm and Julius Desing.

« Much to the wrath of his friends, who then did not miss a respectable reprimand, Bruckner exhausted himself in acknowledgments for the high-honour, and made the attempt to kiss the hand of Hanslick ! This scene will be unforgettable too. Far from being weird, I had the impression of being moving and moving. »

(August Göllerich / Max Auer. « Anton Bruckner - Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild » , Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1936) ; page 678.)

A banquet will take place after the concert.

The voluntary contributions totalizing 52 Florins could not cover the final cost of 78 Florins and 60 Kreuzers.

Thursday, 15 December 1881 : The jury committee of the « Beethoven Prize » competition (consisting of Johannes Brahms, Karl Goldmark, Eduard Hanslick and Hans Richter) awards that year's prize for composition to a Piano Concerto by Robert Fuchs rather than to Gustav Mahler's cantata « Das klagende Lied » (The Song of Lament) .

For the rest of his life, Mahler blames this loss for his inability to make a living as a composer and for the resultant necessity to have a conducting career.

Mahler tells to Natalie Bauer-Lechner :

« Had I won that prize, I might have become a full-time composer. »

Mahler, again, in a conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner in **April 1898** :

« Had the jury of the Conservatoire, which included Brahms, Goldmark, Hanslick, and Richter, given me at that time the “ Beethoven Prize ” of 600 Austrian Florins for the “ Klagende Lied ” my whole life would have taken a different turn. I was just working on “ Rübezahl ”, would not have had to go to Laibach (Ljubljana) and would thus possibly have been spared my whole cursed Operatic career. Instead, however, “ Herr ” (Victor von) Herzfeld got the first composition prize, and (Hans) Rott and I went empty-handed. Rott despaired and died soon afterwards insane, and I was (and shall always remain) condemned to the hell of theatrical life. »

1882, 1883, 1884 : Victor von Herzfeld wins the « Beethoven Prize » for composition. The jury committee includes Johannes Brahms and Josef Hellmesberger senior.

Tuesday, 9 January 1883 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Josef Schalk :

Anton Bruckner asks Josef Schalk to lend the piano reduction of the 5th Symphony (**WAB 105**) , with clearly written improvements, to his friend Moritz Mayfeld who is always staying during the cold winter months with his wife Barbara (« Betty ») at the « Hotel Kaiserin Elisabeth » on « Weihburggasse » .

11 January to 17 March 1883 : Gustav Mahler takes up a conducting appointment in Olmütz, Moravia.

The comment about « the regeneration of mankind » is straight out of Wagner.

Kurt Blaukopf states :

« At the inn where the singers met in the evening, he invited ridicule by drinking water instead of wine or beer. Refusing meat, he asked for spinach and apples, and loudly declared his allegiance to Richard Wagner's vegetarian principles, throwing in a plea for woollen underwear for good measure. The citizens of this little town were agreed that he was a very queer specimen. Mahler spurned the food they offered him, and went hungry for the sake of his convictions. »

Eventually, Mahler gave-up his vegetarian diet, but a string of health issues meant that he always watched what he ate.

Tuesday, 13 February 1883 : Death of Richard Wagner in Venice.

Monday, 7 May 1883 : Concert of the Academic Wagner Society of Vienna given at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Programme

Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann perform an arrangement for 2 pianos of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

Anton Bruckner : (Second performance) String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) - first 3 movements ; Gemäßigt - Andante, quasi allegretto - Scherzo. Schnell. Trio. Langsamer.

Performers : The (enlarged) Winkler Quartet.

Julius Winkler (first violin) , Carl Lillich (second violin) , Franz Schalk (first viola) , Johann (Hans) Kreuzinger (second viola) , Theodor Lucca (violoncello) .

Bruckner's colleagues at the Vienna Conservatory and (probably) Doctor Hans Paumgartner attend the concert.

Some of the incoming amounts plus a donation of 50 Florins from Landgrave Vinzenz Egon zu Fürstenberg is used to cover the concert costs.

Subscription is opened to produce a printed score of the Quintet.

Friday, 1 June 1883 : With 200 Marks in his pocket, the amount his impresario Gustav Lewy obtained for his travel expenses, Gustav Mahler travels to Vienna. (Lewy will receive 5 % of Mahler's theatrical fees.) He will spend almost 3 weeks in the capital, doubtless meeting up with friends and happily telling them about his upcoming engagement. He again visits Friedrich (« Fritz ») Löhr in Perchtoldsdorf, and they take long walks together in the « Wienerwald » (Vienna Woods) , including one to the Observation Tower.

Friday, 15 June 1883 : Gustav Mahler pays a visit to Anton Bruckner at his apartment on « Heßgasse » . The Master lends him the score of his Second Symphony in C minor (**WAB 102**) .

Bruckner writes on the calendar page of his « Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender » (New Cracow Note-Calendar) :

« 15th of the month. “ Herr ” Gustav Mahler. Music-score of Symphony Number 2. »

(« 15. D [of this month] H[ern] Mahler Score Sinf[onie] N 2. »)

It is still uncertain for what purpose Mahler borrowed the score. Did Bruckner hope for a performance by the young « Kapellmeister » , who was about to start his new engagement in Kassel ?

Mahler now leaves for Iglau (Jihlava) .

July 1883 : During a holiday trip to the Fichtel mountains and Wundsiedel (birth-place of Jean Paul ; 1763-1825) , Gustav Mahler stayed at the parents' house of his friends Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyżanowski, at Number 460 Provaznicka Street, in Cheb.

Next, Rudolf Krzyżanowski studied at the Prague Conservatory. After leaving the « Conservatorium » , he worked as « Kapellmeister » in Halle-an-der-Saale, Elberfeld, Ljubljana, Hanover, and Munich.

Tuesday, 13 November 1883 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to a « Dear Friend » (Gustav Mahler ?) (Bruckner does not know the address nor the person who wrote) :

Thank you very much for your letter. Bruckner complains that his friends have left him. Hans Richter would call him a « musical fool » and refuse to conduct his works. Wishes the author a better destiny.

...

As the Seventh Symphony (**WAB 107**) was not finished until 1883, Mahler must have attended some lectures of Bruckner's after leaving the University of Vienna.

1883-1886 : Otto Mahler attends the German « Gymnasium » (Number 1-109 « Hluboka » Street ; Number 608 « Nonnengaschen ») in Iglau (Jihlava) .

Wednesday, 16 January 1884 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Josef Schalk :

Anton Bruckner hopes that 2 movements of his Symphony (the Fourth to be performed on 29 January, or less possibly, the Seventh on 27 February) would be played on 2 pianos by Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe. He would like to hear them in the previous tempi.

In the evening, meeting « at Gause » , the popular guest-house (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the 1st District.

Monday, 5 May 1884 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Rudolf Krzyzanowski (Starnberg) :

Anton Bruckner wants to see Rudolf Krzyzanowski during his (planned) long stay in Munich.

« My Seventh Symphony is completed, as well as a large “ Te Deum ”. Nikisch, in Leipzig, is absolutely delighted with the Seventh and wants to perform it soon, at a concert for the Wagner memorial fund. »

July 1884 : Gustav Mahler pays a visit to Anton Bruckner at his apartment at « Heßgasse » Number 7 (« Schottenring » Number 5) . He discusses the issues related to the Third Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) with the Master.

It seems that Theodor Rättig had already convinced Bruckner of the need to further revise the work - as none of the conductors to whom he had sent the score had agreed to perform it - with the result that Bruckner had begun the process and some 50 pages of the new version had already been engraved. According to Max Auer, Mahler was firmly against the idea of re-writing the work, and Bruckner - surprisingly deferring to his young visitor's opinion - now wrote to Rättig, asking him to destroy the new pages because « an orchestral professional » had convinced him that the revisions were unnecessary.

It is surprising to find Bruckner referring to the 23 year old conductor as an « orchestral professional » , although it is conceivable that a glance at the score of « Das klagende Lied » justified this assessment in his eyes. Auer adds that Bruckner had to pay Rättig 400 « Gulden » for his work on the new edition, which was now useless. In the event,

Franz Schalk, Gustav Schönaich, Friedrich Eckstein, and Hans Paumgartner all helped Rüttig to convince Bruckner of the need to revise the score, which, in 1889, he would finally agree to do with the help of the Schalk brothers.

Beginning of August 1884 : We do not know if the meeting in Munich between Anton Bruckner with Rudolf Krzyzanowski materialized.

Monday, 22 December 1884 : Concert of the Academic Wagner Society of Vienna given at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Ferdinand Löwe plays at the piano the first movement of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony (**WAB 104**) .

Josef Schalk plays at the piano the third movement of Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

Löwe and Schalk perform the version for 2 pianos, 4 hands (by Löwe) , of Bruckner's First Symphony (**WAB 101**) .

Richard Hirsch sings a scene from Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » .

Anton Bruckner receives a laurel wreath entitled « The Master of German music ! » (« Dem Meister deutscher Tonkunst ! ») .

Present at the concert : Doctor Theodor Helm, Emil von Hartmann, Hugo Wolf, Friedrich Eckstein, Franz Zottmann. (In spite of an invitation, Julius Winkler, Baron Seiler and Weiß are absent.)

Sunday, 28 December 1884 : Hugo Wolf's impassioned music-criticism in the « Wiener Salon-Blatt » referring to the semi-public concert in which Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk performed parts of Bruckner's Symphonies as a piano duet. Although Wolf expressly highlights Bruckner's originality and inventiveness, and compares the wealth of his imagination and the quality of his inspiration with George Crabbe, even William Shakespeare, he could not help but comment on the lack of continuity and the « formlessness of the development » which meant that the consistently « glorious ideas » did not support that masterful kind of structure that was admired so much in Beethoven.

February 1885 : Second advertisement in the « Hofmeister Monats-Bericht » for the full-score and the piano score of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . The piano score was in effect an unchanged, uncorrected second edition of the Gustav Mahler - Rudolf Krzyzanowski arrangement, edited by Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk.

In her article, « Die 4-handigen Bearbeitungen der Dritten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner » , in : « Bruckner-Jahrbuch 1987-1988 » , Linz (1990) ; pages 67-78, Gertraud Kubacsek-Steinhauer suggests that Gustav Mahler's name was

omitted because ...

a) He was no longer in Vienna, and no longer a member of the « Wagner-Verein » .

b) Of personal differences between Josef Schalk and Gustav Mahler.

c) As a result of Josef Schalk's increasing involvement in the « Wagner-Verein » (he became its artistic director in 1887) and his desire to emphasize his own crusading zeal for the dissemination of Anton Bruckner's works.

Monday, 16 March 1885 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz about the Seventh Symphony (WAB 107) performed in Munich :

« The success was truly splendid. Levi showed a remarkable amount of understanding and care. We were very pleased with the performance. Bruckner is overjoyed. All in all, the whole “ Munich-affair ” looks like a triumphant procession for Bruckner. He has been honoured, to a surprising extent, in all artistic circles (banquets, laurel wreaths) . (Hermann von) Kaulbach has painted his portrait ; (Edgar) Hanfstängl has taken his photograph. »

1885 : Franz Schalk becomes « Kapellmeister » at the « Deutschen-Landestheater » in Prague.

Sunday, 6 September 1885 : In a letter written from Prague to his parents, Gustav Mahler promises to help Ludwig Quittner whenever possible, and furthermore, within the same letter, he invites his sister Leopoldine, nicknamed « Poldi », to stay with him in order to discuss the ways and means of helping :

« But rest assured, dear “ Poldi ”, I am thinking about it, and, as soon as an opportunity presents itself, I will do everything in my power. I, herewith, invite you to come and visit me for a few weeks if the time arises that you need a rest. Perhaps, we'll think of something together then. Write me soon. »

In his last sentence, his self-imposed responsibility to his brothers and sisters is clear to see :

« What is “ Justi ” doing, and why does she not write me ? And what about Alois and Otto ? So many fingers - and none are to be stirred ! »

(Leopoldine suffered the marriage of convenience with Ludwig Quittner since the early-1880's.)

Sunday, 18 April 1886 (Palm Sunday) : Gustav Mahler begins his career as a Brucknerian and Mahlerian conductor.

Benefit-Concert in aid of the (newly-founded) Society of needy German law-students given before lawyers in the « Grand Hotel Bräuer » (now, « ATS hostel Jednota ») (capacity : 1,800 seats) at Number 38 on Opletalova Street, « Nové Město » , Prague.

The concert marks an important date in Mahler's life : the first public performance of 3 of his own songs, as yet unpublished.

The building is a student residence : the « Jednota Residence » . « Hotel Jednota » is located in the city-centre of Prague, at 5 minutes of walking distance from Wenceslas Square. For its location, the hotel makes an excellent point of departure for walks through the historical centre and to visit the main-sights. The main train-station (« Hlavní nádraží ») and bus-station (« Florenc ») are in a walking distance from the hotel.

Gustav Mahler conducts the augmented Orchestra of the « Neues Deutsches Theatre » .

The programme includes no fewer than 28 separate pieces. The concert lasts 2:30 hours and causes part of the audience to leave before the end.

Programme

Franz-Josef Haydn : Raphael's aria (No. 12) from « Die Schöpfung » (The Creation) . Soloist : Johannes Elmblad, bass.

Franz Schubert : « An Schwager Kronos » (D. 369) . Soloist : Johannes Elmblad, bass.

Giacomo Meyerbeer : Fidès's arioso, « Ah! mon fils, sois béni ! » , from Act II of « Le Prophète » . Soloist : Marie Renard, mezzo-soprano (?) .

Robert Schumann : « Frühlingsnacht » , Opus 39, No. 9. Soloists : Marie Renard, mezzo-soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Edvard Grieg : « Ich hebe dich » , Opus 5, No. 3. Soloists : Marie Renard, mezzo-soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Wilhelm Heinefetter : « Imwunderschönen Monat Mai » , Opus 18, No. 4. Soloists : Marie Renard, mezzo-soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Peter von Winter : « Das unterbrochene Opferfest » . Soloists : Betty Frank, soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Mahler : « Frühlingsmorgen » (to words by Richard Leander) from « Lieder und Gesänge aus der Jugendzeit » - premiere performance. Soloists : Betty Frank, soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Mahler : « Lied Ging heut' Morgen über's Feld » from « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen » - premiere performance. Soloists : Betty Frank, soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano.

Mahler : « Hans und Grethe » from « Lieder und Gesänge aus der Jugendzeit » (the revised version of « Maitanz im Grünen » , one of the 3 songs Mahler dedicated to Josephine Poisl) - premiere performance. Soloists : Betty Frank, soprano ; Gustav Mahler, piano. The song is loudly applauded and immediately encored.

Johannes Brahms : 3 Hungarian Dances. Soloists : Carl Halir (violin) , Gustav Mahler (piano) .

Joachim Raff : Violin Concerto No. 2 in A minor, Opus 206. Soloist : Carl Halir.

Luigi Boccherini : « Menuetto » from the String Quintet in A major (G. 272) .

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

Anton Bruckner : Third movement (« Scherzo ») from the Symphony No. 3 in D minor (**WAB 103**) . The first time a note of Bruckner's music had ever been heard in Prague.

Richard Wagner : « Kaiser-Marsch » (Imperial March) in B-flat major (WWV 104) .

According to the « Prager Tagblatt » of April 20, 1886, the « genius » Mahler conducted everything by heart « and with admirable skill » . It commented that Mahler had accompanied - with the orchestra and on the piano - several solo numbers, starting with Johannes Elmblad singing Raphael's aria (No. 12) from Franz-Josef Haydn's « Schöpfung » , Franz Schubert's « An Schwager Kronos » , and a set of Swedish folk-songs. Next, Betty Frank, who most likely was still in a relationship with Mahler, impressed the critic with an aria from Peter von Winter's « Das unterbrochene Opferfest » , which she is said to have sung « with brio » .

The critic of the « Prager Tagblatt » was unstinting in his praise :

« All orchestral works by the orchestra of the “ Deutsches Theater ” under the brilliant direction of “ Kapellmeister Herr Gustav Mahler ”, who conducted them with astonishing security without score, were executed with care and precision worthy of recognition. »

The same critic called Mahler's Lieder « interesting, and very appealing in their conception » , but regretted the length of the concert, which caused part of the audience to leave before the end. The article was not by the paper's principal reviewer, Tobisch, who had invariably been critical of Mahler's achievements, but was signed «Dr. B.» 253 . It would certainly be surprising to find Tobisch as fulsome as this in his praise.

Marie Renard was said to have « come especially from Berlin » (« Prager Tagblatt » , supplement, 20 April 1886) for the concert, where she was a member of the Royal « Hofoper » from 1885 to 1888. When Mahler took over the running of the Vienna « Hofoper » , she was one of its principal stars until she retired in 1900, and married Count Kinsky.

« Bohemia's » supplement of April 20, 1886, also singled out Mahler's « three original songs » for special mention.

According to « Jitka Ludvová », Op. át. , pages 54-55 :

« Our only evidence for the 2 other songs is the “ Zwischenacts-Zeitung ”, which, in its edition of 20 April 1886, claimed that Betty Frank sang one of the “ Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen ” and “ Steh' auf ! Steh' auf ! ”, which is the older title of the song now known as “ Frühlingsmorgen ”. But we can only guess at the identity of the song from the “ Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen ” (described in the review as a “ Lied der fahrenden Gesellen ”) . “ Ging heut' morgen übers Feld ” is the one best suited to Betty Frank's “ coloratura ” voice, and it is not out of the question that Mahler undertook various changes out of consideration for her voice. »

Saturday, 1 January 1887 : New Year letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) :

« Vienna, “ New Year's Day ”, 1887.

Most Noble Friend !

At the opening of the year, permit me once more to render my most fervent thanks for you great, most highly-artistic kindness toward me. Accept my most fervent thanks ! together with the most sincere wish that God may preserve your irreplaceable health, to the renown of German musical art. Give my best also to the gracious Theatre Director, and to his gracious wife, my renewed thanks and my “ New Year's ” greeting. I implore you to spare your health ! **Be so good as to let “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler have my card.**

I kiss the hand of your gracious wife, and I also wish her everything good !

Forever and ever, I ask that you give a kiss to your dear son in place of my own, that I shall never have. To Bernhard Vogel, again, my sincerest thanks, etc.

My leave-taking from you, in Bayreuth, was very difficult for me. A fond farewell !

With heartfelt kisses and thanks,

Yours,

Anton Bruckner »

January to April 1887 : Josef Schalk works « in secret » on the 4 hand version of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (WAB

105) . His great error was to prepare the premiere, inviting Bruckner only to the final rehearsal !

Saturday, 26 March 1887 : Around a table « at Gause's » pub-restaurant, Josef Schalk reports that he and Franz Zottmann are planning to perform on Tuesday, April 12 (right after Easter) , the Fifth Symphony in an arrangement for 2 pianos. The creation will take place at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » during an evening concert placed under the sponsorship of the Wagner academic Society of Vienna. A Piano Quartet by Hans Paumgartner is also on the programme.

Bruckner was, apparently, offended by the assumption that his input would be required only at the final stage (i.e. , dress-rehearsal) .

Friedrich Klose and Adalbert von Goldschmidt will witness a violent discussion between the Master and Schalk because of the forthcoming performance. Bruckner insists on cancelling the concert (although the posters had already been printed) , unless Schalk and the other pianist, Franz Zottmann, held additional rehearsals under his direction. At one point, he even threatened to call the police to stop the performance taking place.

The popular Viennese guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») was located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12 in the First District.

Friday, 25 March 1887 : Bruckner put his feelings into words in a calm but firm letter to Josef Schalk :

« Dearest, most honourable friend !

Yesterday, I came to the firm decision that I would resolutely decline with thanks all performances of my works, unless they were preceded by one or more weeks of thorough rehearsal - moreover, rehearsals in my presence.

I would, therefore, ask you to choose something other than my Fifth Symphony. But, please, arrange rehearsals in the course of April and May, when I will tackle the work with you myself. With heartfelt sympathy and appealing to our old friendship. »

Tuesday, 12 April 1887 : Richard (Josef Julius) Eberstaller, the son of Protestant parents (Julius Georg and Pauline Josefa) , is born in the town of Langenlois, Krems-Land District, Lower-Austria.

His younger brother, Julius Josef Otto, born on October 9, 1884, will die on December 29, at the age of 11 weeks.

Wednesday, 20 April 1887 : Concert of the Academic Wagner Society of Vienna organized by Josef Schalk at the

Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

With the participation of pianists Richard Hirsch and Franz Zottmann.

Programme

Works by Franz Schubert, Adalbert von Goldschmidt and Ferdinand Löwe.

Franz Liszt : Sonata in B minor, S. 178.

Anton Bruckner : Premiere performance of the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) , arrangement for 2 pianos by Josef Schalk. Soloists : Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann. (Introductory text written by Schalk.)

Are attending, among others : Anton Bruckner, music-critics Doctor Theodor Helm and Doctor Emil Ritter von Hartmann. On his part, Friedrich Klose observes the bad mood of the Master, which only brightens with the final applause.

At the after-concert reception which takes place at Vienna's First District popular guest-house (Restaurant and Beer-Hall) named « at Gause » (« Gasthaus und Bierkeller “ bei Gause ” ») located in a basement at « Johannesgasse » Number 12, Bruckner treats everyone to the finest wine !!

Wednesday, 20 July 1887 : Gustav Mahler stays with his friend, the archæologist and philologist Fritz Löhr, in Vienna and Perchtoldsdorf, then, travels via Reichenhall to Innsbruck, where he meets up with brothers Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyzanowski ; all 3 men then cross the Alps on foot to Lake Starnberg.

Thursday, 17 May 1888 : Gustav Mahler's resignation is accepted by the Leipzig « Neues Stadt-Theater » ; period of uncertainty ; he travels to Munich, then, stays with Heinrich Krzyzanowski in Starnberg.

Sunday, 10 June 1888 : Josef Schalk informed his brother that Bruckner was « unfortunately still working on the Finale » of his Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , and that his brother's cuts and transitions has been accepted.

« (Bruckner) is still sitting over the Finale of the Third (Symphony) . He has recomposed a few places. By the way, he has kept your cuts and alterations. Now, he is severely plagued by the delusion of removing parallel octaves from the movement. In the process, he wastes a lot of time and struggles horribly, but is unmoved by any objections from Löwe or me. It is really sad to see how, at the expense of natural voice leading, he erases everything and makes changes for the sake of this fixation. »

The earliest incidence mentioned in the correspondence of the Schalk brothers' having deliberately misled Anton Bruckner occurred in the **summer of 1888**.

While visiting Vienna, Gustav Mahler convinced Bruckner to reprint the old score from 1879 of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) rather than a new edition with the revisions on which the composer had been working with the Schalks. The publisher Theodor Rättig was forced to set aside 50 printing plates that had already been completed for the new edition. Josef intervened directly with Rättig to veto Mahler's (and Bruckner's) plan to reprint.

The anxious Josef Schalk reported that Bruckner had been « unnerved by “ Herr ” Mahler who had happened to be in Vienna » and « now wanted to have the old score printed again » . Bruckner wanted to turn everything on its head.

Friday, 13 July 1888 : Josef Schalk writes to his brother Franz :

« There is nothing to be done now except stop the printing without Bruckner's knowledge until his beloved “ Francisce ” (Bruckner's nickname for Franz) , I hope, has an opportunity to restore equilibrium. »

The brothers prevailed. By way of illustrating how complex a web Bruckner could create with his vacillation, the new edition was the very one he endorsed 5 years later.

Monday, 26 November 1888 : Letter of Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

« I was recently quite alone with him (Bruckner) in the “ Kugel ”, and he was never weary of telling me his heartfelt affection for you, so that I was quite moved. He would like to submit all of the many changes, which he is now with quite extraordinary industriousness making to the Eighth and the Third, to your assessment (“ Urtheil ”) . »

Bruckner loves the Viennese restaurant « Zur goldenen Kugel » located at « Am Hof Platz » Number 11. He enjoys his « Pilsner » and his favourite dish, rich in protein : the roast pork with cabbage.

Tuesday, 18 December 1888 : Letter from Franz Schalk (Reichenberg) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Most Sincerely Honoured Master !

In remembrance of all the beautiful hours in which I enjoyed the good fortune and blessing of your instruction and intimate conversation, I ask that you accept me into the circle of those who enthusiastically and from their hearts are permitted to express their best wishes to you, dear Master, in these days. For me, it is probably the most painful deprivation no longer to be able to participate in your work personally.

Therefore, I have to envision how a new work is growing robustly, so that it shall fill living and future generations with awe ; and I hope that it shall be granted us to hear your works, perhaps, in the coming spring time.

Until then, of course, I have to be contented with wishing you a splendid, prosperous year in which the “ Muse and Spirits ” remain with you for the completion of the Ninth Symphony, for the sake of us all. On New Year’s Eve, I will think of you, my dear Master, in most thankful affection ; and, on behalf of the prosperity of the Ninth, I will not fail to drink a toast.

In deep reverence and gratitude,

Francisce »

1888-1889 : Against Gustav Mahler’s advice, Anton Bruckner makes another thorough revision, with the assistance of his pupils Franz and Josef Schalk, of the score of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) for re-publication.

As the brothers grew less and less tolerant of Bruckner’s over-bearing interference, they began not only to make alterations without consulting him, but also to conceal them from him.

The most important evidence about the relationship between Bruckner and his editors is an extensive correspondence, largely unpublished, between the brothers Franz (1863-1931) and Josef Schalk (1857-1900) that survives in the Fonds Schalk in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library. The correspondence came about because, during the 1880’s and 1890’s, Franz pursued a successful performing career with a series of appointments around Germany and Austria while Josef remained in Vienna. The brothers, both of whom studied with Bruckner at the Conservatory, were by far the most active of his editors. Ferdinand Löwe (1863-1925) , himself a successful conductor and friend of the Schalks, played a somewhat lesser role. Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) was involved with the editions of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) and Masses in D and F minor (**WAB 26, 28**) , and Cyrill Hynais (1862-1913) with the First, Second and Sixth Symphonies, « Psalm 150 » (**WAB 38**) and « Helgoland » (**WAB 71**) . The Schalks began to have a professional interest in Bruckner’s music in 1881, when Josef completed a piano 4 hand arrangement of the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) and hosted rehearsals in his home for the work’s first performance.

The brothers became Bruckner’s counsellors, supporters, friends, editors, arrangers, performers, and even co-composers. To their credit, they and their fellow-editors invested long hours with no personal gain helping Bruckner. He came to rely heavily on the brothers, and, on Ferdinand Löwe in particular, during the years immediately following Hermann Levi’s rejection of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) in October 1887. Bruckner was distraught upon learning of the rejection, so much so that his colleagues repeatedly expressed concern over his well-being.

Although there is no evidence to support Robert Haas’s assertion that the Schalk brothers and Ferdinand Löwe took advantage of Bruckner’s fragile state in the late-1880’s to coerce the composer into accepting their suggestions, there

can be little question that it caused him to rely on them more than he might have otherwise. Theirs cannot have been an easy role to fill, as Bruckner was often acrimonious and difficult to work with. Because Franz was usually away from Vienna, his brother and Ferdinand Löwe bore the brunt of the composer's ill humour.

The principal objective of the young editors was to help Bruckner avoid debacles, to make it easier for conductors, performers and audiences to understand his music.

Distinguishing Bruckner from his editor / co-composers in pieces where he worked closely with them is often difficult, if not impossible. From an editorial perspective, it is pointless, because the composer accepted their suggestions and made them his own. At times, editorial advice in one passage became part of the original conception in the next. However much the Schalk brothers and Ferdinand Löwe may have contributed, the composer was responsible for the 1888 version of the Fourth Symphony (WAB 104) and the 1889 version of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) .

1888-1890 : Gustav Mahler is eating meat again by the time he was working in Budapest. It shouldn't be too surprising if he gives up vegetarianism out of expediency.

1888-1892 : Otto Mahler studies at the Vienna Conservatory. Gustav pays for Otto's tuition fees.

Mahler is already Director of the Royal Opera House in Budapest when the 15 year old Otto enters the Vienna Conservatory in 1888.

Commentary on Otto's life tends to assert that he was a talented student. He appears to have been less diligent than his brother had been, however.

Natalie Bauer-Lechner on Otto Mahler :

« Otto Mahler resembled his elder brother in displaying a special talent for music at an early age.

Otto, the elder, a very talented musician, but lacking in seriousness and perseverance, was, by far and away, his favourite. Mahler acted as his tutor and got him through his school work by any means. In later years, he found him jobs as choir-master in small German towns, but all to no purpose. Otto grumbled and complained. He thought himself as good as his brother and envied him his greater success. Repeatedly, he threw up the livelihood provided for him. He was a fanatical disciple of Dostoyevsky's and philosophized about his approaching death, in the manner of the great Russian, with an old friend of Mahler's, a woman (" Nina " Hoffmann) , who, however, did nothing to prevent it. People of his kind, who know too much, often cut a very sorry figure in life.

A few more years passed and, at the age of 28, Mahler had become Director of the Opera in Budapest. One day, he came to Vienna to visit his sister and brother : Leopoldine (" Poldi ") , who died not long afterwards, and Otto, whom Mahler had liberated from his father's business a year

before and - since he showed a profound, characteristically Mahlerian gift for music - had sent to the Conservatory in Vienna at his own expense. These two, and myself, were invited one evening to the Löhrs', whose son Fritz, a splendid man and scholar, was Mahler's dearest friend for many years. Mahler, who had always had a strong need for home ties, felt at his best there, among family and friends. He was in the liveliest of moods, and singled me out for special attention - as he always threw himself vehemently into a friendship whenever he felt especially attracted to a person. He invited us all to visit him in Budapest. »

Fall 1888 - Winter 1889 : Otto Mahler's first academic year at the Vienna Conservatory.

« Herr Anton Bruckner, Ritter des Franz-Josef-Ordens, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof-Organist, Professor. (Harmonie-Lehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.)

Otto Mahler aus Iglau, 15 Jahre - Harmonie-Lehre, Klavier I.

Bei Musik-Theorie Klasse für Harmonie-Lehre als Hauptfach des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner :

(8 Zöglinge.)

Jean Chitzou, Victor Christ, Heinrich Czerwenka, Leo Held, Mathias Hubad, **Otto Mahler**, Conrad Schmitz, Georg Wieniger. »

After a few successful terms studying harmony and counterpoint with Anton Bruckner and piano with Ernst Ludwig, Otto's marks declined.

Ernst Ludwig and Gustav Mahler had been fellow-pupils in Franz Krenn's composition class at the Vienna Conservatory between 1876 and 1878, and both graduated in the latter year. Ludwig won the Conservatory competition for the academic year 1875-1876 (the first year it was held) and, again, in 1876-1877. Interestingly, in 1878, Ludwig received only the Second Prize. It was Rudolf Krzyżanowski who won the First Prize. Ludwig was appointed to the teaching staff of the Conservatory - as professor of piano in the training class - in 1883. He remained there until 1914. The institution was re-organized as the Academy of Music and Drama in 1909.

Heinrich Schenker studied piano with Ernst Ludwig at the Conservatory in the academic years 1887-1888, 1888-1889, and part of 1889-1890.

Schenker had much for which to thank Ludwig, as his « encomium » (diary) for March 14, 1915, makes clear :

« The fortunate circumstances of his life were in part also fortunate circumstances of my own. Originally wealthy, inclined toward education and, indeed, an educated man himself, in contrast to other musicians and others he had the leisure and will to take me under his wing when I entered the Conservatory on an Imperial scholarship. It was he who paid attention to my compositions, introduced me to (Julius) Epstein (who, from time to time, provided me with

financial support) , in short, it was he who within his circle actually provided me with my first better-paying pupils. He passed the Eißlers' over to me, introduced me many years later also to (Irene) Grädener, whose son I was to teach.

On this day of his death, I cannot shake from my mind the thought, paradoxical as it may seem, that Ludwig would have been far more fortunate in life if, when making recommendations, instead of teachers such as (Salomon) Jadassohn and (Hermann) Grädener, he had chosen me to lead (people) to art ! But how is one to dictate to Nature, which has decreed the ordering of generations in one immutable way, that something go in precisely the opposite direction ! By the time, my teaching of harmony and counterpoint came out, it was far too late for him to enjoy the blessing of the truth. »

Heinrich Schenker arranged for Ernst Ludwig to receive complimentary copies of his arrangement of Georg Friedrich Händel's Organ Concertos from Universal-Edition in 1905. In 1905, Ernst Ludwig lived at « Streicher-Gasse » Number 3 in the Third District of Vienna.

Otto Mahler's annual report for his first year shows that, for some unknown reason, he took no final examination in composition.

From that point on, his academic performance was increasingly poor.

Tuesday, 18 December 1888 : Letter from Franz Schalk (Reichenberg) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Most Sincerely Honoured Master !

In remembrance of all the beautiful hours in which I enjoyed the good fortune and blessing of your instruction and intimate conversation, I ask that you accept me into the circle of those who enthusiastically and from their hearts are permitted to express their best wishes to you, dear Master, in these days. For me, it is probably the most painful deprivation no longer to be able to participate in your work personally.

Therefore, I have to envision how a new work is growing robustly, so that it shall fill living and future generations with awe ; and I hope that it shall be granted us to hear your works, perhaps, in the coming spring time.

Until then, of course, I have to be contented with wishing you a splendid, prosperous year in which the “ Muse and Spirits ” remain with you for the completion of the 9th Symphony, for the sake of us all. On New Year's Eve, I will think of you, my dear Master, in most thankful affection ; and, on behalf of the prosperity of the 9th, I will not fail to drink a toast.

In deep reverence and gratitude,

Francisce »

Monday, 18 February 1889 : Death of Bernhard Mahler from bad heart conditions and complications from diabetes. He was 62. Gustav is in Iglau (Jihlava) for burial at the Jewish Cemetery.

March 1889 : Gustav Mahler orders a Silesian marble stone from Johann Hurda - a stone-mason from Iglau (Jihlava) .

1-6 April 1889 : Another visit of Gustav Mahler to Iglau (Jihlava) .

Tuesday, 21 May 1889 : Gustav Mahler leaves for Vienna, where he stays with Fritz Löhr ; then, visits Iglau (Jihlava) .

Spring-Summer 1889 : Marie, the wife of Bernhard Mahler, is very ill and is not expected to recover. Gustav begs his friend Fritz Löhr to stand in for him at his mother's bed-side.

Member of the Pernerstorfer Circle, Löhr is a close friend of Gustav Mahler since their days at the University of Vienna.

Late-May or early-June 1889 : Letter from Otto Mahler (Iglau) to an unknown « Dear friend » :

« Dear friend,

You must not think falsely of me. If I have not written you, it is because of the very disagreeable and despondent mood that has taken hold of me in view of the very sad events at home. For a while, I was unable to write even a syllable to anybody, let alone a whole letter.

Just listen to what is happening at our house.

The first thing is that mother finds herself in a condition that gives great cause for concern, almost ruling-out the hope of recovery. She really is suffering terrible torments, which occasionally even the doctor calls singular. “Justi ” (Justine) is half-dead from this continual excitement and from staying-up at night, and, on top of all that, is suffering from stomach troubles (“Magen-Katarrh” or gastritis) . She certainly is to be pitied. She will hardly be able to stand this much longer. Emma is a completely vulgar, useless creature, whose malicious behaviour is almost impossible to describe. It annoys mother, and is a nuisance for the whole house, etc. Alois (Louis) is despondently awaiting his imminent draft in 6 weeks.

Things are not the best for me either. I will leave my stomach troubles out of it, but to have to watch all of this is enough to drive one to despair. Now, you have an idea and so will know how I feel and what sort of holidays I am having.

So, how are you all ? Is your mother in Vienna already ? Do you already have an apartment ?

At any rate, you will be better off than I am.

With friendly greetings, I remain your

Otto

That reminds me. Gustav was here for about 4 days, travelled from here to Prague, and apparently is now in Vienna. If he is not already in Budapest. He seems quite well, by the way. »

(« Lieber Freund !

Sie dürfen nicht von mir falsch denken. Wenn ich Ihnen nicht geschrieben habe, so hat es seinen Grund in einer sehr misliebigen und niedergeschlagenen Stimmung, die sich angesichts der sehr traurigen Verhältnisse zu Hause meiner bemächtigt hat, so daß ich wirklich eine Zeit lang nicht fähig war, auch nur eine Silbe jemandem zu schreiben, geschweige denn einen ganzen Brief.

Hören Sie jetzt einmal, wie es zu Hause bei uns aussieht.

Also vor allem die Mutter befindet sich in einem Zustand, der schon sehr bedenklich ist und eine Hoffnung auch eine anhaltende Besserung geradezu ausschließt. Sie leidet wirklich furchtbare Qualen, die selbst das Arzt als vereinzelt dastehend bezeichnet. Die "Justi", von dieser fortwährenden Aufregung und den vielen nachtwachen physisch halb zu Grunde gerichtet, und noch zu alledem an einem Magen-Katarrh leidend, ist auch sicher zu bedauern. Sie kann das schwerlich mehr lang so aushalten. Die Emma ist ein ganz gemeines nichtsnutziges Geschöpf, dessen Niederträchtigkeit zu beschreiben beinahe unmöglich ist, welches die Mutter argert und dem ganzen Hause nur eine Plage ist, etc. Der Alois sieht seiner in 6 Wochen bevorstehenden Hinrückung mit Niedergeschlagenheit entgegen.

Und mir gehts auch nicht am besten. Von meinem Magen-Katarrh will ich abschen, aber schon dies alles ansehen zu müssen, bringt einen Zerkweiflung. Jetzt haben Sie beiläufig einen kleinen Begriff und werden auch wissen wie mir zu Muthe ist und was für Ferien ich verbringe.

Also wie geht es Ihnen ? Ist Ihre Frau Mutter schon in Wien ? Haben Sie schon eine Wohnung aufgenommen ?

Jedenfalls sind Sie besser davon als ich.

Der mitfreundschaftliche GrüÙe verbleibt Ihr,

Otto.

" À-propos " : Gustav war ungefähr 4 Tage hier ist von nach Prag gefahren und ist jetzt wahrscheinlich in Wien. Wenn

er nicht schon in Pest ist. Er befindet sich übrigens ziemlich wohl. »)

Wednesday, 17 July 1889 : Gustav Mahler undergoes operation in Munich for hæmorrhoids.

Monday, 22 July 1889 : Gustav Mahler goes to Salzburg, Bayreuth, Iglau (Jihlava) , then, Marienbad.

Early-August 1889 : Gustav Mahler travels to Iglau (Jihlava) . From now on, he takes charge of his younger and/or irresponsible siblings : Emma, Otto and Alois (Louis) .

He sends Otto and Emma to live in Vienna with her sister Leopoldine who is married to Ludwig Quittner. Their house is located at « Wallenstein-Straße » Number 7 in the 20th District of Vienna. (Leopoldine suffers a marriage of convenience.)

August 1889 : Concerned about the health of his eldest sister Leopoldine who falls ill with severe headaches during his present stay in Vienna, Mahler calls on her doctor, who assures him that the illness is « of a nervous order and not dangerous at all » (the symptoms probably are manifesting a brain tumour) .

This is the explanation that Mahler gives his mother. He promises that he will take his sister to see a specialist if her condition does not improved by the time he returns to Iglau at the end of September. In order to relieve « Poldi » of the responsibility of looking after Otto, he arranges for his brother to stay with the Löhr family. Their house is located at « Breite-Gasse » Number 4 in the 7th District of Vienna.

Archæologist and philosopher, Friedrich (« Fritz ») Löhr takes care of the education of Otto and Emma as private teacher.

It is presumably shortly afterwards that Gustav sends Justine a note enclosing an autograph of Richard Strauß : « one of the most famous young composers, who probably has a great future ahead of him » , and asking her, presumably in the context of « Poldi's » illness : « Who is your doctor, and what does he say ? » (undated letter to Justine of September 1889) .

Otto has just finished his first year at the Conservatory, where he attended Anton Bruckner's harmony class and Ernst Ludwig's piano class. He enrolls in the same courses during his second year, earning the best grades throughout (contrary to the common notion that he always was a mediocre pupil) .

Tuesday, 20 August 1889 : Gustav Mahler returns to Budapest.

Monday, 26 August 1889 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Budapest) to his father Bernhard Mahler (Iglau) :

« Budapest, 26 August 1889.

Why does no one ever write me ? Is “ Poldi ” still in Iglau ? What is Otto up to ? Is he practicing piano diligently ?

Which of you is coming here on the 18th ?

Best wishes to you all. »

Letter from Gustav Mahler (Budapest) to his mother Marie on finding-out that Leopoldine was unwell :

« Budapest, 26 August 1889.

In Vienna, I talked through everything with “ Poldi ” ; she also immediately went to a good doctor (“ Arzt ”) , who is now treating her.

The trouble is of a nervous nature, and completely innocuous. I am coming to Iglau at the end of September, and, on this occasion, will see how things are with her in Vienna. If “ Poldi ” has not improved by then, then, I will go with her to a specialist (“ Professor ”) . It was not possible before, because not all of them are yet in Vienna.

Everything is arranged for Otto ; he will live full-time with the Löwis’ (the Löhrs’) . He should write at once to Fritz (Friedrich Löhr) who will give him more details (...) »

During his first year at the Vienna Conservatory, Otto Mahler (and his sister Leopoldine) lived with the Löhr family.

September 1889 : Gustav Mahler takes his final leave.

Fall 1889 - Winter 1890 : Otto Mahler’s second academic year at the Vienna Conservatory.

« Herr Anton Bruckner, Ritter des Franz-Josef-Ordens, Kaiserlich und Königliche Hof-Organist, Professor. (Harmonie-Lehre, Kontrapunkt und Orgel.)

Otto Mahler aus Iglau, 16 Jahre - Kontrapunkt, Klavier II. »

Friday, 27 September 1889 : Death of Gustav Mahler’s eldest sister, Leopoldine, probably of a brain tumour (meningitis) . She was only 26.

Friday, 11 October 1889 : Death of a severe heart ailment of Gustav Mahler's mother, Marie, in Iglau (Jihlava) . She was 52. Other health conditions : asthma, limping.

Gustav will be unable to attend her funeral. Justine (« Justi ») is beside herself.

Monday, 21 October 1889 : Gustav Mahler travels to Iglau (Jihlava) .

After the estate had been settled, Gustav and his siblings left Iglau forever. Reportedly, he took with him his father's old arm-chair. Through a court decision, as the oldest of the siblings, he became the guardian of his under-age brothers Alois and Otto and sisters Justine and Emma. He tried to ensure a good future for all of them ; fortunately, as the director of the Royal Opera in Budapest, with an annual salary of 10,000 Florins, he had the financial means for this. For some time, his most beloved sister, Justine, who had projected memories of their mother, kept his households in Budapest, and later in Hamburg.

1890 : Theodor Rättig publishes the 4 hand version for piano, arranged by Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk, of Anton Bruckner's 1877 version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

Thursday, 20 March 1890 : The founding meeting of the « New Richard Wagner Society » (« Neuer Richard Wagner-Verein ») took place at J. Leber's Beer-Hall just outside the « Ringstraße » . Anton Bruckner was made honorary member of the new organization. August Göllerich junior, whom the « Deutsches Volks-Blatt » described as the « intellectual-spiritual creator » (« geistiger Schöpfer ») was named its honorary Chairman. Houston Stewart Chamberlain was another honorary member.

The founding members included Georg von Schönerer and music-critics August Göllerich junior, Josef Stolzinger, Camillo Horn, and Hans Puchstein.

Members of the new organization took an oath to conduct themselves in Wagner's spirit and to associate only with other followers of Wagner and Schönerer. And they accepted extreme German nationalism and anti-Semitism as articles of faith :

« Since Richard Wagner as a nationalistic artist was himself an anti-Semite, every Wagner Society must also be unadulteratedly German, so as not to become a caricature of an artistic association bearing the name Wagner. »

Around June 1890 : Final examination at the Vienna Conservatory.

« Klasse für Kontrapunkt des Professor Herrn Anton Bruckner.

(8 Zöglinge.)

Jean Chitzou, Victor Christ, Heinrich Czerwinka (Fuß-Note über einen Lieder-Preis) , Leo Held, Mathias Hubad, **Otto Mahler**, Lenke Mokra, Conrad Schmitz. »

Gustav paid for private tutors to keep Otto's grades up. Unfortunately, in addition to having only « modest » talent, Otto lacked consistent work ethic.

Beginning of July 1890 : Gustav Mahler and the Bavarian composer and organist Hans Koeßler spend 2 days visiting their mutual friends Eduard Ebner and his wife Otilie (*) at their summer-house in nearby Cēd. During the season, Mahler is often a guest at their Budapest home and regularly invited them to his « loggia » at the Opera House. Now, they enjoy walks together, Mahler « climbing like a mountain goat » , and, on one occasion, walking in front of them and humming to himself a melody by Anton Bruckner.

(*) Otilie Ebner, née Hauer (1836-1920) was trained as a singer and developed a close friendship with Johannes Brahms prior to her marriage to Eduard Ebner (1831-1906) , a lawyer.

Late-August 1890 : Gustav Mahler returns to Budapest, leaving Justine in Vienna to look after Emma and Otto, who is about to enter his third year at the Vienna Conservatory. Since Anton Bruckner retired on July 12 due to ill health, Mahler's younger brother now attends Robert Fuchs's composition class, while, for piano studies, he switched from Ernst Ludwig to Ottokar Woher. As time passes, Otto's results will leave more and more to be desired, a fact that is not always communicated to Mahler. No marks are given to him for composition that semester - for the first time - which suggests that he either failed the subject or did not attend class regularly ; but he does continue to receive the highest marks for piano studies. Meanwhile, according to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, since Mahler and Justine « had not yet learned to live together, despite their great mutual affection » , she remains in Vienna rather than returning to Budapest, where « their first attempt to do so had failed » . But Justine's main reason for staying behind is probably a more practical one : Löhr's imminent departure for Italy placed a question mark over Otto and Emma's living arrangements, so Mahler now rents an apartment for his 3 siblings in the same building where the Löhrs were living - Number 4 « Breite Gasse » . He is also shouldering the additional and not inconsiderable cost of employing « a cook, a governess, and all sorts of teachers for Emma and Otto » . From now on, most of his letters contain advice on how to save money, since the material needs of his brothers and sisters are becoming a source of daily concern and Justine is inexperienced in running a household.

October 1890 : Natalie Bauer-Lechner visits Gustav Mahler. This is the beginning of a 12 year friendship.

First performance of the third version of the Third Symphony :

Sunday, 21 December 1890 : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Fourth subscription-concert of the season given by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Hans Richter conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture No. 2 from the Opera « Leonore » , Opus 72a.

Hermann Grädener : Concerto for violin and orchestra (No. 1, Opus 22 ; or No. 2, Opus 41) . Soloist : Adolf Brodsky.

Intermission

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

The public becomes more conciliatory with the arrival of the « 1889 version » , which is greeted with storms of applause almost exactly 13 years after the disastrous concert of December 16, 1877 - with the same orchestra, but this time under the direction of Hans Richter.

Tuesday, 23 December 1890 : Towards the end of his long review of the concert in the « Deutsche Zeitung » , the Viennese critic Theodor Helm recommends the piano-duet arrangement of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) by Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk, in preference to the Gustav Mahler - Rudolf Krzyżanowski arrangement.

1891 : When Gustav Mahler moved to Hamburg to conduct at the Opera House there, he was able to fulfill his « aim » to assist Anton Bruckner's « glorious art to the triumph it deserves » through performances of the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) (twice) , the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) , and the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . Mahler, it appears, while in Hamburg, was still in affectionate touch with Bruckner, to whom he addressed a letter on the day after the « Te Deum's » performance on Good Friday in 1892 (**15 April**) .

During the first years of his Hamburg period (**1891-1897**) , Gustav Mahler lived alone, as Justine had to look after the younger children, Otto and Emma, in Vienna. He wrote her long and regular letters, often daily, just as later he wrote daily to his wife, whenever he was travelling. When the Opera House closed for the summer, he always spent the holidays (1891) with his sisters in the Alps. During the 1894-1895 season, he invited Justine and Emma to stay, and, thereafter, lived with them together : first in Hamburg and later in Vienna, until 1898, when Emma married the cellist Eduard Rosé. He continued to live with Justine for another 4 years until March 1902, when Mahler married Alma

Schindler - and Justine, the next day, married the great violinist Arnold Rosé. Mahler had, till then, been leading a sort of married life with his sister.

Monday, 2 November 1891 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to his sister Justine (Vienna) :

« Dearest “Justi”,

(Emil) Freund tells me that, on Alois' instructions, the deposit belonging to him is supposed to have been dispatched to me.

However, since it is still not in my hands, I hasten to report to you that this strikes me as astonishing. Perhaps, there is some entirely harmless reason ; at any rate, look into the matter.

I still have my lonely, quiet life ; I have been rummaging about in my old and oldest papers. How peculiar this made me feel is something with which almost no one can resonate.

Now, however, I'm in “work-mode” - “Nina” ought not to take it as neglect that I have not yet answered her, but answered Natalie so quickly. This is easily explained by their respective natures. Natalie is such a simple human being. “Nina” is a twofold creature ; I have already discussed this with her, and she knows it too.

To write her, and really when people haven't actually spoken for as long as the two of us (because the last moments in Vienna, Perchtoldsdorf showed me at best that now she doesn't understand me properly) , so to write her, then, is decidedly not inviting, and is simply disturbing for me.

Nevertheless, I think about her often, and in sincere friendship. For I understand her well, and don't make anything of it that she now has so little insight about me.

Nevertheless, greet her warmly from me - I don't think that I can snatch the time to write her before the New Year.

(...)

Best wishes to you all,

Gustav »

« Nina » (Marzelline) Hoffmann (1844-1914) , née « Matscheko » , is the wife of Viennese painter, architect, designer and stage-designer Josef Hoffmann - co-founder of the Vienna « Secession » movement and co-establisher of the « Wiener Werkstätte » . She studied foreign literatures and languages (Polish, Russian, French) . To explore Fyodor Dostoyevsky's environment, she visited Moscow in 1897-1898 where she joined his family and his friends. She was Dostoyevsky's German translator and first German biographer. She is the author of « Theodor M. Dostojewsky - Eine biographische Studie » published in Berlin by Ernst Hofmann & Co. (1899) .

« Nina » Hoffmann was a particular friend of the Mahlers (Gustav had been introduced to her by Fritz Löhr) , many

of whom lived with her at various times.

Mid-December 1891 : Gustav Mahler visits Vienna.

1892-1895 : Rudolf Krzyzanowski succeeds Karl Muck as first « Kapellmeister » at the « Neues Deutsches Theater » (Prague German Theatre) .

Around Monday, 4 January 1892 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to his sister Justine (Vienna) :

« Dearest “Justi” !

Your last letter worried me somewhat - please don't be so laconic in such instances.

First, how does “Nina” feel ; what does the doctor say ?

Second, how do you feel ? Did you maybe have the flu ?

Then, just be careful, and, perhaps, stay at home !

At any rate, pay a little attention to “Nina's” material needs !

Provide her with refreshments, and then, send me the bill on the first of the month - a good piece of meat and vegetables - and compote. Maybe also, a decent bottle of wine, if the doctor allows it. If she hesitates to take it, just say that it is my wish, and you must do it !

I must admit that a letter from Alois to me has calmed me so far ! If only what he says is true ; if he's just free from the military, I'll now see what kind of trouble I'll have with him.

Please, dear “Justi”, tell me in detail, right away, about yourself and “Nina” !

Warm wishes from your Gustav. »

Gustav Mahler made efforts to find his brother Alois (Louis) (1867-1931) a position in the business world, but ultimately decided to let him go his own way. At first, having changed his name to Hans Christian, he lived in Vienna and worked as a chief-accountant (« Ober-Buch-Halter ») . At times, he lived together with his other brother, Otto Mahler. Some writings about Alois have characterized him as something of a « black sheep » in the Mahler clan. In family letters, he was described as dishonest and unreliable.

Otto Mahler's is a tale of squandered gifts. He showed exceptional talent for music, and Gustav, whose favourite he was, « acted as his tutor and got him through his school work by hook or by crook. In later years, he found him jobs as choir-master in small German towns, but all to no purpose » . Gustav even gave the autograph manuscript of

the first 3 movements of the second version of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) to Otto, who had studied harmony and counterpoint under Bruckner for several terms. **Otto was an even greater admirer of the Master than was his older brother.**

We have a glimpse of Otto's musical perceptiveness from a letter of Richard Strauß, written to his parents from Weimar on **Sunday, 31 January 1892**, in which he asks them whether they have read Doctor Eduard Hanslick's unfavourable criticism of his « Don Juan », done in Vienna.

He continues :

« (...) Mahler sent me yesterday (from Hamburg) a letter of his 19 year old brother in Vienna, who writes about the work (i.e , " Don Juan ") with the greatest understanding, enthusiasm, and thoroughness. The young are already going along my way !

But all to no purpose. »

Despite Mahler's aid (his anxiety for his brother was a constant preoccupation, especially after the death of the parents in 1889) , Otto's development was frustrated by a deep-seated inhibition which led him « again and again » to throw up « the livelihood provided for him » . Self-destruction was a logical conclusion to what we may guess was a short life of acute self-distrust and anguished insecurity - expressed it seems, as lack of « seriousness and perseverance » .

Around April 1892 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« My Dear, Honoured Professor !

I know that already, for a long time, you have been angry with me - but, believe me, you do me wrong. I have drifted about only a little on the waves of life and, now, am still on the high-sea ! But I think of you in old respect and friendship, and it is one of my life's goals to help your magnificent art and masterly skill triumph. I hope soon to be able to demonstrate that.

Your " faithfully " devoted Mahler »

...

My dear and revered " Herr " Professor,

I know that you have long been angry with me - but, believe me, you do me an injustice. It's just that I have been somewhat buffeted by life's waves and am still on the open seas ! But I still think of you with all my old closeness and friendship, and it is one of my aims in life to help your wonderful art and mastery to triumph. I hope to be able to prove this to you soon.

Your " faithfully " devoted Mahler »

April 1892 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to his sister Justine :

« Dearest “Justi” !

First of all, how silly that you didn't go to Semmering with Natalie (Bauer-Lechner) ! 2 days like that are simply not to be measured in terms of money !

The news about (Emil) Freund is really welcome ; so, we are finally in good hands again.

I really want him to visit me here in Hamburg ; he can stay with me in splendid fashion.

Your last letters were really funny ! I do know all that as well as you all do ! I am not annoyed at all that you spend money ! Money, after all, is only money, and, as regards the future, I am truly not accustomed to deem the present so trifling !

But you all have arranged everything so stupidly and unpractically. The dozen of you together do not have as much common sense as any old tailor, for example, who has around my income, lives splendidly, has his children educated to the teeth, and yet, doesn't have any debts.

You've already said yourself how stupidly the business with Otto is arranged, and I could say a lot more still if I were there !

Note one thing : if you were to write to me today “ I have spent such and such for my pleasure - I have ordered a pretty dress for myself ” and so on, I would only be pleased about it. But if now you write : we have nothing to wear - we are stinting on food, you must send us more money again because (for example) the (music) lessons have again become more complicated, then I would simply like to fling it all down out of anger.

Other people have learned things already - must a fortune be spent on it ?

Believe me : students are the main thing ; teachers are secondary.

It would be going too far to say anything more on this. Hopefully, you understand me !

By the way, I never write you in this manner to reproach you, but only to make you aware in the future ! Moreover, I am not at all edgy about it - to the contrary, once I have expressed something like this, I am done with it, and I don't think of it at all !

I think it is great fun that you want to take an examination. That is very clever - that is, only if your health does not suffer because of it, otherwise, it would be very stupid again !

Please just don't be a “ Miss know-it-all ” ?! For others, always suffer as a result of this. Do write me diligently about Otto and Emma ! And, above all, damn it, don't spare me, you dolt, you only upset me that way !!

Affectionately yours,

Gustav »

For the 2 months before his visit in England, Gustav Mahler started to learn English from his friend Arnold Berliner. He noted down in a pocket-book the words and phrases that he assumed would be useful in the theatre. He found the language difficult and never became proficient in it. While in London, however, he insisted on trying to speak English, even though he sometimes struggled to remember words, which resulted in long pauses and some amusement. Mahler set sail from Cruxhaven on **Thursday, 26 May 1892**, bound for Southampton.

Between Saturday, 9 and Wednesday, 13 April 1892 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Ernestine Löhr (Vienna) , the sister of Fritz Löhr :

(Mahler complains about his sister Justine. He will be conducting Mozart's « Requiem » and Bruckner's « Te Deum » on **Friday, 15 April 1892**. He has to learn English in anticipation of his stay in England. He talks about Ernestine's appointment, and hopes to see her in Berchtesgaden during his vacation. Mahler is also asking for news.)

« You have probably read my last letter to “Justi”, and as I know you, I know you have read it correctly. “Justi’s” answer seems to me to have been written in “der erste Rage”, and I am less annoyed about its somewhat “brusque” form (which I naturally attribute only to the momentary mood) than I am about the content, i.e. the fundamental way of thinking (not the way of feeling), which I find so immature. Furthermore, you know that nothing irritates me more than this type of childish sensibility, from which I had really hoped she had long ago emancipated herself.

Today, I sent her letter back to her with my marginal notes, and I beg you to go to her and look at my answer, and wash her childish head, and read my letter with her one more time.

I am here in the midst of work : Friday, I perform the Mozart “Requiem” and, afterwards, the Bruckner “Te Deum”, and I really need all my peace and quietness to that end ; besides that, I must use every free minute to learn English.

(...) My health is again as of old ; as a consequence, also my vital energy and pleasure of life. »

15 April 1892 (Good Friday) : Sacred concert given at the Municipal Theatre on « Dammtor-Straße » in Hamburg.

(While the law does not allow opera performances during Holy Week, the Hamburg Senate licenses performances of sacred works.)

Gustav Mahler conducts the Hamburg Municipal Orchestra.

The choirs are rehearsed by William Sichel from Vienna (a former pupil of Anton Bruckner from Hannover) : the choir director of the Municipal Theatre.

Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : « Requiem » in D minor (KV 626) .

Soloists : Anna Maria Lißmann (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Wilhelm Cronberger (tenor) , Friedrich Heinrich Lißmann (bass-baritone) .

Intermission

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

Soloists : Katharina Bettaque (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Leopold Landau (tenor) , Heinrich Wiegand (bass) .

Are attending : Wilhelm Zinne (who hears Mahler conducting for the first time) , music-critics Josef Sittard, Louis Bödecker, Emil Kraus (whose article appears in the « Wiener Fremden-Blatt ») , and presumably also composer Josef Bohuslav Færster.

In the Mozart « Requiem » , Josef Sittard regretted some of Mahler's fast tempos, feeling that the religious spirit of the work had, thereby, been compromised at times, during what was an otherwise excellent performance. Emil Krause was less severe in his judgement ; while he likewise found some sections « too lively » (1) , he thought that the tempo of the « Recordare » had been chosen perfectly and that the performance overall had been wholly successful (« Hamburger Fremden-Blatt » , 16 April 1892) . The « Te Deum » , on the other hand, was universally well-received, even though virtually none of Bruckner's music was known in Hamburg at this time. The only exception was the Seventh Symphony (WAB 107) , which had been given at a Philharmonic Concert 6 years earlier (on 19 February 1886, under Julius von Bemuth) with little critical or public success. Even Sittard proved responsive to the « Te Deum's » relatively new musical language and conceded that Bruckner went « his own way. Here, the freshness, the power, even a certain impetuosity, blasts apart the customary form of such works » . He pointed out the beauty of the unusual modulations, as well as « the clear-cut periodic structure, and the wealth of expressive harmonic devices » . The critic also called Bruckner « a master of orchestration » and thought the performance merited « the highest praise. The chorus, the soloists (...) and the orchestra did excellently under “ Herr ” Mahler's passionate direction » (2) . Krause likewise mentioned Mahler's « brilliant direction » of the difficult work and bestowed high-praise on all the participants. He also offered the management « a warm word of thanks » for including the work in the programme (« Hamburger Fremden-Blatt » , 16 April 1892) , while Louis Bödecker in the « Hamburger Tageblatt » (17 April 1892) , declared that no new religious music had ever interested him as much.

(1) « Hamburgischer Correspondent » , mid-day edition of 16 April 1892 ; page 5. In the double-fugue from the « Kyrie » , Josef Sittard felt that the choir had been incapable of articulating the quavers because of the speed with which this passage was taken.

(2) « Hamburgischer Correspondent » , mid-day edition of 16 April 1892. Sittard also noted that the chorus and

soloists (Katharina Bettaque, soprano ; Ernestine Schumann-Heink, contralto ; Leopold Landau, tenor ; Heinrich Wiegand, bass) had been placed on stage, while the orchestra was in the pit, an arrangement he recommended for future performances.

News of the performance even reached Vienna, with the « Neue Freie Presse » reporting on 20 April 1892 that the « Te Deum » had been performed « in exemplary fashion » under Mahler's direction, and that this « significant work » had been « extraordinarily effective » .

16 April 1892 (Holy Saturday) : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) .

« *Annastraße 10/III, Hamburg* »

Highly-Honoured Master and Friend !

Finally, I am so fortunate as to be able to write to you ; I have performed a work of yours. Yesterday (Good Friday) , I conducted your magnificent and powerful “ Te Deum ”. The “ participants ”, as well as the “ whole audience ”, were most deeply moved by the strong composition and the genuinely sublime conception ; and I experienced, at the end of the performance, what I celebrate as the greatest triumph of a work ; the audience remained sitting silently, without stirring, and only when the conductor and the members of the Orchestra left their places, did the storm of approval burst forth.

In the performance, you have had your joy. I have rarely seen in person such rapture at work as I did yesterday. As a result of the Feast-Day, the reviews will appear in just a few days ; I will not fail to send them to you. “ Bruckner ” has now achieved his victorious entry into Hamburg. I sincerely shake your hand, honoured Friend, and am in the truest sense of the word.

Your Gustav Mahler »

...

« *Annastraße 10/III, Hamburg* »

Most honoured Master and Friend,

I am very pleased finally to be able to write to you : I have performed one of your works. Yesterday (Good Friday) , I conducted your magnificent and powerful “ Te Deum ”. Both the “ performers ”, as well as the “ whole public ”, were profoundly moved by the powerful structure and truly sublime ideas, and, at the end of the performance, I experienced what I regard as the greatest triumph of a work : the audience sat there in silence, without moving, breaking into tumultuous applause only when the conductor and performing artists had got up and left. You would have been pleased by the performance. I have rarely seen a company as enthusiastic as yesterday.

Because of the holidays, the reviews will not appear for another few days, but I shan't fail to send them on to you. “ Bruckner ” has now entered Hamburg in triumph. I shake your hand most sincerely, my most revered friend, and, in the true sense of word, I am

Your Gustav Mahler »

On the title-page of his copy of the score, Mahler crossed out « für Chor, Soli und Orchester, Orgel “ ad libitum ” » (for choir, solos and orchestra, organ « ad libitum ») and wrote « für Engelzungen, Gottsucher, gequälte Herzen und im Feuer gereinigte Seelen ! » (for the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire !) .

...

Article about yesterday's concert - signed « P. M. » (= Doctor P. Marsch) - in the evening edition of the « Hamburger Nachrichten » .

...

Letter (written entirely in English) from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Ernestine Löhr (Vienna) , the sister of Fritz Löhr :

(At the time, Mahler was taking English lessons in preparation for his conducting engagement in London.)

« Dear Mistress Ernestine !

I got your second letter yesterday and your card of corr. just now - I thank you very well for the last good news as respects our friend “ Nina ”.

I can very well read and understand your english writing, and you must not be afraid that I was angry over your - I have must laugh at your first letter, wich could make honour to every “ Beschwichtigungs-Hofrat ” (Appeasement Councillor) , although you think not it.

What you have written in this letter, I self know very well, but you misunderstand my intentions ! Pay attention ! I have nothing to say against it, if my sister affords ever as much money for to eat or thrink or dress or learn as for her pleasure ! I am always pleased, if I hear, that she is merry and amuse hereself ! She is young and merry and ought live in health and gayety ! But I become wery angry, if I see that you all are unpractical sheeps, and throw my money out the window.

For instance : My brother Otto takes teachers like a prince, so many and dear - and this all for a little be examined, wich must undertake thousand and thousand poor fellow ; and add to this, that I do not even know if he will pass his examination or not !

As for the rest : I know already, that now this all cannot be altered, and we must let all, how it is ; but, for the future, I must beg, to consider about such things, you all with another !

The last letter of you was wery agreable for me and I thank you many times for the all news over yourself and the others ! Only I am sorry over our friend “ Nina ”, that she must suffer again pains and lie in her bed !

I want that my sister take care for she, and buys a good wine and meat, and which she use, for here recreation. I am werry sorry ower these bad news, and I hope, that she get again soon entirely well.

As respects my English writting, you can see, I was diligent. I am learning all in all now not yet 2 weeks (I have begin my lessons Monday, 4 April) and I have not even much time to repete my Pensums because I must every day conduct my orchestra in the rehearsels and representations. My teacher is wery asthonished over my fast progresses, and I hope, if we shall be together in “ Berchtesgaden ”, we can speek with another in the beautiful language.

Last night was the performance of the “ Requiem ” (Mozart) and the “ Te Deum ” (Bruckner) . I self have been obliged, to be very satisfied with the artists, and the works (both) made a great impression upon the auditors.

I have sent already a letter to Bruckner in which I inform him upon the grand success of his great and beautiful work.

There are certain many mistakes in this letter, but I hope, you excuse me therefore, and I sent only many greetings for you all ! »

In 1892, the Hamburg Opera Orchestra is selected from a short list of major German ensembles for a guest-tour in England. The crucial meeting with Arnold Berliner at the Neissers' takes place. Berliner teaches Gustav Mahler English prior to the tour (« I make greater progress in English as you can observe in this letter. ») . The tour is his Mahler's first international success. On his return and while in Berlin preparing to return to Hamburg for the Opera season, he learns of a massive outbreak of cholera in that city where thousands die in Hamburg.

The orchestra that Mahler was to conduct was neither his own Hamburg Opera Orchestra nor the usual Covent Garden Orchestra. It had been assembled especially for the season from English players, with additional specialist players brought in from Germany. As such, the orchestra was in poor shape as an ensemble, and even some of the singers were not familiar with Mahler's autocratic style. Mahler was aided by his assistant-conductor, Leo Feld.

18 April 1892 (Easter Monday) : Letter from Carl Wilhelm Zinne (Hamburg) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

« Klub Drebahn 19, 2

2:00 pm, Easter

Highly-Honoured “ Herr ” Professor !

On Good Friday, your mighty “ Te Deum ” was performed for the first time here, in Hamburg, at the City Theatre, under “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler's inspired direction. As at the time of the premiere of your Seventh Symphony, now also, in the same way, I am sending you reviews from newspapers which have discussed your work, because I understood from your letter to my unworthy self that this package was dear to you. Also, if I never assume that one who stands as tall as a mountain over ordinary composing, an original and fearlessly creative personality (the printer's ink on the paper ascribed to the “ work ” of a Master-composer) , then, I believe, for all that. Honoured Master, that you (in the passing of a quarter hour of your precious time remaining for that which was written) , unfortunately (the Masses

form and have formed their opinion of yourself) , according to the small-talk, or even now and again, seriously meant opinion of the presumed “ spiritual aristocrat ” of the music-world : the critic. Actually, there is only one who plays the fool in great costume, the Biedermann in the “ Fremdenblatt ” (is otherwise the self-same, whom the honourable Hanslick in the “ Freie Presse ” cites in the discussion of the E major Symphony, with his disparaging words) . One fool can make many more fools ! In this case is the definitive fool, an otherwise completely esteemed man. Professor H. Kretzschmar in Leipzig, from whose book, “ Der Konzersaal ”, the critic for the “ Fremdenblatt ”, indeed ! borrowed his great discoveries with almost identical wording. I am surprised that this Kretzschmar (whose first part of “ The Concert Hall ” is so candid) produces sound opinions about the Symphonic poems of Berlioz and Liszt but, in mentioning your E major Symphony (page 294) leaves literary decency immediately and acts in blindness and indifference. I think, then, of the catchwords : “ caprice ”, “ pilgrimage on horseback ”, an unheard of imitation ; you know very well that this book is quite valuable in individual passages ; but, due to his copious number of errors (see his Brahms analyzes) becomes pernicious, for our designated nobleman, at least, in our opinion !

As I came to know from personal association with Mahler, he is a genuine admirer of your work. By the way, one of your students rehearsed the Choir for this performance ; “ Herr ” William Sichel, Choir Director at the Municipal Theatre and, from Vienna, where he is acknowledged as one of the best keyboard students. Likewise, he performed at the event with inspiration and conviction. During the Mozart “ Requiem ” (to be sure) , he performed with nervous haste, making no great impression ; in your work, he brought about breathtaking power, drawing it “ directly ” to a fiery choral conclusion.

The great applause was unprejudiced, sincere, and (for these reasons) gratifying for those who have already known and revered the work. The performance of the work under von Bernuth’s conducting was cancelled, notwithstanding the project of the Singing Academy, on account of lack of understanding by Committee members for whom, at that time, your Symphony went over their heads. 4 years ago, I was attempting to interest Bülow (it was shortly after the death of Marxsen ; on this occasion, it occurred to me) in your Symphony. I believe the ill-humoured visitor who elevates Brahms so high is being pressured somewhere or other. He makes much of that which is not beautiful and is giving his wicked tongue freedom where he is not at all informed. At all events, he interrupted my discussion of “ Bruckner as Symphonist ” and made it clear that he did not want to speak any more about it in the future.

A devoted admirer of your works, Eduard Schweitzer, 34 years old, died 2 years ago. He had once tried to meet with you in Vienna. But, at the time, you were in Steiermark. In any case, this year, I am vacationing near Trieste - in Venice and so forth, and we will be coming through Vienna in the middle of July. I trust that you, Honoured Master, will allow me to make your personal acquaintance, for at least a moment, on the occasion of the Viennese Exhibition.

In long-lived, admiring respect and fully reverent esteem,

Wilhelm Zinne. »

Wilhelm Carl Zinne (1858-1934) , a school teacher and amateur composer, corresponded with Anton Bruckner from at least 1886 on, and met him in person in 1892 at the time of the Vienna Theatre and Music Exhibition. At one time

or another, he was a critic for the « Neue Hamburger Zeitung », the « Hamburger Anzeiger », and the « Hamburger 8 Uhr Abend-Blatt ». A lifelong bachelor, he was regarded as somewhat of an eccentric, wearing old-fashioned clothes and keeping to himself. His friendship with Gustav Mahler was based on their mutual love of Bruckner and their passion for bicycling !

Tuesday, 26 April 1892 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) :

« Thank you from the bottom of my heart, and heartiest congratulations on your inspired performance of my “Te Deum !” May God reward you for heroically taking on a work dedicated to Him ! (...) And now, my dear beloved friend, “Herr Kapellmeister Gustav Mahler”. Oh, I pray that you may remain loyal to me and fight heroically for my symphonies ! God’s will be done ! (...) So, I implore you once again : let our watchword be “Symphony” !!!

Cheers ! to my brilliant “Kapellmeister Gustav Mahler”, of whom I am proud. I am yours.

Dr. Anton Bruckner »

In his letter, Bruckner also hopes that Hermann Levi (who is conducting in Munich) , Siegfried Ochs (who is conducting in Berlin) and Großmann (who is now conducting in Cologne) will all stand-up for him. Bruckner asks Mahler whether Wilhelm Zinne (who sent him a laudatory letter yesterday) is also a music-critic. Hans Richter is transformed : he as become a Bruckner enthusiast !

...

Mahler’s reaction to these touching words survives in a letter written to Justine :

« A moving letter from Bruckner which typifies the complete helplessness of the poor man. It must be hard, mind you, to have to be 70 before one is “played”. If all the signs are to be believed, my lot won’t be any different. »

Wednesday, 27 April 1892 : Otto Mahler leaves the Vienna Conservatory of his own volition, without a diploma in his pocket.

The annual year-book of the Vienna Conservatory for 1891-1892 indicates that Otto Mahler left the school on 27 April 1892 (« Jahresbericht über das Conservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien ... für das Schul-Jahr 1891-1892 (Vienna : Verlag des Konservatoriums der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, 1892) ») . For Otto’s studies at the Conservatory, see : Doctor Elisabeth Maier. « Ein Bruckner-Schüler namens Mahler », Nachrichten zur Mahler-Forschung Nummer 49 (Fall 2003) ; pages 16-23.

Justine Mahler and Natalie Bauer-Lechner kept the bad news from Gustav, who was furious.

Letter from Justine Mahler (Vienna) to his brother Gustav (Hamburg) :

« Dearest Gustav !

I just this moment received your letter, which actually didn't surprise me very much at all because I completely understand your situation, although no one is helped by understanding alone. There is nothing at all to be done for the moment. Since Otto is in this mess - one absolutely cannot skimp on his education, even though the whole thing is so unpractically arranged (Mahler writes here : aha !!) that, instead of the course with (Albert) Fries (for which he would have to pay 20 Florins monthly) , he has professors who cost 125 Florins monthly and with whom he isn't even guaranteed to pass the examination ! - for the moment, we can't do anything other than to spare no effort to see the thing through as it is now arranged. It will be over at the end of September.

(Twice in the margin, Mahler writes : “ aha !! ”)

Affectionately yours,

Justine »

28 May - 23 July 1892 : Gustav Mahler is in London to conduct « Siegfried » , « Tristan und Isolde » , « Das Rheingold » , « Die Walküre » , « Fidelio » , « Götterdämmerung » and « Tannhäuser » at Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres.

1892 : Without Anton Bruckner's supervision, Franz Schalk begins a re-working of the orchestral score of the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) , a task that will take him many months.

After Monday, 4 July 1892 : Letter from Ida Buhz (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner :

They both talk of plans to marry.

July 1892 : Franz Schalk writes to his brother Josef :

« My work on the Fifth (Symphony) proceeds slowly but surely. I am currently engaged on the final bars of the first movement. The creation of this re-working was enormously difficult ; (Ferdinand) Löwe will not derive much pleasure from it, for I have made it a principle to maintain all the contrapuntal secondary themes. Further than this, I believe, one should not go. »

After Thursday, 14 July 1892 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to Ida Buhz (Berlin) :

Bruckner re-assures Ida about her worries by insisting on mutual involvement in the wedding project.

After the death of Emil Jakob Schindler on **August 9, 1892**, the Moll-Schindler family lives for some months at « Theresianum » Number 6, in the same house as the Austrian writer, translator and philanthropist « Nina » (Anna) Hoffmann.

Saturday, 26 November 1892 : Letter from friend Josef Leitenmaier (Kremsmünster) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

(...) It seems that Bruckner will marry Ida Buhz soon.

« What about “ Meister ” Bruckner's Berlin girl ? When are you going to marry her ? I have been told here in Kremsmünster that Doctor Bruckner will be getting married ! Is it true ? »

One of the most glorious moments in the history of music ended with an anecdote of disarming « naïveté » . The witness : Hans Richter.

When Emperor Franz-Josef went off on a hunting-trip instead of attending the premiere, Richter consoled the disappointed Anton Bruckner with the words, « that doesn't matter, the Symphony will still be performed » .

Sunday, 18 December 1892 : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Fourth subscription-concert of the season given by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Hans Richter conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

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

Triumphant premiere of the Eighth Symphony in the « Schalk » version. It is among Bruckner's most successful evenings in Vienna. Hans Richter gave the work a committed performance which did it full-justice and it was a sensational triumph. The audience booed the infamous music-critic Eduard Hanslick and chased him out of the concert-hall.

The press is almost unanimous in their praise.

While the « Musikverein » was full of the great and good, including the Royal family, Crown Princess Stephanie, Archduchess Marie Valérie, Archduchess Maria Theresia, Johann Strauß, Hugo Wolf, Siegfried Wagner and Bruckner's partisan supporters out in force, the nay-sayers were there as well.

The composer was called on to the stage at the end of each of its 4 movements to receive an ovation from the audience. Johannes Brahms stayed in his director's box. Music-critic Eduard Hanslick left before the Finale with the adulation of the composer's supporters (intensified when his departure was spotted) ringing in his ears. « Old Beckmesser » now had to acknowledge his own defeat and Bruckner's triumph.

Hanslick wrote grudgingly :

« In each of the 4 movements, especially the first and third, some interesting passages, flashes of genius, shine through - if only the rest of it was not there ! It is not impossible that the future belongs to this nightmarish hang-over style - a future we, therefore, do not envy ! »

Hugo Wolf wrote simply :

« This Symphony is the work of a giant and surpasses the other Symphonies of the Master in intellectual scope, awesomeness, and greatness. Its success was a complete victory of light over darkness. »

Johann Strauß junior telegraphed to Bruckner :

« I am completely shaken. It was one of the greatest impressions in my life ! »

When Richter left by the stage-door, Bruckner awaited him behind the scenes with an enormous tray of 48 steaming hot crunchy « krapfen », a strange but typically eccentric reward for the exhausted conductor.

A « Berliner Pfannkuchen » (shortly called, « Berliner ») is a traditional North German pastry similar to a doughnut with no central hole made from sweet yeast dough fried in fat or oil, with a marmalade or jam filling and usually icing, powdered sugar or conventional sugar on top. They are sometimes made with chocolate, champagne, custard, mocha, or « advocaat » filling, or with no filling at all.

1893 : Emil Hertzka joins the music-publishing firm of Weinberger (some sources say that he first joined the publisher and concert agency Gustav Léwy, which sold-out to Weinberger in 1897) , the proprietor of which, Josef Weinberger, was one of the founding subscribers of Universal-Edition, Vienna.

Otto Mahler composes a music piece based on texts by Hans Emanuel Sax. He lives with his sisters Justine and Emma.

The reverse side of the successful composer was the ill old man : in Anton Bruckner's last years, it was often difficult to deal with him.

Letters between the 2 Schalk brothers provide examples :

Before Thursday, 23 March 1893 : During the general rehearsal of the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) , Bruckner told Doctor Theodor Helm that he wanted to assure before God that he had exploited the talent bestowed on him. On the same occasion, Bruckner overly harassed Josef Schalk and there was unanimous indignation. Hans Richter will criticize the Master for his reprehensible behaviour.

31 March 1893 (Good Friday) : Sacred concert given at the Municipal Theatre on « Dammtor-Straße » in Hamburg.

Gustav Mahler conducts the Hamburg Municipal Orchestra and Choir.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) - first performance outside Austria, and first German performance of the revised version (*) .

Soloists : Marie Lißmann (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Gustav Seidel (tenor) .

Intermission

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

Soloists : Katharina (« Kathi ») Bettaque (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Leopold Landau (tenor) , Heinrich Wiegand (bass) .

(*) Bruckner sent Mahler not only the D minor Mass but also, through Wilhelm Zinne as intermediary, the Eighth Symphony.

Attendance was sparse, the audience reacted coolly, and the reviews were dismissive. Josef Sittard again criticized Mahler for his fast tempos, especially in the « Credo » , and for keeping chorus and soloists seated during the performance ; but, most of all, he wrote off the work itself. In his opinion, it was a succession of episodes lacking in organic unity, improvisatory in style, and tending all too often to indulge in the impressions of the moment. The work had been created under the influence of liturgical pomp, was characterized by brass-heavy orchestration too, and did not compare with the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) (« Hamburgischer Correspondent » , mid-day edition, April 1) . Ferdinand Pfohl was similarly disappointed, believing that Bruckner lacked the capacity for self-criticism. The work contained moments of grandeur and flashes of genius, alongside formal inadequacies and a « pedantic stiffness of the school master » ; and there was a « contradiction between inner spiritual greatness and imperfection of the outer form » (**) . Only Emil Krause, who had always been favourably disposed towards Bruckner, thought that the Mass left a « remarkable impression » . He referred to it as the emotional expression of a « firebrand who reveres the modern

views of religion and free musical art, breaking the traditional restrictive forms and allowing his own fantasy to speak ». What other music-critics called faults - disregard for form and having different styles follow each other directly - Krause saw as proof of Bruckner's abundant musical creativity. In fact, so surprising was the « wealth of modulations » that it created some uneasiness, and the public would have to listen to the work repeatedly in order to fully grasp it. The performance had been exemplary, especially in light of Mahler's swift tempos - a subjective interpretation that Krause thought might not have met with the composer's approval (« Hamburger Fremden-Blatt », April 1) .

(**) « Hamburger Nachrichten », April 1. Pfohl also criticized Bruckner, somewhat strangely, for his « aphoristic and abrupt » cadences.

In the extremely valuable monograph, « Anton Bruckner, sein Leben und Werk », by Max Auer, the collaborator of August Göllerich (whom Bruckner, himself, appointed as his official biographer) , the author does justice to the activities of Mahler in serving Bruckner's music - at least, indirectly through quotation, evidently so as not to have to use his own words.

The first performance of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) , conducted by Mahler in Hamburg (on March 31) , was specifically hailed by Ernst Kurth as the « reclaiming of the work for the concert hall » . The Mass had been performed only once, outside the « Alter Dom » in Linz, 29 years earlier under Bruckner. Nevertheless, it is recorded in Max Auer's « Bruckner » volume, in a dry and insignificant way, in relation to other events apparently of far more importance to the author, giving a clear illustration of the embarrassed and resentful attitude of the Austrian Bruckner movement's leading personalities towards Mahler.

The passage reads :

« The spring of 1893 saw the performance of the Third Symphony in München under Hermann Levi, who also went on to give a deeply moving performance of the work in Berlin, in October. Further performances took place of the “ Te Deum ” in Hamburg, Düsseldorf ; and of the Mass in D in Hamburg under Gustav Mahler ; and, in Steyr, under the Master's student, Franz Bayer who, from then on, performed the work regularly during the Easter Sunday service. »

Friday, 7 April 1893 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) :

The Master expresses deep gratitude to his young friend for his performance of the D minor Mass (**WAB 26**) and the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) ...

« O ! may you remain only mine (“ O ! mögen Sie nur der Meinige bleiben ”) ...

Faced with an unresponsive public and hostile critics (Bruckner mentions the “ Hamburger Fremden-Blatt ”, Eduard Hanslick, etc.) , who will perhaps not be able to appreciate my works until many years have elapsed, it must have been extremely difficult for you to present these people with such unusual fare. »

Nevertheless, Bruckner asks Mahler to consider performing his Fourth Symphony (**WAB 104**) in Hamburg : time was not yet ripe for his Eighth (**WAB 108**) .

Enclosed is a personal card for « Herr » Wilhelm Zinne and a picture of Bruckner for Mahler (iconography : IKO 65) with the following text on the back :

« To my noble friend and interpreter, the brilliant “ Kapellmeister ” Gustav Mahler / from / Dr. Abruckner, m.p. / 1893. »

(« Meinem hochedlen Freunde und Interpreten dem genialen Herr Kapellmeister Gustav Mahler / von / Dr. Abruckner, m.p. / 1893. »)

As a postscript to the letter, Bruckner also informs Mahler that Hans Richter « waxed lyrical » about his works and stated 4 times that he considers Bruckner to be « the greatest composer, especially symphonist, by far, since Beethoven » ; and Wagner allegedly once said during a meal that « only one composer still lived whose creations in absolute music deserved to be put on an equal level to those of Beethoven » , namely Bruckner. Those judgements are the Austrian composer's consolation as he faces the world ; and Johannes Brahms's teacher, Eduard Marxsen, similarly supports him.

Gustav Mahler - who, at that time, had achieved very few performances of his own music and precious little acclaim as a composer - confided to his sister « Justi » that he identified personally with Anton Bruckner, telling her that he had just received « a moving letter from Bruckner, which typifies the complete helplessness of the poor man. It must be hard, mind you, to have to be 70 years old before one is “ played ”. If all the signs are to be believed, my lot won't be any different. »

Saturday, 15 April 1893 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

« Bruckner gave me hell and tortured me in the final rehearsals in such a manner that there was unanimous indignation with him. It really is impossible to accomplish anything for him when he is present. The demon drives him to make the most malicious and cutting remarks. No insinuation, no insult is too low for him when he is irritated. It borders on the miraculous that I came through all these exertions unscathed. Richter, who was also aware of the situation, reprimanded Bruckner for his behaviour and finally said, half jokingly :

“ You should do nothing but write ; you are unbearable when you're not composing ! ” »

Saturday, 6 May 1893 : Letter from Ida Buhz (Berlin) to Anton Bruckner (Vienna) :

Bruckner as to tell Ida in time when he will come to Berlin. For sure, he should stay there for 2 weeks.

July 1893 : The « re-working » of the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) by Franz Schalk is finished.

« It is only now that I have come to understand the Finale of the Fifth. »

...

Natalie Bauer-Lechner notes a conversation between Gustav Mahler and his younger brother Otto. Gustav admires the richness of Anton Bruckner's invention while deploring the disorienting effect of his forms. At the time, he considers Johannes Brahms a more important composer than his mentor Bruckner. For its part, Otto assigns more importance to his former teacher, Bruckner, who surely, he says, surpasses Brahms with the content of his works, while Brahms, he concedes, is a greater master of form.

Gustav Mahler :

« In order to judge a work, one must look at it as a whole. And here, Brahms is indisputably the greater of the two, with his uncommonly self-contained works, an aspect that is not at all obvious : it is only when you start to immerse yourself in them that these works strike you as all the deeper and more varied, to say nothing of Brahms's tremendous productivity, which must also be included in one's overall picture of an artist. With Bruckner, too, of course, one is swept along by the grandeur and variety of the invention, but, at the same time, the listener is constantly disturbed by their fragmentary character (" Zerstücktheit ") , which breaks the spell. I can say this since you know, after all, how much I nonetheless admire Bruckner, and I shall always do everything in my power to ensure that his works are played and heard. (...) No, it is not enough to judge a work by its contents only : you also have to consider its overall character, in which content and form are one. It is this that determines not only its value but also its powers of survival and its ability to retain a place for itself in the repertoire. »

With the help of his brother Gustav, Otto Mahler is able to find minor musical posts in provincial towns. He seldom stays long in any place, however.

Autumn 1893 : Otto Mahler takes on a position as choir-master and second conductor of the Leipzig Opera House.

He joins the « Deutsche Bühnen-Genossenschaft » , a Union of theatre employees. In documents relating to the organisation's pension fund, his name appears as an employee of the Leipzig Theatre.

Friday, 10 November 1893 : Confined to bed in Vienna for almost the whole year, Anton Bruckner (aged 69) will see

his health deteriorating (again) but, this time, in an alarming way. He decides it is now time for him to undertake the drafting of his will.

Originally, Bruckner had appointed his close friend Rudolf Weinwurm (who composed the patriotic Cantata « Germania ») as his executor due to his legal training. His brother Ignaz (« Nazi ») and his sister Rosalia (« Sali ») will be appointed his legal heirs.

Because of his degrading mental state, Bruckner will require the preservation at the Imperial and Royal Court Library (« Hof-Bibliothek ») of its original scores « for better times » (« für beßere Zeit ») .

Bruckner will sign the legal papers, place them in an envelope along with the selected autograph manuscripts, then will seal the envelope himself.

« In the event of my demise, I affect after careful consideration the ensuing last-will instructions :

Article IV

I bequeath the original manuscripts of my compositions as follows : the Symphonies numbering 8, until now (the Ninth will, as God wishes, soon be finished) , the large Masses, the Quintet, the « Te Deum » , the « 150th Psalm » , and the choral work « Helgoland » - to the Imperial and Royal Court Library in Vienna, directorship of the aforementioned place most kindly to take care of these manuscripts. At the same time, I designate that the firm of Josef Eberle and Company shall be authorized to borrow, from the Imperial and Royal Court Library, the manuscripts of the compositions they are to publish, for a reasonable time, to take to press for publication. The latter shall be obliged to place, at the disposal of « Messieurs » Josef Eberle and Company, the aforesaid original manuscripts as a loan for an appropriate amount of time.

The autograph score of the second version of the Third Symphony is donated to the Imperial and Royal Court Library (« Hof-Bibliothek ») , **but was found to comprise just the Finale !** Because Bruckner had given the autograph score of the first 3 movements of the Symphony to the young Conservatory student Gustav Mahler in 1878 - either to make a 4 hands piano reduction, or as a reward for having made the reduction.

...

As his close students' changing attitude was becoming obvious, Anton Bruckner signed his will.

The clause in question contains 2 instructions :

1) One to the library and another to the firm of Josef Eberle (the engraver for the Viennese publisher Ludwig Döblinger) .

The former includes all the major works (except the « Nullte » Symphony in D minor, **WAB 100**) that Bruckner had composed since the conclusion of his studies with Otto Kitzler - that is, since 1863. The latter can refer only to those works covered under the contract that Bruckner had signed with the firm Josef Eberle & Co. on 14 July 1892.

The Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) (Theodor Rättig, 1879, 1890) , Fourth Symphony (**WAB 104**) (Albert J. Gutmann, 1889, 1890) , Seventh Symphony (**WAB 107**) (Albert J. Gutmann, 1885) and Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) (Carl Haslinger - Adolf Schlesinger - Robert Lienau, 1892) ; the String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) (Albert J. Gutmann, 1884) ; the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) (Johann Groß, 1892) ; and the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) (Theodor Rättig, 1885) had been or were in the process of being published elsewhere. The instruction to Eberle could not have applied to these works.

All other pieces listed in the instruction to the library had been committed to Eberle in the 1892 contract or had already been published by Döblinger.

2) The second instruction was designed to facilitate access for Eberle to Bruckner's as yet unpublished works, at the time : the Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies, « Helgoland » (**WAB 71**) and the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) ; and to provide the publisher a point of reference for subsequent printings of the scores in his catalogue : the First and Second Symphonies, « Psalm 150 » (**WAB 38**) , and the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) . In accordance with the first instruction in the will, on 19 October 1896, Bruckner's attorney, Doctor Theodor Reisch, delivered the scores identified today as Wn Mus. Hs. 19.473 through 19.486 to what was then the Imperial Library, among them, as mentioned above, manuscripts containing readings of the Third and Fourth Symphonies that differed substantially from printed scores that he had endorsed. In fact, the composer probably never intended his will to have a bearing on post-mortem editorial issues or to dictate the hierarchy of versions of his pieces. There is no evidence that, for 30 years after his death, anyone - not even his attorney or Eberle - believed that it did. Josef Lasner, cellist in Ferdinand Löwe's orchestra, the « Wiener Konzertverein » , reported, for example, that, in publishing the 1904 edition of the Ninth Symphony, Löwe first prepared parts from the autograph score in the library, and then, made his editorial alterations throughout rehearsals for the first performance (Wednesday, 11 February 1903) . If Eberle was even aware that Löwe had made alterations, when the engraver produced his score, he must have believed he was following Bruckner's verbal direction to Josef Stritzko, a former student who served in an administrative capacity for his firm.

According to Stritzko, in 1892, possibly in connection with the Eberle contract, the composer said :

« If something is to be published after my death, it should go through the hands of (Ferdinand) Löwe and (Franz) Schalk ; or they should at least have nothing against it. »

With respect to the first print of the Ninth Symphony, editor and publisher followed the directions of Anton Bruckner's will to the letter : they borrowed the manuscript from the library, edited and printed the work. As far as editing is concerned, they followed a practice that dated back to the 1880's, with the composer's blessing. The will says nothing about how the contents of the manuscripts were to be edited beyond that Eberle should consult them. Bruckner must have known that, so long as Schalk and Löwe served as his chosen arbiters, similar policies would be applied to new publications, and the readings in his extant editions, authorized or not, would prevail.

In the 1982-1983 issue of the « Bruckner Jahrbuch », the attorney Rolf Keller published a detailed study of Bruckner's will. He pointed out that the impetus for making the will at the end of 1893 came from Bruckner's recent illness and from his brother Ignaz's urging to put personal affairs in order, not from any concern with his professional life.

In a line-by-line analysis of the entire document, Keller outlined Bruckner's top legal priorities as follows :

- 1) Arranging for his remains to be interred in St. Florian.
- 2) Arranging for Masses to be said on behalf of his immortal soul.
- 3) Bequests for his brother, sister and long-time house-keeper, Katharina Kachelmayer.
- 4) Memorializing his name for posterity.

Keller sees the gift of manuscripts to the library as a corner-stone in Bruckner's effort to memorialize his name.

As Alfred Orel put it, by paying for his crypt in St. Florian and giving his manuscripts to the library, Bruckner was making a statement for posterity :

« I am somebody ! »

In Keller's view, by publishing a « Collected Works Edition », the Austrian National Library fulfilled the musical half of their donor's wish, as expressed in the will, to establish a long-term legacy. The other half was the internment in the crypt in St. Florian. Beyond the instruction to Eberle, Bruckner did not take advantage of the opportunity the will offered to dictate what the musical legacy might look like, as he did with the crypt. A little less than a year after the will had been signed, by which time Bruckner was well aware of his students' unapproved editorial liberties, at least with the Eighth Symphony and Mass in F minor, he added a codicil to the will. It contains further detailed instructions about his final resting place in St. Florian and an alternative plan for Steyr, should the monastery not work out. He could easily have added more stipulations for Eberle and the library, or instructions to future editors on reconciling the contents of the manuscripts with those of his editions. Does the absence of any such direction indicate that he expected editors of post-Schalk generations to prefer the manuscript readings, including those of the Third and Fourth Symphonies, whose editions he was endorsing heartily at the very time he made the will ? Even Haas compromised on this point towards the end of his life, and came to accept the 1888 reading of the Fourth and 1889 reading of the Third. Or does it rather indicate that, for better or worse, Bruckner had reconciled himself with the editorial status quo, including the unsanctioned scores, and saw the manuscripts in the library only as an important palaeographic ornament in his legacy ? A third possibility, as Alfred Orel suggested, is that he was content with a plethora of versions as long as his music was performed. At the very least, the will ensured that the versions in the autograph manuscripts survived in the public forum. None of these scenarios is very satisfying for anyone looking for help from

the composer's will in ranking competing readings. They all imply a level of ambivalence, even indifference, on Bruckner's part toward some aspect of the editorial problem he was well aware that he was leaving behind.

Monday, 13 November 1893 : Final letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) , couched in terms of deep despair, to Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) :

« “ Omnes amici me dereliquerunt ” [All my friends have abandoned me] ! These words sum up my whole situation. Hans Richter is now calling me a musical fool because I wouldn't cut enough for him - or so “ he ” says. Of course, he won't perform it ; I am completely on my own now. »

Thursday, 23 November 1893 : The Schalk brothers are finally able to mention the prospect of a performance of the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) to Anton Bruckner.

Although Franz Schalk had written that his adaptations were limited, in fact, he had radically changed the original score. A considerable part of Bruckner's original material had been either rendered unusable, had been changed or had simply been omitted ; Schalk had even cut 122 bars from the Finale. Bruckner would naturally have heard the changes immediately in performance, but the Schalk brothers were convinced that the symphony would be such a success that Bruckner would joyfully accept their re-working. Schalk had decided, to give one example, that the work demanded so much from the brass that they would not be able to play with full-force in the final chorale ; he, therefore, added 11 extra brass-players for the premiere. Bruckner was also not involved with the publication of the re-worked score, and thus, did not know of the great changes that had been made to his original.

There is reasonable evidence that nearly all the revisions in the first printed score of 1894 were made by Franz Schalk prior to the Symphony's premiere in Graz that same year (April) .

Saturday, 25 November 1893 : Justine Mahler probably responds in some way to the despairing letter Anton Bruckner wrote to Gustav on November 13 ...

« I am most grateful to you for your kindness, which gave me a lot of pleasure, and I kiss your hands ! A thousand greetings to your brother, my noble benefactor ! »

(Transcript by Emma Rosé, sent in 1986 to Henry-Louis de La Grange by her son.)

Tuesday, 2 January 1894 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Anton Bruckner is doing better. Doctor Leopold Schrötter had appointed a strict nurse. In addition, Ignaz Bruckner from St. Florian is currently in Vienna.

January 1894 : Anton Bruckner's engagement to Ida Buhz is actually celebrated in the Buhz home. He is 70 years old at the time.

Alma Mahler writes

« Years later, Siegfried Ochs told me a touching story, in which he himself had played a part. Ochs was conducting Bruckner's Mass in Berlin at a music festival, and, afterwards, he was giving a party in Bruckner's honour. Bruckner telephoned in the afternoon to say that if he could not bring his "fiancée", he would not come at all. Ochs had a presentiment that something must be very wrong and rushed off to Bruckner's hotel. He found him in despair. The chamber-maid had suddenly come in the night before - and, in short, in the morning, she sobbed that he had robbed her of her innocence and would have to marry her. So, Bruckner promised to do so. Ochs summoned the girl at once and asked her how much she wanted. The sum was considerable. Nevertheless, Bruckner's gratitude was embarrassing in its effusiveness. »

Bruckner would have married the young woman had she acceded to his wishes and become a Catholic convert. He could not buy worldly happiness for himself at the price of « sin » .

Anton Bruckner made modifications and adjustments to the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) several times, in the 1870's and 1880's ; always in association with performances. He continued to tinker with the score into the 1890's. It was finally published, in 1894, in an infamous edition, which is now almost never seen nor heard, that contains numerous alterations, primarily involving the enrichment of the woodwind writing, some curtailment of the trombones' role, the enlargement of the horn complement from 2 to 4 instruments, and the recasting of much of the brass writing. Many of these revisions were made not by Bruckner, but by Josef Schalk, apparently without the composer's prior consent nor even his awareness. The premiere of the revised version of the Mass was conducted by Schalk in 1893.

1894 : Josef Schalk orders changes in the Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) at the time of going to press.

Monday, 9 April 1894 (8:30 pm) : Symphonic concert given at the « Thalia-Theater » (« Theater am Stadtpark ») in Graz under music-director Franz Schalk.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture in C major from « Die Weihe des Hauses » (The Consecration of the House) , Opus 124.

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

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

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) (world-premiere) - orchestration changes in Wagnerian fashion ; cut of 122 bars from the middle of the Finale ; off-stage brass band, composed of 11 extra players, to accompany the chorale in the Coda of the Finale.

Are attending : Hildegard and August Stradal, Josef Schalk, Siegmund von Hausegger, Elsa and Hugo Ahsbahr, theatre-director Heinrich Gottinger, probably also Guido Peters and the music-critics Julius Schuch, Franz Petrich and Carl L. Seydler.

Bruckner was ill and bed-ridden in Vienna, unable to attend. He was 69 years old and his heart was failing him. In fact, the Master never heard this symphony performed by an orchestra.

« I wouldn't write something like this again for anything in the world. » (Anton Bruckner)

In the mammoth Bruckner biography that appeared between 1922 and 1937 - begun by August Göllerich junior (1859-1923) , and largely the product of Max Auer (1880-1962) - Auer reports that Schalk added a choir of brass at the end of the Finale because the regular brass players « were physically no longer able to project the hitherto unimaginable intensifications toward the end of the Finale » . According to Auer, Bruckner approved of the addition himself, which is possible, although documentary evidence to this effect does not exist. It is also impossible to determine whether, during the preparation of the premiere, Schalk made the numerous additional changes to the score that appeared in its first printing. In any case, the premiere was a huge success, with « jubilant applause that would not end » after each movement. A gratifying confirmation for a composer who lay near death, in Vienna, and a great honour for a provincial city - but not quite the beginning of a triumphal procession through the world's concert-halls.

Because the editors of the new score were able to demonstrate that Bruckner was not involved in preparations for the 1896 edition, the Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) was held-up as conclusive evidence that the manuscript versions more accurately represented Bruckner's intentions and were, therefore, far superior to the first prints. Even though, as research has since shown, the evidence is not nearly so conclusive for many of his other works, the new edition of the Fifth Symphony 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 of the 1930's. The new score was performed after the consecration ceremony in Regensburg near Munich, in 1937, and again, that same year, at the closing of the Nazi Party convention. Schalk's version has all but disappeared.

Tuesday, 10 April 1894 :

Franz Schalk writes to Anton Bruckner :

« Most honoured Master !

Reports will certainly already have reached you about the unprecedented effect made by your wonderful “ 5 ”.

I can only add that the evening will remain a most treasured memory, one in which I was blessed to take part, for the rest of my life. I felt myself deeply moved, and that. I wandered blissfully in the fields of eternal greatness. Those who did not hear it can have no idea of the shattering force of the final movement.

Therefore, my deeply revered Master, I lay all my admiration and most fervent enthusiasm at your feet and salute this most glorious work's creator.

Your deeply grateful,

And eternally faithful,

Francisce »

Bruckner writes back from Vienna :

« Dearly beloved friend !

I am allowed out of my bed for a few short hours, and it is as if a tempest compels me to open my heart to you, this heart that causes me such suffering and that has left me short of breath since Easter.

Be assured of my deepest admiration for your extraordinary art and receive my unutterable thanks for the great trouble you have taken. Additional glory for your deeds will surely not be lacking ! May God bless you, noble and most gifted artist !

It is impossible for me to describe the pain I feel at not being present on such a joyous occasion. I have already impressed upon the Wagner Society here that you must conduct the Fifth in Vienna ! (The society's directors have already agreed.) I too would like to hear the piece once !

Excellent and most gifted artist, with a thousand thanks and my greatest admiration !

Your old friend Bruckner,

Vienna, 12 April 1894. »

Schalk's euphoria was somewhat exaggerated, as the Symphony received only moderate acclaim.

Music-critic Julius Schuch :

« A characteristic feature of this “Symphony of the Future” in B-flat, as I would call it, is its episodic structure. To me, the work seemed to be the musical diary of an imaginative and gifted artist who depicts his varying moods in interesting ways. »

Monday, 18 June 1894 : Anniversary of Otto Mahler, he is now 21. Gustav spends his summer-holiday in Steinbach at Lake Attersee, Upper-Austria. Otto suffers from psychological instability.

Thanks to the generosity of his brother, Otto is now in possession of the autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements of the second version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

August 1894 : Before moving with Gustav Mahler in Hamburg, Justine and Emma sub-rent for their young brother Otto, who is presently living at Number 39 on « Margarethen-Straße », an apartment in the French neo-Baroque style « Palais » of Baron Nathaniel von Rothschild (surrounded by a lush garden decorated with fountains and sculptures) , where a close family friend, the Austrian writer, translator and philanthropist Anna Hoffmann (pseudonym : Norbert H.) lives. Her apartment is located on the third floor (No. 6) . « Nina » provided accommodation for Emma the previous summer.

The building itself, located at « Theresianum-Gasse » Nos. 16-18 in the 4th District (Wieden) , was heavily damaged during night Allied air-strikes in 1944. The ruins were torn down in 1952 ; some of the materials were used for reconstruction around the city, apparently including St. Stephen's Cathedral.

Anna Hoffmann already published German translations of Fyodor Dostoevsky. She spends many hours discussing with Otto, who is more than ever prone to depression, the tragic meaning of life, the degeneration of the human race, and other pessimistic themes from the works of the famous Russian novelist.

Natalie Bauer-Lechner recalls in her Memoirs :

« He (Otto) was a fanatical disciple of Dostoyevsky's and philosophized about his approaching death, in the manner of the great Russian, with an old friend of Mahler's, a woman (Anna “Nina” Hoffmann) , who, however, did nothing to prevent it. People of his kind, who know too much, often cut a very sorry figure in life. »

The Palais Nathaniel Rothschild was a palatial house in Vienna, one of 5 Palais Rothschild in the city owned by members of the Rothschild banking family of Austria.

It was commissioned by Nathaniel von Rothschild (1836-1905) , the brother of Albert Salomon von Rothschild. French architect Jean Girette designed and built the French neo-Baroque style palace between 1871 and 1878.

The Palais was 2 storeys high, surrounded by a lush garden decorated with fountains and sculptures, the whole built to showcase the wealth of the Rothschild family. Baron Nathaniel organized a huge ball for the house-warming, including an orchestra playing antique instruments from the Baron's own priceless collection of musical instruments. The art collection housed here was renowned. Baron Nathaniel was also famous for his substantial philanthropic and charitable activities.

After the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938, the family were forced to flee and the estates seized by the Nazis. The « Gestapo » moved into the Palais and used the building for their interrogations. The building itself was heavily damaged during Allied bombing raids in 1944.

At the end of the War, the owners returned to find a smoldering ruin. The ruins were torn down ; some of the materials were used for reconstruction around the city, apparently including the « Stephansdom » . The estate was eventually sold to the Austrian Chamber of Labour by the sole heiress, Baroness Clarice de Rothschild, in 1950. The Labour Chamber had the rest of the ruins torn down and erected a simple modern building for its trainees. In 1872, Nathaniel von Rothschild (1836-1905) commissioned the French architect, Jean Girette, to build him a mansion in Vienna in which to house his collection of « objets d'art » .

The architecture was vaguely Renaissance in style, but incorporated numerous details of contemporary ornamentation. Inside, there were 15 « salons » recalling the different styles of the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Old decorative styles and modern features were combined to set-off the objects in the collection to best advantage. The Renaissance « salon » , for example, was completely new, whereas elements from the « Château de Bercy » had been installed in a room where the main feature was a corner cup-board from the Branichi Palace in Warsaw, and the dining room housed the panelling painted in 1798 in Paris by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon.

In the grounds, Nathaniel built a monumental fountain at a point where it could be seen from all over the garden as well as from the house. Alphonse, Nathaniel's nephew, later lived in the property, moving out in the early 1930's. After being severely damaged in the War, the house was pulled down in 1952.

Late-August 1894 : Since Otto Mahler finds his position in Leipzig intolerable, Gustav finds him a position at the Bremen « Stadt-Theatre » . Unfortunately, there is no trace of his activities there since the theatre archives were destroyed during the Second World War.

September 1894 : Letter from Justine Mahler to her friend Ernestine Löhr :

« With Otto, there were 100 stories again, which can't even be told, Gustav (has) immense worries. O. probably will go to Breslau (but don't tell anyone yet) or he'll stay in Bremen for 30 Marks a month. »

During the same month, Otto Mahler abruptly leaves Bremen and returns to Vienna. He writes a letter to Gustav that so incenses him that he charges Justine with the task of answering it.

Autumn 1894 : After moving to Hamburg with Justine, Emma falls in love with Bruno Walter, who had joined the « Stadt-Theater » in the 1894-1895 season.

Justine's comments in her letters to Ernestine about Otto's lazy character are all the more valuable and corroborate Mahler's own comments in his letters to Justine. These sources reveal Mahler's efforts in 1894 to find a suitable position for Otto. Posts in neither Bremen nor Leipzig were successful, and, by the end of 1894, the situation was becoming desperate.

Justine communicated frequently with Ernestine during this period. She soon wrote that she had awaited the news daily ; only the day before Gustav had asked her to « spare (him) all agitation now » because he was « too tired » .

And then, the news came :

« What has happened to Gustav, you will appreciate. » , she wrote to Ernestine, and commented that it was good that he was so busy.

The youngest Mahler, Emma (1875-1933) , is rather more of a cipher. She and Gustav were not close, and Justine, too, seems to have shared her brother Otto's difficulties with Emma, complaining often about her laziness and self-centeredness.

In Hamburg, Mahler's principal literary preoccupations were Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Arthur Schopenhauer. The indication that he was reading Schopenhauer in 1894 shows that he was still interested in of the issues that had led Richard Wagner to promote vegetarianism, also influenced by Schopenhauer. It is also clear from biographies that Mahler remained concerned about the relationship between humanity and the natural world for the rest of his life, and this was often reflected in his music. We also have quotes that in later life, having returned to smoking cigars, drinking alcohol and, apparently, eating meat, he did so in very deliberate moderation.

Gustav Mahler didn't skip meals, but he preferred food that was light, simple, thoroughly cooked, and minimally seasoned.

« Its purpose was to satisfy without tempting the appetite or causing any sensation of heaviness. » (Alma Mahler)

« An invalid's diet. » (Alma Mahler)

In 2 separate letters to Alma, Mahler mentions his vegetarianism :

1) « KeuBler is also already here. A splendid fellow. After the Saturday evening rehearsal, I'll be joining him for a vegetarian meal. » (10 September 1908)

2) « I'll presumably have to assume the role of " the flesh pots in the land of Egypt ". Ouch ! What a metaphor for a husband with vegetarian inclinations ! » (June 1909)

Although Mahler often joined Victor Adler, Siegfried Lipiner and others at a gloomy cellar-restaurant in Vienna to dine on spinach and the like, we find him some years later in Budapest tucking into knuckle-bone and horse-radish sauce.

During his stay in America, Mahler did not consider what was locally named « cheddar » to be real cheese.

(One of Mahler's tics was to peel the label from his beer bottle.)

Monday, 1 October 1894 : Letter from Justine Mahler to his brother Otto :

The document (most likely only a draft) is the last known correspondence concerning Otto Mahler. Therefore, it too deserves to be quoted at length.

As stated in a foot-note to the printed document, « Justine's letter is written in purple ink ; Mahler's emendations are in black ink. In the transcription, Justine's underlining has been rendered in italics and Mahler's corrections in bold face. All cancelled text was deleted by Mahler » .

« Dear Otto, I *myself* will acknowledge your last letter to G. You certainly cannot expect an answer from *him* to this letter, he is simply furious about your boundless insolence and also has complied with your " request " to leave you alone ! < **He was [incomplete]** > In addition, he asks me to tell you not to send any more telegrams, but to say everything in letters. < **At his orders** > At his request < **for the time being** > I am sending you 30 Marks, since G. suspects that you don't have any money. < **He is also prepared to send you more if you need it, and ask for it.** > If you still need something, he will gladly set you a small monthly allowance until you earn something yourself. You must *write* to me in good time, then, *not* telegraph. What *I myself* would have had to say about your behaviour would not have been so gentle. There is only one excuse for it, *your youth* (Otto was 21 years old at the time) . How can you still behave this way, after having lived here and seen Gustav's terrific worries and struggles ! You, whom he always trusted, in whom he has believed as in himself. Upon getting your letter that time, he telegraphed everyone possible, but couldn't get anything else for you. It was inexcusable that you dared *not* to go to Director Löwe (Theodor Löwe, 1855-1936, was the Director of the " Stadt-Theater " in Breslau) < **despite Gustav's orders** >. By the way, the director (Löwe) wrote Gustav that you are also unbelievably ungrateful. You can't do anything about it, it lies in your nature. I advise you to sit yourself down and write Gustav a reasonable letter, *without* empty phrases, about yourself and what you are thinking of doing - and not about the meaning of the century. He probably deserved something different from you, that is clear. There is lots to be said about it. That you would cause him such hurt and worry, and painful hours, naturally, we did not expect. I can tell you that it

hurts one to look at him, and he really needs to be spared agitation. I do not think that you at all are aware of what you are doing. Confirm < **the receipt of** > this letter and the money < **that I am sending as a money order** >, more precisely to G. without causing him distress.

Best wishes

J. »

To this, Mahler himself had added a paragraph :

« < From your last letter it is not at all clear what you are thinking of doing, and how you will earn your living : (illegible words) . If you need money, then write Justine, and you will get a your allowance like before as long as you don't have a position that will feed you. After your behaviour, you can no longer expect that G. will obtain a position for you. See to it yourself as you wish. He asks me to tell you all this. > »

The drafted letter makes it clear that Otto was indeed to go to Breslau (Wrocław) - where Theodor Löwe was director - but evidently had failed to do so, thereby, jeopardizing not only his own career, but also discrediting Mahler's recommendation. Yet, despite all this and the anger he must have felt, Mahler was still concerned about his brother's financial well-being.

December 1894 : While Otto Mahler remains incommunicado, Gustav apparently finds him another position for the coming summer - this time at the Karlsbad Theatre (letter of Justine to Ernestine Löhr) . However, it seems to fail through again.

Wednesday, 9 January 1895 : Letter from Justine Mahler to Ernestine Löhr. Justine is hearing « unpleasant » (« unerquickliches ») things about Otto :

« We only hear bad news about Otto. " Albi " (Albine Adler, 1870-1927, a childhood friend of Justine's from Iglau, who was by then living in Vienna) writes that he is getting frightfully thin, I always have to think of Hans Rott under those circumstances, and there is nothing to be done. G. has made several efforts to get him a post in mid-season, but always without success. You can't imagine how that always affects my mood (...) . I think that G. will surely be able to get him something for the summer, I even believe that he is supposed to go to Ischl. »

Wednesday, 6 February 1895 : Otto Mahler spends most of the afternoon discussing depressing subjects on the meaning of life with « Nina » (Anna) Hoffmann - who is suffering from chronic bronchitis - in her flat (apartment No. 6) on the 3rd floor.

At about 4:30 pm, Otto pretends to leave the apartment but, in fact, locks himself in the adjoining room, lay down on a couch, and shoots himself through the heart.

The shot is heard at once. The first people to enter the room find him unconscious and covered in blood, but when the doctor finally arrives, there is nothing for him to do but pronounce the young man dead.

At 5:30 pm, « Nina » sends a telegram to Fritz Löhr :

« Please come, Otto in accident. »

Envelope containing a lock of blond hair with the following inscription by Justine :

« Diese Haarlocken seiner Mutter hatte Otto Mahler bei sich am 6. Februar 1895 bei seinem Tode. »

(Otto Mahler had these curls of his mother's hair with him, when he died on 6 February 1895.)

The motivation of Otto remains unknown, though the « Illustrierte Wiener Extra-Blatt » speculated about a « matter of the heart » . According to Alma Mahler, Otto's suicide note stated that life no longer pleased him, so he « handed back his ticket » . The proximity of Alois largely contributed to this tragedy, but he is obtuse, nobody can tell him anything.

Gustav's reaction to the tragedy is not recorded in any of his letters. During this period, he lives with his sister Justine in Hamburg in the house located at Number 12/III on « Park-Allee » . Due to his professional commitments (he is conducting at the Opera practically every evening and is preparing the performance of his Second Symphony in Berlin) , Mahler is unable to travel to Vienna for the funeral and the usual formalities. He entrusts this task to Emil Freund and a lawyer from Iglau, both of whose signatures appear on the official documents. Mahler alludes briefly to this in a letter inviting Freund to the performance of his Second Symphony in Berlin.

Mahler's own silence surrounding Otto's death reflects not indifference but the depth of his wound. He seems to have wanted to suppress all memory of this unhappy brother whom he had never stopped loving in spite of his weaknesses, and about whom he most probably felt remorse, as is always the case in such instances.

Only one remark by Mahler himself has been recorded about this tragic event, when he once was talking to the Czech composer Josef Bohuslav Færster about some of his childhood memories.

Article entitled « Gustav Mahler in Hamburg » published in the « Prager Presse » (7 April 1922) :

First, he pointed out his father's chair, and, after a few minutes' silence, went on ...

« I also had a brother. He, too, was a musician. A composer. A man of great talent and more gifted than I. He died very young ... A pity. A great pity ! He killed himself in the prime of life. »

Otto visited « Nina » on a regular base. She was a particular friend of the Mahlers, many of whom lived with her at various times. Mahler dedicated to her (« My love Nina ») the Song number 8 from « Des Knaben Wunderhorn » : the « Lied des Verfolgten im Turm » .

Thursday, 7 February 1895 : Report in the « Neues Wiener Tagblatt » describing Otto's death and speculating on his motivation :

« Yesterday afternoon, a young artist, the barely 21 year old composer Otto M. , shot himself with a revolver. Otto M. was a highly-talented, emotional young man who lived entirely for his art. Dreamy and introspective, he had until recently little opportunity to get to know life from its more serious side. But when he was obliged to take up the fight for his existence, he was intimidated, melancholic. It seems that a number of depressing experiences that had a shattering effect on him pressed the murderous weapon into the hand of this sad young man, who had justified the fairest hopes. »

A similar report appears on the same day in the « Wiener Tagblatt » and the « Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt » .

Recalling Otto's past record, one may possibly assume that his constitutional idleness and lack of self-discipline put an end to a career that had barely begun, and that his natural pessimism gained the upper-hand - a pessimism to which was added the anxiety that he would never be a success or be able to provide for himself. All this seems to have plunged him into a deep depression.

Sunday, 10 February 1895 : Apart from his revolver, papers, clothes, and personal effects, Otto Mahler leaves only a sum of 77 Crowns (« Kronen ») , which is barely enough to pay for his funeral.

The ceremony is arranged by Doctor Emil Freund and a notary from Iglau (Jihlava) . They signed all the legal documents.

Otto is buried in Vienna Central Cemetery (Old Jewish Cemetery : Gate I ; Group 20 ; Row 19 ; Grave 35 (or No. 25) . The original burial site is destroyed during the Second World War. The remaining fragments are moved not far and a new plaque is installed.

Otto Mahler's music remains unpublished and is apparently not catalogued. No recent performances are known. The very survival of the scores is currently uncertain.

Bruno Walter tells us that in Otto's desk were found :

« 2 symphonies ... , one of which had been performed but once, and only in part, the other having been received with total lack of understanding - nay, with derision. There were a number of songs

with orchestra ; 3 books of lieder, which nobody sang ; a third symphony was nearly completed. »

Bruno Walter is the only writer on Mahler who refers to these manuscripts of his brother Otto which, comprising symphonies and « songs with orchestra », offer an intriguing parallel to the development of Gustav Mahler's own music at this time. One wonders what became of Otto's musical remains ...

At the time of his death, Otto is in possession of the autograph of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) (second version) . This, along with certain of his other effects (including school books and letters) , pass into the hands of an emotionally broken Gustav who does not have the courage to examine the contents of the black trunk during all of the last 16 years of his life. The manuscript will be (re-)discovered only 30 years later, in when Alma decides to open the sinister trunk in 1925.

2 letters from Justine Mahler to her friend Ernestine Löhr, written in the weeks following the tragedy :

« I was expecting it daily, yet was beside myself when the news came. Only the day before, Gustav had told me to spare him from any agitations, he was too worn out. The news arrived the next day (...) . If you have a photograph of him, please have it copied at our expense and send it to me after some time (...) . What this did to Gustav, you will see, it's good that he is so overwhelmed with work right now. »

...

« The “photograph ” (of Otto) has been in my possession since yesterday. It is so life-like that one hears him speak - I cannot imagine that I will never again be able to hear him speak. The thought it can no longer be undone is so awful. Today, I showed the photograph to Gustav, but I am now sorry I did so, as it has made him so terribly sad. He asks you to have 6 copies made for us. (...) Spring has come with a vengeance, but it fills me with melancholy. The life that I have before me seems so unbearably long. (...) I pick up his picture a hundred times a day, I still can't bring myself to display it in a frame, I cannot do that to Gustav, it always stares you straight in the eyes. I have never wanted there to be a reunion after death, not even when my mother died, but now I hope for it, I always have the feeling that he was not so serious about dying and I can tell you that if he had been lucky enough to live in other surroundings, with people who wouldn't have taken his wish to die so seriously, it needn't have happened, it wouldn't have happened. I know in what state he was when he was last here in Hamburg (Bremen and Hamburg are only about 120 kilometers - 75 miles - apart ; Otto must have visited Gustav that autumn) , and you have his letters from that time, I can still hear him saying to me :

“ Well, if I don't shoot myself now, it would be a form of blackmail ! ”

And I talked him out of everything, so that he went to Vienna and lived there for three months, and in Nina's first letter she mentions :

“ He has now dropped certain ideas. ”

Alois's (Louis) proximity, to a large degree, contributed to the catastrophe, but he is certainly limited (“ beschränkt ”) ; one can't tell him anything.

I long with my whole heart to be able to say :

“ The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, the name of the Lord be praised ! ” »

Monday, 18 February 1895 : Letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Emil Freund (Iglau) :

« For some time, I have felt the need to thank you for your services as a friend, but right now, I labour under such a heavy workload that actually I barely have time to eat. »

...

« Konzerthaus » at « Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße » Number 28, Convent Garden.

Seventh subscription-concert for the benefit of the erection of a monument honouring the conductor Hans von Bülow (as were all 4 of the 1895 subscription-concerts) .

(Mahler's subscription-concerts in Hamburg have been less and less well-attended, and he is not hired for the following season.)

Gustav Mahler conducts the Hamburg « Stadt-Theater » Orchestra.

The 3 « terzettos » for woman's voices « a cappella » are performed by the Dutch trio composed of Jeannette de Jong (soprano) , Annette Corver (mezzo-soprano) and Marie Snyders (contralto) .

Programme

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

Felix Mendelssohn : Trio « Hebe deine Augen auf den Bergen » from the oratorio « Elijah » .

Julius Otto Grimm : « Ich fahr' dahin » , « Deutsche Volkslieder » No. 1 for 4-part female voice.

Johannes Brahms : « Da unten im Thale » , « Deutsche Volkslieder » , No. 6 (WoO 33) .

Wilhelm Fabricius : « Jetzt, o Frühling, deckt die Weiden »

Wilhelm Fabricius : « Durch die stille Sommernacht »

Katharina von Rennes : « Belooning »

Katharina von Rennes : « Kerstnacht »

Johannes Brahms : Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor, Opus 15. Soloist : Robert Freund.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (**WAB 104**) - Mahler's first performance of the Symphony.

The symphony proves hugely successful with the audience. Mahler had announced the performance to Bruckner but the latter, feeling the approach of death, had lost interest in a world that had brought him so little pleasure. The news elicited only « a sad smile » .

The Czech composer (Mahler's most loyal and sincere friend) Josef Bohuslav Fěrster, the music-critics Josef Sittard, Ferdinand Pfohl, Louis Bøedecker and Emil Krause are in the audience.

Sittard accused Bruckner of « boundless subjectivity » and - although the symphony contained a number of « ideas of genius » - the « fantasy of the artist (...) exhausts itself by arbitrarily juxtaposing individual motifs that keep changing reslessly and are never really developed » . Sittard did admit that the second movement contained « moments of downright intoxicating effect » , but, in the end, it also « deteriorated into aphoristic fragments » , while the third movement seemed to him to be the most consistent. Sittard repeatedly compared this work with Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) , which to him was of « far higher artistic significance » (« Hamburgischer Correspondent » , February 19) . Krause, too, accused Bruckner of a life-long urge always to want « to do what was new and unsuspected » . There was no specific tonal centre, as the « constant modulations » robbed the work of any basis and were of no real appeal to the « æsthetically trained ear » . And although there were captivating moments, they were merely superficial. All in all, the work remained « manufactured » (« absichtlich ») and was « lacking in any natural sentiment emerging from a warm heart » (« Hamburger Fremden-Blatt » , February 20) . This time, Pfohl, too, had reservations about the work. Although he did not dispute Bruckner's genius, he personally regarded none of his works as a « consummate masterpiece » . In every case, « significant ideas » , « bold logic » , and « dazzling colours » appeared alongside « phrases of trivial ordinariness » (« Hamburger Nachrichten » , April 1) .

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

Monday, 13 May 1895 : Josef Schalk is able to tell his brother Franz :

« Bruckner has recovered remarkably and intends to tackle the Finale of the Ninth (Symphony) soon. »

Around May - June 1895 : Anton Bruckner is terribly upset when Josef Schalk and Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy (from the «

Wagner-Verein ») come to visit him. « Frau Kathi » can only leave his private secretary Anton Meißner in the apartment. Ferdinand Löwe and Hugo Wolf are also dismissed.

Having no more confidence in his close disciples (i.e. , Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe) , Bruckner gave the score of the 3 completed movements of the Ninth Symphony for safe-keeping to his faithful friend, conductor Doctor Karl Muck.

When Bruckner received proofs of the published version of his Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) over a year later (April 1894) , he could no longer pretend « he had not noticed » , as Josef Schalk told his brother Franz in the following month, and the result was a most unholy row :

« Unfortunately, we have had another serious dispute with Bruckner. I was indeed not concerned myself, but unfortunately (Max von) Oberleithner was involved and was publicly insulted, and will now no longer have anything more to do with Bruckner personally. The cause was a sudden outbreak of anger on Bruckner's part that the Mass in F minor, which is now at the printing stage, had been altered without his knowledge. With the greatest impatience, he demanded back the score, which Oberleithner has in his safe-keeping. Fortunately, the printed score has not yet appeared, and one can only hope that in the meantime Bruckner forgets the matter again, otherwise there is going to be a hell of scandal (" einen Höllen-Skandal ") . He was so upset that he got ill again and let none of us visit him. It is only through Dlauhy (who he did receive) that I found-out he is a bit calmer again, although he is still railing against all of us. It is quite sad, but I have no choice but to avoid his company as well. I really wish you (having the necessary composure) could personally talk to him. What about the holidays ? Won't you come to Vienna for at least a few days ? »

Until Thomas Leibnitz's publication of Josef Schalk's letter, perceptions of this incident had been formed by the account given in Göllerich-Auer, based, long after the event, on the testimony of his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr :

« As " Frau Kathi " tells us, he wanted to hear nothing more of his musical friends, and became very agitated when Josef Schalk and Doctor Wilhelm Dlauhy came to visit him at the " Heßgasse ". Although they went there daily to inquire after Bruckner's health, " Kathi " was instructed to admit only private secretary Anton Meißner, and not Josef Schalk or Ferdinand Löwe. Even Hugo Wolf was turned away. An indication of how distrustful Bruckner had become towards his best friends is shown by the fact that he gave the score of the 3 completed movements of the Ninth Symphony to his faithful friend Doctor Karl Muck for safe-keeping ; they were only returned to Vienna long after the Master's death. »

End of May 1895 (?) : Gustav Mahler visits an ailing Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » on the Upper-Belvedere.

A few weeks after, on **June 20**, he writes to his Mentor about an endorsement for Hermann Behn's piano arrangement of his Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») .

Thursday, 20 June 1895 : Letter from Gustav Mahler to Hermann Behn :

« When I was with him (Bruckner) a few weeks ago during my stay in Vienna, he'd only just got up and was weak and frail. (...) A pity, as it would have been easier in person. Vederemo ! But at all events, please prepare a good copy of your arrangement (of my Second Symphony) for Entmann. »

The document is in possession of notary Hertz (Hermann Behn's nephew) or the Hamburg Archives.

Friday, 12 July 1895 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Yesterday, Josef Schalk visited Bruckner at the Upper-Belvedere. He was looking quite well, though quite weak. Hopefully, the Semmering mountain pass region will give him some strength.

September 1895 : Justine writes to Ernestine about the young Bruno Walter (Schlesinger) :

« He was engaged here last year as chorus director, and, this year, advanced to conductor. I was there this week when he conducted - I cannot tell you how I felt as I sat there. Gustav says that he will be a highly significant conductor. Emma is infatuated with him, and while he has a lot of “ regard ” and “ respect ” for me, he seems to care more for Emma. »

Justine makes similar comments in other letters to Ernestine throughout 1895 and 1896 (by which time Bruno Walter had left Hamburg) . At this point, it is unclear what happened, but, by 1898, all had changed. That year, Walter met his future wife, Elsa, in Riga, and Emma married cellist Eduard Rosé on 25 August.

Emma was clearly not over Walter, however, as Justine intimated to Ernestine on 16 July 1898 :

« I am staying here with Emma until the 4th, since, in the meantime, Schlesinger (Walter) is going to Vienna with Gustav's piano score and I do not want her to see him ; she doesn't know that he IS coming, otherwise, I probably couldn't keep her here. »

An unpublished passage from Natalie Bauer-Lechner's memoirs (« Bibliothèque Musicale Gustav Mahler ») about Bruno Walter's impending departure from Hamburg in 1896 provides an additional layer of significance to the Mahler-Walter relationship :

« Justi » said to Natalie :

« We are losing the only one with whom one can associate spiritually and humanly, and of whom one can be glad in one's heart. Heaven sent him to us last year in deliverance as a replacement for

Otto, whom he resembles a little bit both in his appearance and in his colossal natural musical ability. In him, we have realized all the splendid and considerable hopes that we had vainly placed in Otto ; I can still not see him today without painful joy. »

Gustav Mahler's status problems, the incompatibility of his parents, his mother's feeble health, the scenes of brutality, the death of Ernst, the swift, yet, spaced-out deaths of 5 other infant brothers, the morbid imagination of Justine, the neurotic indolence of Otto, the crazy ambitions of Alois - to gain a fairly clear picture of the almost grotesquely contorted background to Mahler's youth, we feel that not even a Strindberg, Ibsen or Dostoevsky could have contrived a family charged with a greater variety of high-voltage psychic tensions.

There is no question that Mahler's siblings caused him many anxious moments.

The unpublished passage from Natalie Bauer-Lechner's memoirs cited above concludes with an apt summary of the situation as it appeared to a close family friend :

« To manage these 3 (Alois, Otto, Emma) , it would have required an all-powerful paternal authority - which might itself not have sufficed in the face of the almost pathological stubbornness and disobedience - indeed, even stupidity (" Ausgebundenheit ") - of these little Mahlers. It was like they were possessed by an evil spirit. These were not manageable circumstances from the outset, which continually brought on only the worst consequences - in spite of all of Gustav's endless care and far-too noble and lenient goodness, and " Justi's " trouble and best intentions. »

Sunday, 3 November 1895 : 3 years after painter Emil Jakob Schindler died (9 August 1892) , his student and friend Carl Moll married Schindler's widow, Anna « née » Bergen who was a singer and actress - they had been lovers for some time. In marrying Anna Schindler, Moll became the step-father of the 18 year old Alma. The family moved to Carl's home on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling, a fashionable residential area in Vienna's 19th District.

Alma doubtless was aware that her mother had carried on a love-affair with Moll.

She was disdainful of her step-father, « an eternal pupil » and a « small talent » who, of course, could never meet the standard of her father :

« It was not in him to be my guide. »

Clearly, she saw her second-rate mother's choice to be a second-rate artist.

Carl (Julius Rudolf) Moll was born on 23 April 1861 in Vienna.

Thursday, 28 November 1895 : Third private music evening of the Vienna academic Wagner Society at the Bösendorfer Hall of the « Musikverein » .

Programme

Songs by Hugo Wolf.

Ferdinand Löwe will play at the piano the first 3 movements of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) .

1895-1898 : Franz Schalk conducts operas and concerts in Prague.

1896 : The piano reduction for 4 hands of the Seventh Symphony (**WAB 107**) is published by the brothers Franz and Josef Schalk.

1896-1897 : Rudolf Krzyżanowski is appointed second « Kapellmeister » at the Hamburg « Stadt-Theater Oper » - next to Gustav Mahler. However, there was a disagreement.

Natalie Bauer-Lechner reports in her memoirs that Gustav Mahler visited the old Master regularly and that, on leaving, Bruckner « not only unfailingly accompanied him to the door of the flat but would then embark on the stairs with him, making his way down from the 3rd floor, through the 2nd and 1st until, finally, they were at the bottom, insisting on honouring his guest in this way. »

On his penultimate visit, Mahler found Bruckner in a great deal of suffering. He was presumably writing the Finale of his Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) at this time.

Sunday, 5 January 1896 : It was something of a miracle, but Anton Bruckner remained very frail. The Master attends one of his last Philharmonic concerts at the « Musikverein Großer-Saal » .

Fifth subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Hans Richter conducts the « Wiener Philharmoniker » .

Programme

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

Richard Strauß : « Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche » (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks) , Symphonic-poem, Opus 28.

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : « Die Hebriden » (The Hebrides) or « Die Fingalshöhe » (The Fingal's Cave) , Overture, Opus 26.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1878-1880 version (WAB 104) .

Music-critic Robert Hirschfeld reported :

Anton Bruckner (who is accompanied by Doctor Leopold Schrötter's assistant, Alexander von Weißmayr) was called to the podium after the performance of his Fourth Symphony.

Bruckner tells music-critic Theodor Helm that he did not understand « Till Eulenspiegel » , in spite of the great interest of the work.

Also present in the audience that evening : Rosa Papier and his son Bernhard Paumgartner, August Stradal, Hermann Gœtz, Wilhelm Kienzl, Balduin Bricht, Gustav Schönaich, Robert Scheu, Max Kalbeck, and also (presumably) Max Graf and Hugo Wolf.

Bruckner thrived on the warm reception afforded to him by the audience and despite the concern of Doctor Weißmayr, wanted to acknowledge applause between movements from his box and come on the stage at the end.

The Fourth Symphony received a great ovation but as Bruckner told August Stradal :

« I'm so very ill. Yes, earlier, this success would have gladdened me very much, but now, it's all too late. »

At the end of his life, Johannes Brahms seems to have changed its attitude towards the composer to whom he had opposed for years. In 1895, he urged Richard von Perger, the newly-appointed artistic director of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») , to call on Anton Bruckner and, furthermore, to perform one of his choral works at a concert of the Society.

Sunday, 12 January 1896 : Second Concert of the year by the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») . For the last time, Anton Bruckner hears one of his own works. The frail old man is carefully transported in the « Musikverein Großer-Saal » to witness the triumph of his « Te Deum » (WAB 45) which he called : « the pride of his life » . Also on the programme, 4 choruses by Johannes Brahms (who is also attending) . The conductor is Richard von Perger.

There was no question of his (Bruckner) being able to travel to Brünn (Brno) to hear Otto Kitzler conduct his Second Symphony (WAB 102) on **Wednesday, 25 March 1896**.

Severe depression and a tendency to religious mania start to appear for Bruckner.

Around January - February 1896 : St. Florian's organist Josef Gruber visits Anton Bruckner, who has just written an apology letter to the Imperial Chancellery about his absence at the Court's ball. Gruber proposes to use the word « indisposition » instead of « disease » .

February 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller will take care of Anton Bruckner during the next 8 months.

The orthopaedic surgeon Doctor Adolf Lorenz, nicknamed the « bloodless surgeon of Vienna » , orders Anton Bruckner to take a hip-bath each day to treat inflammation. The hip-bath is one of the most useful forms of hydro-therapy. As the name suggests, this mode of treatment involves only the hips and the abdominal region below the navel.

Lorenz was most famous for his treatment of congenital dislocation of the hip. He was the father of famed behavioralist Konrad Lorenz (1903-1989) .

From Natalie Bauer-Lechner : « In Hamburg again »

Mid-February 1896 : During a visit of Natalie Bauer-Lechner in Hamburg, Gustav Mahler tells her anecdotes on Anton Bruckner composing in the bathroom, his Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**) , and on the mother of Rudolf Krzyżanowski ...

« I felt as if I had never left Hamburg when, with Mahler and “ Justi ”, who had met me at the station, I stepped into their friendly home once again.

We spent a quiet evening there together, as Mahler was not conducting. Our talk turned to amusing anecdotes about Bruckner. For instance, there was the time when “ Frau ” Krzyżanowski (1) (whose son Rudolf studied under Bruckner at the Conservatory at the same time as Mahler) (2) visited Bruckner in his bath !

Bruckner, who had been ill, had to take a daily hip-bath on doctor's orders (*) .

When engrossed in composition, he forgot everything else, and, on hot days, it was his custom to compose in his tub with the score on a stool beside him.

So, on one of these hot summer days, deeply absorbed in this occupation, he was surprised by “ Frau ” Krzyżanowski who wanted to know how her son was progressing.

She knocked at the door, and was greeted by a loud but friendly “ Come in ! ”

Dripping, and quite devoid of any kind of covering, Bruckner advanced stark naked to shake her by the hand with a polite greeting and a smile. She fled screaming, but, for a long time, he could not understand « what was up with the woman » .

As an instance of Bruckner's incredible modesty and humility, Mahler recounted the following tale. Whenever Mahler visited Bruckner, the old man not only unfailingly accompanied him to the door of the flat when he left, but would then embark on the stairs with him, eventually making his way right down from the third floor to the street-door, insisting upon honouring his guest in this way.

“ Is it true ”, one of us asked, “ that he wanted to dedicate his last symphony to ' the Good Lord ' ? ”

“ It's quite likely ”, replied Mahler, “ and he would certainly have meant it in all seriousness and good faith - as could be expected, with his simplicity of nature ”.

Then, Mahler remembered how Bruckner, already very ill, had said to him on his next-to-last visit :

“ So, dear friend, it's a matter of getting down to things now. I must at least get the 10th (3) finished, or I'll cut a poor figure when I appear before the Good Lord, as I soon shall, and he says to me :

' Well, my boy, why did I give you so much talent, if not to sing to my honour and glory ? But you've done far too little with it ! ' ” »

(1) It is of Hans Rott's mother that Mahler would appear to have related this anecdote to his wife in later years (see : Alma Mahler's Memoirs, page 107) . The present version is the correct one.

(2) Although he had been on terms of quite close friendship with Bruckner, Mahler in fact never studied under him in any formal way. Rudolf Krzyzanowski (1862-1911) was one of Mahler's inner-circle of student friends and he has collaborated with Mahler on the piano-duet version of Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) , which the composer had entrusted to Mahler, under whose name it was published in 1880.

(3) The reference is enigmatic. Probably Bruckner is referring to his Ninth Symphony which remained unfinished at his death.

...

The hip-bath is one of the most useful forms of hydro-therapy. As the name suggests, this mode of treatment involves only the hips and the abdominal region below the navel. A special type of tub is used for the purpose. The tub is filled with water in such a way that it covers the hips and reaches upto the navel when the patient sits in it. Generally, 4 to 6 gallons of water are required. If the special tub is not available, a common tub may be used. A

support may be placed under one edge to elevate it by 2 or 3 inches. Hip-bath is given in cold, hot, neutral or alternate temperatures.

Monday, 17 February 1896 : Hans Richter visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Bruckner plays a part of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony at the piano. The conductor offers his collaboration.

Tuesday, 18 February 1896 : Anton Bruckner tells his university student Franz Brunner that, yesterday (Monday, 17 February) , conductor Hans Richter very much enjoyed the Finale of the Ninth Symphony played at the piano. If necessary, the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) could be taken as a conclusion.

Funeral of Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst at the church of the Carmelite Monastery (« Karmeliten-Kloster ») in Döbling. His older brother Prince Clovis is present. Johann Strauß offers his condolences. Anton Bruckner makes Franz Brunner aware of the bell-ring on the occasion of the funeral.

Wednesday, 19 February 1896 : Imperial organist Rudolf Bibl's « Requiem » is performed at the « Hof-Musik-Kapelle » in memory of Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Shillingstfürst.

Sunday, 29 March 1896 (Palm Sunday) : Annual Charity Concert for the Pension Fund of the « Hofoper » under Hans Richter.

Participants :

Opera-singers Hans Frei, Karl Grengg, Jane Horwitz, Franz Neidl, Josef Ritter ; « Hofoper » choir-members Anton Fichtinger, Clemens Fochler, Petra Görner, Hellmann, Mayer, Ludwig Weißhappel ; and Curator L. Drapal.

This is the last public appearance of Anton Bruckner.

Programme

Luigi Cherubini : Overture to the « Opéra-Comique » « Médée » .

Richard Wagner : Rarely heard Biblical Cantata « Das Liebesmahl der Apostel » (The Feast of Pentecost) , WWV 69, featuring the « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » .

Richard Strauß : « Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche » (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks) , Symphonic-poem, Opus 28.

(This time, Bruckner feels particularly attracted to « Till » .)

Richard Wagner : Pilgrim's Chorus from the Opera « Tannhäuser » featuring the « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » .

Anton Bruckner personally congratulated Hans Richter. He also received the visit of Prince Bojidar Karageorgevitch and William Ritter. Then, the Master was carried away in his arm-chair which had brought him to the concert-hall.

« There was the old Bruckner, who was sitting tired and sick in his arm-chair ! He was so captivated by the witty “ Rondo ” of Strauß’s “ Till Eulenspiegels ” that he already attended another performance of the work despite his suffering condition. After the concert, he told music professor Doctor Theodor Helm that he wanted to hear again the delicious “ Humoreske ” since he had not fully-understood it during the last concert (January 5) , although the piece was of great interest to him. »

Beginning of April 1896 : Anton Bruckner takes part in the Holy Week celebrations at St. Michael's Church (« Michaeler-Kirche ») . « Frau » Kathi Kachelmayr must accompanying him.

April 1896 : A piano teacher at the Vienna Conservatory (Julius Epstein ?) asks Anton Bruckner to autograph the student-book of a pianist from Paris. Epstein probably visited Bruckner often, and was the only welcomed Conservatory professor at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

After Easter 1896 : Former student Max von Oberleithner visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

Friday, 10 April 1896 : Anton Bruckner becomes the god-father of Anton Zachhuber, the son of his nephew (second degree) Eduard Zachhuber from Wolfert near Steyr. He is represented by his friend « Kapellmeister » Franz Bayer at the parish church's baptismal ceremony.

Friday, 17 April 1896 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (written by Anton Meißner) (Vienna) to his « Kapellmeister » friend Franz Bayer (Steyr) :

Thanks from Bruckner for the performance in Steyr of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) . He joins 5 ducats. Unfortunately, Bruckner is most of the time in bed. He also thanks Bayer for taking his place as god-father at the baptism of Anton Zachhuber, the son of his nephew (second degree) Eduard. He asks Bayer to stop writing letters.

Wednesday, 22 April 1896 : The « Linzer Tages-Post » reports that Anton Bruckner as thanked his « Kapellmeister »

friend Franz Bayer for the performance of the Mass in D minor (**WAB 26**) . On 10 April 1896, Bayer replaced him as god-father at the baptism of Zachhuber's son, Anton (the family was closely related to Bruckner's mother, Theresia Helm) .

May 1896 : « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayer (who as been unable to leave the « Kustodenstöckl » for a long time) asks her daughter Ludowika Kutschera for help again.

Saturday, 2 May 1896 : Letter from Hugo Wolf to Paul Müller :

Wolf has tremendous respect for the real Masters. Anton Bruckner is the only one, among the living, before whom he should bow.

Friday, 8 May 1896 : Josef Schalk visits Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

Saturday, 9 May 1896 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Greetings from Anton Bruckner, who I visited yesterday. He was upset, but also look terribly decayed.

May 1896 : The German scholar, diplomat, jurist and statesman Wilhelm Solf officially announces an engagement to Lady Lili von Hopfen, the daughter of the Bavarian noble, Lord Hans Ritter von Hopfen (until 1888, Mayer) (1835-1904) - a Doctor of philosophy and popular poet, who has been the general-secretary of the German Schiller Foundation in 1865-1866 - and Baroness Auguste von Wehli (1846-1878) of Eisenbach.

But the marriage will never take place. By November, Wilhelm is off to Berlin.

Wilhelm Solf was born into a wealthy and liberal family in Berlin. He attended secondary schools in Anklam in western Pomerania and in Mannheim. He took up the study of Oriental languages, in particular Sanskrit at universities in Berlin, Göttingen and Halle, earning a doctorate in philology in the winter of 1885. Under the supervision of the well-known Indologist Richard Pischel, he wrote an elementary grammar of Sanskrit.

He then found a position at the library of the University of Kiel. While residing there he was drafted into the Imperial Navy to serve his military obligation. However, he was deemed medically unfit for military service and discharged.

Solf joined the German Foreign Office (Consular Service) on 12 December 1888 and was assigned to the Imperial German Consulate General in Calcutta on 1 January 1889. However, he resigned from the consular service after 3 years

to study law at the University of Jena where he obtained his doctorate in law (« Doktor juris ») in September 1896. His advanced degrees qualified Solf for higher positions in the diplomatic service. He joined the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office (« Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes ») and, in 1898, was assigned as district judge in Dar es Salaam in German East-Africa for a short period. In 1899, he was posted to the Samoan Islands, where he served as council Chairman in the provisional government of the municipality of Apia, Samoa.

The division of the Samoan Islands as a result of the Tripartite Convention of 1899 assigned the western islands to Germany (independent Samoa today) and Eastern Samoa to the United States (American Samoa today) .

Thursday, 1 March 1900 : Wilhelm Solf, at age 38, became the first Governor of German Samoa :

« Solf was a man of quite unusual talent, clear-thinking, sensitive to the nuances of Samoan attitudes and opinion. »

Solf was known as a liberal, painstaking and competent administrator. He included Samoan traditions in his government programs, but never hesitated to step in assertively, including banishment from Samoa in severe cases, when his position as the « Kaiser's » deputy was challenged. Under Solf's direction, plantation agriculture was further encouraged ; in his judgment, it provided the soundest basis for the colony's economic development. In turn, tax-revenues were enhanced, making the establishment of a public school system, the construction and staffing of a hospital (including the training of Samoan nurses) major successes. Road and harbour facilities construction was accelerated. In all, the Samoan colony was on its way to self-sufficiency and actually reached that achievement just before Solf was called to Berlin and was succeeded by Erich Schultz as Governor of German Samoa.

May-June 1896 : Anton Bruckner receives visit from Moritz von Mayfeld and Hans Richter at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Richter announces that he intends to conduct the Seventh Symphony with the Philharmonic during the next season. He advises Bruckner to complete the Ninth Symphony with the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) .

According to Anton Meißner, Bruckner plans to add the « Te Deum » to the Ninth.

Bruckner discusses the details of his funeral with Josef Kluger, the Provost of the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. Bruckner's health-condition deteriorates. Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr forces him to stay in bed for the next few weeks. Ignaz comes to Vienna to help « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr.

With age, the amount of prayers wrose sharply in Bruckner's note-book. An effort, perhaps, to will away his religious doubts.

Thursday, 9 July 1896 : Anton Bruckner faces another attack of pneumonia. He falls unconscious and is delirious for hours. Doctors Schrötter and Weißmayr come to the « Kustodenstöckl » each day. For his part, Doctor Heller visits his patient 3 times a day.

« Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr keeps night vigil beside Bruckner's bed. She is supported by her daughter Ludowika Kutschera - and certainly by Ignaz, for the time being.

Friday, 10 to Wednesday, 15 July 1896 : Gustav Mahler visits a sick Johannes Brahms for the last time at (Bad) Ischl. He shows the old Master the score to his Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») .

According to Ludwig Karpath's memoirs, Brahms considers this « Scherzo » to be a work of genius (an opinion he rarely expresses) :

« It is not at all clear to me why Richard Strauß is hailed as the revolutionary in music : I consider that Mahler is the king of these revolutionaries. »

(As is always the case with Brahms's ambiguous and sarcastic humour, this may be taken as either a compliment or a put-down but, in any case, Brahms states clearly that he recognizes Mahler's superiority over Richard Strauß.)

Sunday, 12 July 1896 : Anton Bruckner attends Mass at St. Michael's Church (« Michaeler-Kirche ») . Wedding of Josef Schalk.

Thursday, 16 July 1896 : Anton Bruckner is in very bad condition. Doctor Richard Heller comes to visit him 3 times a day. Heller also meet at mid-day his superior Doctor Leopold Schrötter. In the evening, there is a recovery, so that Bruckner can leave the bed for some time.

The « Steyrer Alpen-Bote » (Number 4) reports on page 3 that Anton Bruckner is seriously ill.

Friday, 17 July 1896 (or Thursday, 16 Juli 1896 ?) : Anton Bruckner feels weak in the morning. With the permission of his brother Ignaz (probably on the advice of Father Heribert Witsch, chaplain of Belvedere Castle) , Bruckner is administered the last sacraments (for the third time in his life) .

Doctor Richard Heller reports :

« Bruckner's mental health had also suffered during his last illness - each day, he became more childish and confused. »

Heller meets Bruckner in the morning ; his condition as significantly improved. Heller then goes to meet photographer Fritz Ehrbar. At noon time, Bruckner asks Doctors Heller and Schrötter to leave the bedroom. His condition continues

to improve during the day ; for now, Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr stays at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Further improvement in the evening.

According to the testimony of Doctor Richard Heller, 2 or 3 photographs of the composer lying on his brass bed (dressed in his white night jacket) was taken by Fritz Ehrbar.

Saturday, 18 July 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller comes to visit Bruckner 3 times a day. Heller also meet at mid-day his superior Doctor Leopold Schrötter. Today, Heller finds Anton Bruckner « incredibly well » .

Sunday, 19 July 1896 : During his morning visit, Doctor Richard Heller mentions that Anton Bruckner is « completely prepared » to face death. Since the weather is very bad, he forbids him to go to church to attend mass. Infuriated, he asks Heller to write him an official testimony (in 2 copies !) guaranteeing his full-freedom. Bruckner will regain control of himself only after obtaining them.

Letter from « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr to Doctor Karl Lorenz of the « Wiener Akademische Gesangverein » :

Anton Bruckner's health is not good. He is temporarily lost and has little appetite.

Monday, 20 July 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller gives Bruckner the requested certificate :

« As a professor, Doctor Anton Bruckner earned, up to old age, great merit by serving Art. He is entitled to complete freedom as soon he recovers and, altogheter, to keep enjoying life to the fullest.

Vienna, 20 July 1896.

Doctor Heller. »

Bruckner's behaviour becomes visibly more childish. He promises Doctor Heller to compose a chorale for him. Thanks to Heller, the composer spends all day asleep, has a good appetite, and is glad that Emperor Franz-Josef has inquired about his condition.

Tuesday, 21 July 1896 : Anton Bruckner begins to compose for Doctor Richard Heller the promised chorale of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony. Several newspapers report on Bruckner's illness, and tell him that Emperor Franz-Josef inquired twice about Bruckner's condition in the last days.

Friday, 24 July 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller makes a visit to Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » .

Wednesday, 29 July 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller says to his wife :

Considered as his only friend, Anton Bruckner dedicated Doctor Heller the chorale (of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony) .

July - August 1896 : Anton Bruckner complains that so few people are taking care of him. His religious fervour has now turned into delirium. He prays for hours, and even asks visitors to join him.

The Master survived the summer, becoming thinner and, in his bed, looking more like a Franciscan monk. Hans Richter and his wife were among visitors during that period, though it was becoming increasingly hard to know how to treat Bruckner, whose mind often wandered.

Visitors at the « Kustodenstöckl » :

The Austrian art-historian and anti-Semite popular nationalist spokes-person Professor Reinhold von Lichtenberg (Lichtenberg published a treatise on the defense of the Bayreuth performance monopoly on « Parsifal » , which was to preserve « ethnic and artistic interests ») , physician Doctor Leopold Schrötter, music-publisher Härtel, conductor Hans Richter, Hugo Wolf (prevented from entering by « Frau Kathi ») , disciples August Stradal and Friedrich Klose, Doctors Franz Schumann and Karl Lorenz from the « Wiener akademische Gesangverein » , Imperial organist Rudol Bibl, Josef Gruber from St. Florian, music-publisher Albert J. Gutmann (4 June 1896 ?) , lawyer Theodor Reisch, Bruckner's student Michael Hofbauer, Austrian textile industrialist and patron of the arts Theodor Hämmerle, patron Karl Almeroth from Steyr, Jesuit priest Father Heinrich Josef Maria Abel (the « Men's Apostle of Vienna ») , Conservatory piano teacher Professor Wilhelm Schenner, and Matthias Salcher.

Anton Bruckner is present « in spirit » during the performance of Richard Wagner's « Götterdämmerung » in Bayreuth.

Sunday, 2 August 1896 : Sudden worsening in Anton Bruckner's condition. Increasing mental confusion and degradation.

Monday, 3 August 1896 : Anton Bruckner becomes increasingly confused and moody. The employed nurse (Anna Ortner ?) is persuaded to stay only after great insistence.

August 1896 : Conductor Otto Kitzler makes a final visit to Anton Bruckner, his former pupil who studied orchestral

forms with him (March 1861 - July 1863) .

August 1896 : For a few hours in the afternoon, at Baroness Frieda von Lipperheide's summer castle, « Schloß Matzen » , Hugo Wolf and Doctor Heinrich Potpeschnigg play Bruckner Symphonies at the piano to some friends ; presumably : Hugo Faißt, Doctor Emil Kauffmann, Doctor Rudolf Meyer and Paul Müller.

Around Monday, 10 August 1896 : Anton Bruckner dedicates, with his signature, a photograph to Doctor Richard Heller.

Tuesday, 11 August 1896 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to organist Josef Gruber (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Ignaz did not reply to the last 3 letters Bruckner he had sent him. He wants to know from Gruber whether his brother is sick or angry. A few words could be no reason for hostility.

Bruckner writes the (last) date on the score of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony.

Wednesday, 12 August 1896 : Several newspapers (the evening edition of the « Deutschen Volks-Blatt » Number 2733 on page 4, the « Wiener Fremden-Blatt » , and « Die Presse » Number 221 on page 3) announce Anton Bruckner's University lectures for the Winter Semester of 1896-1897 :

« (Professor Bruckner.)

Professor Anton Bruckner, lecturer at the University of Vienna, who was prevented from doing so in the previous year due to illness, has announced for the coming Winter Semester a one and a half hour period on the theory of harmony : 3, 4, and 5 notes, form in with the fundamental steps, figured bass (thorough bass) notations in the key of major.

Friday, 14 August 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller says to his wife :

« Bruckner is physically so well that I can go on vacation with peace of mind. »

Saturday, 15 August 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller goes on vacation. He is replaced by Doctor Josef Sorgo until 15 September 1896. Anton Bruckner as « physically quite recovered » .

Sunday, 16 August 1896 : Doctor Leopold Schrötter (who returned from his summer holiday on August 7) visits Anton Bruckner, who is mostly out of bed.

Tuesday, 18 August 1896 : Anton Bruckner feels particularly well and is able to receive visitors.

Thursday, 20 August 1896 (or Wednesday, the 19th) : For the first time since a long period, Anton Bruckner goes outside for a short walk, accompanied by his attendant. The maximum temperature in Vienna is 19° Celsius (based on the weather report on page 6 in « Die Presse », 21 August 1896) .

Around September 1896 : Anton Huber, one of Bruckner's first Conservatory students, makes a short visit to see his old teacher. He is standing outside by a window of the Upper-Belvedere apartment.

After Thursday, 3 September 1896 : Hugo Wolf was deeply distressed to hear of the death of Baroness Frieda von Lipperheide (born Gestefeld in 1840) , who, as he said, had been a second mother to him.

Sunday, 13 September 1896 : The French music-magazine « Le Ménestrel » reports that Anton Bruckner will resume his harmony lectures at the University of Vienna.

Tuesday, 15 September 1896 : Doctor Richard Heller returns from his summer vacation and assesses Anton Bruckner's « spiritual » state of mind as « down-to-earth » (realistic) . Bruckner spends most of the day sitting in his arm-chair.

September 1896 : Although they went daily to the « Kustodenstöckl » to inquire after Anton Bruckner's health, « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr was instructed to admit only Anton Meißner, and not Franz Schalk or Franz Grasberger.

Friday, 18 September 1896 : The « Linzer Zeitung » reports that Anton Bruckner's university lectures for this winter are canceled due to physical weakness.

Saturday, 19 September 1896 : The « Welser Anzeiger » Number 38 reports on page 4 that Anton Bruckner will not resume his university lectures.

Thursday, 17 September 1896 : Starting today, Anna Ortner will work as a nurse at the « Kustodenstöckl » - until Bruckner's death. (Her wages will total 72 Florins.)

Around Sunday, 20 September 1896 : Anton Bruckner talks to his private secretary Anton Meißner about the meaning of the word « friendship » . Meißner was the only one who had served his Master faithfully until the end.

Autumn 1896 : The German pianist Margarete Klinckerfuß from Stuttgart gets to know Marchese Silvio Casanova, a student of Franz Liszt. He shares with her the enthusiasm for Hugo Wolf and Anton Bruckner.

Autumn 1896 : Gustav Mahler lays the ground-work for his Vienna appointment by a series of letters and personal appeals.

Thursday, 24 September 1896 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Bruckner's spirit is leaving him. He gets more and more under the spell of religious delusions.

« Our beloved Master Bruckner is now hastening to his end. Since the performance of the Mass, his condition has become steadily worse, and it is a sad thing to see how he suffers you must be prepared that the catastrophe could come at any time. »

« As regards Bruckner, I have very sad news. His mind is disintegrating, and the spectre of religious mania holds him ever faster in its grip. It makes a dreadful impression and, perhaps, a quick end would be the best thing as recovery is out of the question. He is, however, astonishingly tenacious of his bodily health. On my last visit (before the holidays) , he exchanged a few words with me, then, ignoring me completely, he desperately recited the Lord's Prayer, loudly repeating each sentence. It was hard for me to hide my distress, so I crept away. At the moment, I dare not visit him ; I cannot bear it, it is too terrible. Admittedly, there will be better days, but they are impossible to predict. »

Even if Franz Schalk is planning a performance of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) , Felix Weingartner and Hans Richter could beat him.

Saturday, 26 September 1896 : Katharina Prechal helps with the medical care at the « Kustodenstöckl » . (Her wages will total 32 Florins by October 11th) .

End of September 1896 : Anton Bruckner is visited by Carl Almeroth (from Steyr) and Adalbert Goldschmidt. He tells them about the dedication of his Ninth Symphony to the « dear God » and, since he can no longer finish the Finale, he is seriously thinking of using the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) as a conclusion.

Bruckner mentions that he likes a lot « Frau Kathi's » plum dumpling.

September-October 1896 : Hugo Wolf comes to visit Anton Bruckner at the « Kustodenstöckl » . But the agonizing Master was no more in full possession of his mental faculties. Approaching his bedroom on tip-toe, Wolf opened the door a few seconds to take a quick look. What he saw was surprising and heart-breaking. He reports about it quite shaken to Rosa Mayreder (the librettist of « Der Corregidor ») who lives nearby.

« Lying in bed, his face was pale and emaciated. His eyes were happily staring at the ceiling. With a transfigured smile, Bruckner was beating time with his index, on music that only him could hear. »

October 1896 : On nice days, Anton Bruckner walks regularly for about 15 minutes around the Upper-Belvedere accompanied by « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr. Sometimes, a cart is used.

Sunday, 4 October 1896 : The « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » publishes an article written by the daughter of Doctor Heller, Gertrud Maria Engelhart-Heller, entitled :

« Bruckners Arzt erzählt » (Bruckner's Doctor talks)

Wednesday, 7 October 1896 : Letter from Anton Bruckner (Vienna) to his brother Ignaz and Prelate Carl Aigner (St. Florian, near Linz) :

Bruckner asks not to send anything anymore, since he cannot return it. He will explain (orally) later.

Farewell greetings : « leb lebe wohl » (so long, farewell) , etc. (with increasing confusion in the lettering and in the text) .

Saturday, 10 October 1896 : Doctor Alexander von Weißmayr makes a medical visit at the « Kustodenstöckl » . Bruckner is still in good shape when Weißmayr leaves.

Sunday, 11 October 1896 : At sunrise, Anton Bruckner felt surprisingly well. As usual, he meditated and prayed for a while sitting in his office chair right by the window where he enjoyed the great view. Outside, it was the autumnal gloom. According to his faithful servant, « Frau Kathi » Kachelmayr, the Master did some work at the piano on the Finale of his Ninth Symphony. Presumably, his private secretary Anton Meißner heard him play.

Bruckner had some « Schwäbische Brotsuppe » (Swabian bread soup) for lunch, but his appetite was not good.

(Some substantial soups and stews are essential parts of Swabian food culture. The fact that soups and stews are loved by Swabians lead to the nickname « Subbaschwôb » which means « Soup Swabian » . In gastronomy, they are usually served as an appetizer but in home-cooking they are also famous as a main-dish served with bread.

« Fränkische Brotsuppe » (Franconian bread soup) is a simple soup that mainly consists of stale bread in a meat or sausage broth. Variations exist in many countries, and it is often eaten during Lent.

To prepare the dish, the bread is cut into small pieces or, if it is hard, shredded and cooked with onions and spices in a broth. It is also possible to add bacon, egg and cream. Sometimes, it also includes liver sausage or blood sausage. Another common version of the dish is prepared from the broth remaining from the steeping of sausage during home butchering of pigs. The soup is then traditionally seasoned with marjoram.)

Doctor Josef Sorgo (deputizing for Doctor Richard Heller) arrived right after lunch time. He advised Bruckner against leaving for his daily walk. Outside, it was a bright sunny day, but very windy. The Master did not listen and paced the beautiful French gardens on the Upper-Belvedere. Back to his quarters, the frail old man felt a cold coming on around 3 o'clock. « Frau Kathi » and her daughter Ludowika Kutschera helped him to lay-down in bed. He asked « Kathi » to bring him a cup of tea. Bruckner took 3 sips, then, sunk back on the pillow. Nurse Anna Ortner helped to turn him onto his side. Bruckner took 2 deep breaths and quietly passed away.

As biographer August Göllerich junior remarked : « His “ Via Dolorosa ” was over. »

Anton Meißner, who had just seen Bruckner shortly before, and Father Heribert Witsch who was nearby the « Schloß-Kapelle » were immediately brought to the « Kustodenstöckl » by « Kathi's » daughter. In their presence, « Kathi » closed the eyes of the Master. Meißner joined Father Witsch in reciting the « de Profundis » . Meanwhile, « Kathi » telephoned Doctor Heller who arrived half an hour later in company of Leopold Schrötter.

Meißner authorized the « Karlskirche » to sound the bell of the dead. He also informed first lawyer Theodor Reisch, disciple August Stradal (which, in turn, should contact the University of Vienna and the Society of Friends of Music) , Belvedere Inspector Henrich, Doctor Franz Schaumann (President of the Vienna academic Wagner Society) , conductor Hans Richter and Ludwig Speidel about the bad news.

Ignaz Bruckner and Rosalia Hueber will also be informed.

Hans Richter conducted the « Hofkapelle » in the morning in music by Franz-Josef Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the latter's « Die Zauberflöte » (only the 11th of his career ...) at the « Hofoper » that evening.

Death was confirmed between 3:10 and 3:30 pm. Cause : heart failure coupled with dropsy. Bruckner was 72 years old, 1 month and 7 days. Then, sculptors K. A. Sinsler and J. Haberl, students of Viktor Tilgner, proceed with the face molding for the realization of a funeral mask (and also an imprint of the right-hand) .

A legal autopsy was performed by the director of the Vienna General Hospital, Doctor Karl Böhm-Böhmersheim.

The death register from St. Charles's parish church (1896, folio 197) mentions that Father Josef Gros gave the Last Sacraments (the fourth time for Bruckner !) .

According to the daughter of Leopold Hofmeyer, Anna Stumpfoll, her father fell into tears at the moment of receiving the message in Steyr.

One of his admirers said :

« He was divided from his environment with an unavoidable obstacle, he did not go to parties, he had not a group of equal-minded admirers as Schubert - nor friends, nor did he make heroic plans, nor had he Royal admirers like Wagner, nor family like Bach. »

Entry in the repertoire records of the Imperial Music Chapel :

« On the 11th of October, the famous composer Doctor Anton Bruckner died in his 73rd year. It was also Imperial and Royal Court organist. »

By order of Emperor Franz-Josef, the funeral home at the Imperial Palace of the Upper-Belvedere had been decorated of flowers and plants from the Imperial green-houses : the Richard Wagner Society, the « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » and « Schubertbund » Choral Societies, the Philharmonic, the students of the University of Vienna and several provincial Music Societies had lay wreaths by deputations. And the Vienna Conservatory has floated, in sign of mourning, a black flag atop its monument.

Based on the sincere testimony from friends and family members of the Master, the rumour that the very sick and almost senile composer was unable to organize his ideas made its way. Consequently, his ambitions to complete the Finale of his Ninth Symphony was considered unrealistic. The scattered pieces of surviving manuscripts were labeled as « inconsistent » . The entire Symphony was not only unfinished but inherently « unachievable » !

Unfortunately, the almost total dependence of Anton Bruckner towards his private secretary and confidant Anton Meißner (a former student of the Vienna Conservatory from the academic year 1878-1879) increased during the last years. Meißner is described by August Göllerich junior and Max Auer as « a very young Catholic man » .

For 3 consecutive days, the body of Bruckner is exposed in his bedroom of the « Kustodenstöckl » , watched by the « pious » Meißner, welcoming families, students and friends who came to pay their last tribute. He strongly encourages them to bring « souvenirs » (i.e. , hand-written pages left on the Master's work-table) ; thus, dispersing « to the 4 winds » his musical testament !

Hugo Wolf was much affected by the death of Anton Bruckner. About this time, he finished the music to Robert Reinick's « Morgenlied » , which had been begun some time before, though the work of collating the parts of « Der Corregidor » had prevented him from finishing it.

Tuesday, 20 October 1896 :

In the apartment of Anton Bruckner on the Upper-Belvedere, the seals of 2 wall-cabinets and a box are removed by the legal executor Doctor Theodor Reisch in front of Court Counsellor Doctor Heinrich Ritter von Zeißberg, Doctor Franz-Xaver Wöber, Viktor Czerny, Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe.

There were some ivy leaves, in an envelope labelled, « 1884, Drei Blätter aus Bayreuth von des Meisters Grab » (« Three leaves from Bayreuth from the Master's grave ») .

Schalk and Löwe, the testament witnesses, sift through Bruckner's estate of manuscripts, transcriptions and prints.

In accordance with Bruckner's last will, Doctor Reisch appoints Schalk as administrator of the music library. Scores, drafts and sketches (as far as they had not disappeared or given to other people) must be transferred to the Imperial and Royal Court Library in Vienna (currently, the Austrian National Library) .

The autograph score of the second version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is donated to the Imperial and Royal Court Library (« Hof-Bibliothek ») , **but was found to comprise just the Finale !** Bruckner had given the manuscript of the first 3 movements to Gustav Mahler in 1878 - either to make a 4 hands piano reduction, or as a reward for having made the reduction. As for the manuscript of the Finale, it was returned to Bruckner, presumably by Rudolf Krzyzanowski himself.

Reisch commissions Schalk to investigate the connection between the fragments of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony. (It is probably Schalk's fault that many sketches were lost.)

Löwe and Schalk decide that the less important relics (including books) should be transferred to Bruckner's sister, Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber in Vöcklabruck (they will later be acquired by Max Auer) .

We should eliminate any suggestion that Bruckner's attorney, Doctor Theodore Reisch, deposited the wrong manuscripts in the library. He attempted to follow his client's instructions and deliver to the library the final complete autograph

manuscripts of all the pieces listed in the will. The Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) and the first 3 movements of the second version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) were not available to him. He took it upon himself to give the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) to the Diocese of Linz for which it had been written, and where it remains today. Bruckner almost certainly would have approved Reisch's decision to give that manuscript to the diocese. Reisch included the first version of the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) because the second version was in the possession of the Schalk brothers. Reisch could not have organized the individual movements so consistently without help. Bruckner organized the manuscripts himself prior to his move to the Upper-Belvedere in July 1895 as indicated by lists that, he and his secretary, Anton Meißner, made in his pocket-calendar of 1894-1895. Ferdinand Löwe, who was on hand when Bruckner passed away, must have assisted Reisch in his task.

Thursday, 22 October 1896 : Letter from Court Counsellor Doctor Heinrich Ritter von Zeißberg, the director of the Imperial and Royal Court Library, to the Office of the Court Chamberlain :

The letter deals with Anton Bruckner's legacy to the Imperial and Royal Court Library, about which Doctor Theodor Reisch informed on October 19, 1896. On October 20, 1896, a commission examined the manuscripts (which, incidentally, were not completely available) which Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe had been mandated to organize.

Thursday, 26 November 1896 : Take-over of testamentary bequeathed manuscripts by the Imperial and Royal Court Library (today, the Austrian National Library) .

Review of the manuscripts of the « unfinished » Finale (**WAB 143**) of the Ninth Symphony.

Reviewing the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) before it goes for printing.

The Viennese publisher Ludwig Döblinger prints the Franz Schalk version of the second version (with minor corrections) of the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) and the Fifth Symphony in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) which will remain in use until 1935 when Robert Haas publishes the « original version » as it is preserved in the autograph manuscript.

1896-1897 : Rudolf Krzyżanowski is appointed second « Kapellmeister » at the Hamburg « Stadt-Theater Oper » - next to Gustav Mahler. However, there was a disagreement.

1897 : The Imperial and Royal Court Library integrates the complete works of Anton Bruckner to its music collection.

16 April 1897 (Good Friday) : Sacred concert given at the Municipal Theatre on « Dammtor-Straße » in Hamburg.

Gustav Mahler conducts the Hamburg Municipal Orchestra and Choir.

Programme

Georg Friedrich Händel : « Ombra mai fu » (Largo from « Xerxes ») , arrangement for string orchestra and organ by Josef Hellmesberger senior.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : « Requiem » in D minor (KV 626) .

Soloists : Josefine von Artner (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Max Gießwein (tenor) , Leopold Demuth (bass-baritone) .

Intermission

Johann Ludwig Krebs : « Vater unser » for voice and organ. Soloist : Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) .

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

Soloists : Anna von Mildenburg (soprano) , Ernestine Schumann-Heink (contralto) , Wilhelm Birrenkoven (tenor) , Rudolf Wittekopf (bass) .

Writing in the « Hamburger Fremden-Blatt » on April 18, Emil Krause criticised the Mozart « Requiem » for being under-prepared - the sopranos of the choir too weak, the tenors too strong, and the orchestra often over powering the voices even in soft passages. Perhaps, amid the preparations for his imminent departure, Mahler had been too busy to rehearse the concert with his usual degree of care. But, in this review, the final one he devoted to Mahler, Krause also found time to praise his interpretation of the « Te Deum » , which was said to be « fresher and hence internally more animated » than the « Requiem » . The work's « extraordinary musical difficulties » all seemed to him to have been surmounted, with the exception of the odd ensemble problem in the final fugue.

Between 18 and 23 April 1897 : Undated letter from Gustav Mahler (Hamburg) to Ludwig Karpath, the music-critic of the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » :

Mahler's final days in Hamburg are, in his own words, « full of work » .

Sunday, 25 April 1897 : Gustav Mahler leaves Hamburg for Vienna. His sister Justine stays to take care of the removal. Mahler arrives in the Austrian capital the next day.

The year before, Anton Bruckner had died there, thus, this link was finally snapped. Nonetheless, Mahler's appointment,

during his first years in Vienna, as conductor of the « Hof-Oper » Orchestra's Philharmonic Concerts meant that he had an orchestra (the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, as it is today) at his disposal, and he was not backward in attempting to gain a hearing for Bruckner's Symphonies - no easy task, since Bruckner was not a popular composer and Mahler himself, as a conductor, was not particularly popular with the Orchestra. With the Vienna Philharmonic, Mahler performed Bruckner's Sixth Symphony (WAB 106) on **26 February 1899** ; though it was the work's first complete performance (the middle-movements had been played in 1883 under Wilhelm Jahn) , Mahler did not spare the Symphony substantial cuts, surgery which Brucknerians still feel disinclined to forgive. In more favourable circumstances, perhaps, Mahler might have respected Bruckner's « Urtext » ; but his attitude towards the inviolability of original versions was, in any case, strangely inconsistent : for example, he insisted on playing Wagner's Operas without cuts in Vienna, but was willing to restore the excisions in America. His fidgety approach to other composer's instrumentation (and his own) is, of course, notorious ; indeed, it is hard not to believe that his Bruckner performances did not include some of his famous touchings-up. The cuts in the Sixth Symphony (and they seem to have been extensive) must be deplored ; on the other hand, judgment of any of Mahler's exploits as a conductor is always complicated by the fact that he was also a composer, and inclined to re-create, to re-compose, as it were, according to his own image, a process sometimes beneficial, sometimes dubious in effect. At the very least, it appears that Mahler's performances of Bruckner were coloured by the revisionary and « improving » idem of the Master's editors and pupils current at this time. Mahler, in some aspect, was unexpectedly entangled with the artistic assumptions of his period.

Tuesday, 19 October 1897 : The « Linzer Zeitung » reports that the legal executor, Doctor Theodor Reisch, with the consent of Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk, will allocate the original manuscript of the « Libera » (probably the WAB 22) for choir, trombones and organ to the Liedertafel of Steyr.

Monday, 1 November 1897 : At the instigation of Doctor Theodor Reisch, and with the consent of Ferdinand Löwe and Franz Schalk, the Liedertafel of Steyr received from the estate of the late symphonic composer Doctor Anton Bruckner, as a valuable and honorable souvenir, the original manuscript of the « Libera » for choir, trombones and organ.

1898 : Franz Schalk becomes « Kapellmeister » at the « Königlichen Oper » in Berlin. He conducts rehearsals of Gustav Mahler's First Symphony in Prague.

Paul Stefan moves with his family to Vienna.

1898-1900 : Franz Schalk replaces Felix Weingartner at the Berlin « Hof-Oper » .

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.

Friday, 21 January 1898 : Letter from Gustav Mahler to Hermann Behn :

Mahler asks Behn to send to the music-publisher Josef Eberle the printing plates of the score and the 2 piano transcription of his Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») .

He adds :

*« From now on, naturally, all subventions to (Friedrich) Hofmeister must stop. This firm (Waldheim-Eberle) does things in style : **they have already printed all Bruckner** and want to engrave everything of mine, both the piano scores and the orchestral parts. Eberle only do engravings in the style of Roder. They have plenty of capital, and were set up to promote Austrian works. They also find a suitable publisher : my work will probably go to (Ludwig) Döblinger. Advertising and distribution will be done on a large scale. »*

A copy of the contract will be sign by Mahler on **September 27**.

Tuesday, 1 March 1898 : Symphonic concert given in Vienna.

Ferdinand Löwe conducts the Kaim Orchestra of Munich (the predecessor of the Munich Philharmonic) .

Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Aria from « Euryanthe » . Soloist : Moritz Tullinger (baritone from Strasbourg) .

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) - orchestration changes in Wagnerian fashion ; cut of 122 bars from the middle of the Finale ; off-stage brass band composed of 11 extra players in the Finale.

Monday, 7 March 1898 : 25th anniversary of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society.

Josef Schalk conducts the Kaim Orchestra of Munich (the predecessor of the Munich Philharmonic) , the choir of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society, which is re-inforced by the Vienna « Singverein » and the Vienna Academic Choral Society.

Programme

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

Also works by Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner and Hugo Wolf.

Performers : Sofie Chotek (soprano) , Bertha Wiedermann, Hermann Winkelmann (tenor) , Franz Pácal (tenor) , Moritz Tullinger (baritone from Strasbourg) , Ludwig Drapal (bass) , Ferdinand Graf, Ferdinand Foll (piano) , Rudolf Dittrich (organ) .

Although he was only 35 at the time, Franz Schalk's reputation had already reached the shores of America, resulting in his serving as conductor for a large portion of the 1898-1899 Season at the Metropolitan in New York.

1898-1899 : Franz Schalk conducts at the « Metropolitan Opera House » in New York where he offers 33 performances including the « Ring » Cycle - given 3 times as a cycle and un-cut for the first time in America. After performances, rather than socializing, he generally disappears to play chess, at which he excels, in a small « Café » . He also excels at sharp remarks and is not popular with his colleagues.

Saturday, 21 January 1899 : Letter from Franz Schalk to his brother Josef :

As far as concert planning in America is concerned, Anton Bruckner is out of the question.

Wednesday, 22 February 1899 : During a rehearsal of the Sixth Symphony (WAB 106) at the « Musikverein Großer-Saal » , Gustav Mahler explains to the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra that his refusal to support the Bruckner Monument Committee (by **not** adding his signature to the public appeal) should not suggest that he was opposed to the Master - whom he revered dearly.

He said to the musicians :

« Let us rather perform Bruckner. Wherever there were people who misjudged and persecuted Bruckner while he was alive, there is no place for me ! »

« One should not conclude that I am against Bruckner. I am, on the contrary, an enthusiastic admirer of the Master and his works. It is only that it went against my grain to have my name appear on the list jointly with personalities who never worried about Bruckner during his lifetime, and from whom one could expect anything but support of his creative work and his person. »

Thursday, 23 February 1899 : The « Wiener Fremden-Blatt » reports Gustav Mahler's passionate speech to the

musicians of the Vienna Philharmonic, in which he expresses his refusal to support the Committee by not adding his signature to the public petition to erect a Bruckner Monument in Vienna.

Sunday, 26 February 1899 : The « Neue musikalische Presse » , Volume 8, Number 9, reports on page 9 the popular appeal for the erection of a Bruckner Monument in Vienna.

Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Seventh subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Gustav Mahler, conductor. (All the benefits derived from this special « Charity Concert » will go to the Monument Fund.)

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music for Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84.

Ludwig van Beethoven : « Die Trommel geruhret » and « Freudvoll und Leidvoll » , 2 « Klärchen » Songs for soprano and orchestra from Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84. Soloist : Marcella Prego (soprano) .

Franz Schubert : « Rosamunde » Overture from the melodrama « Die Zauberharfe » (The Magic Harp) (D. 644) .

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) . (First complete performance ; Mahler made substantial changes and major cuts to the score.)

World-premiere performance of the complete Symphony. However, Mahler had made several cuts in the score and also retouched the orchestration. Previously, only the second and third movements had been performed on 11 February 1883 by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Wilhelm Jahn. Mahler's decision, as well as his interpretation and modification of Bruckner's Sixth occasioned a wave of bitter reactions from a segment of the Viennese press, which, as Doctor K. M. Knittel has shown, were coloured by scurrilous appeals to anti-Semitism.

Placed at the beginning of the programme, Bruckner's work was very well-received, but some Bruckner supporters blamed Mahler for the many cuts (in particular, the third thematic group) and for altering the original orchestration. A convinced Brucknerian, Doctor Theodor Helm condemned this « revision » in the « Musikalisches Wochen-Blatt » but mentioned the considerable success of this « sensational premiere » . In the « Deutsche Zeitung » , Helm severely criticized the cuts, which he found unjustified, especially in the first movement. Gustav Schönaich, on the other hand, approved of it, claiming that it had increased the « logic » of Bruckner's thought. For Richard Heuberger, Bruckner was « at once, under- and over-estimated » . The work contained « moments of genius » but it was the trumpets and trombones, rather than the musical thought, that « vanquished all resistance » in the listener, who was thus « bludgeoned into submission rather than persuaded » .

2 other newspapers, the « Neues Wiener Journal » and the « Deutsches Volksblatt », defended Bruckner, expressing astonishment that the shortest of his symphonies should have had to wait so long for its first performance, whereas his 2 subsequent ones had already been performed. The « Volksblatt » emphasized the audacity and originality of the Sixth (« Sechste ») which the composer himself considered the boldest (« keckste ») of all his symphonies. Most critics agreed that the performance had been admirable. Albert Kauders in the « Wiener Fremden-Blatt » even claimed that its success was mainly due to Mahler's « burning artistic conviction », his understanding, and his « power of suggestion », which had triumphed over « prejudice and polemics ». As for the rest of the programme, Eduard Hanslick waxed indignant at the introduction of a second piccolo into the final Allegro of the « Egmont » Overture, but conceded that the crescendos had been « stupefying » and the performance, a triumph. Kauders, too, mentioned the audience's « boundless enthusiasm » after the « Egmont » Overture.

The publication and first complete performance of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) in 1899 reflects a nexus of personal, professional and commercial relationships within the relatively circumscribed world of high-art in « Fin-de-siècle » Vienna. Published by an ex-student of the Vienna Conservatory, Josef Stritzko, it was first heard at a Philharmonic « Charity Concert » on **26 February 1899** conducted by a fellow-admirer, Gustav Mahler, whose first 3 Symphonies (and probably « Das klagende Lied » and the « Wunderhorn-Lieder ») had already been acquired for the « 1. Wiener Zeitungs-Gesellschaft » by Stritzko ; 3 years later, the latter would also publish (and Ludwig Döblinger would distribute) Mahler's Fourth Symphony.

Monday, 27 February 1899 : Letter from Josef Schalk to his brother Franz :

Gustav Mahler's interpretation of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) proved to be at odds with that of Hans Richter, by using intelligence and detailed work, without any warmth and without trying to charm the audience.

Friday, 17 March 1899 : Special concert by the Vienna Academic Choral Society in support of the Bruckner Memorial Fund.

Performers : Choir-master Doctor Josef Neubauer and the wind-instrument musicians of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Spring and summer of 1899 : On the occasion of Arturo Toscanini's concert performance in Venice, Alma Mahler discovers the city on her first trip to Italy accompanied by her parents (Anna and Carl Moll) and Gustav Klimt.

The 19 year old Alma experienced her « first great love », as she later remembered it. Enamored of Alma, Gustav Klimt, who was 17 years her senior and had a reputation for a bohemian life-style, pursued her while she was traveling with her family in Italy, and, when he caught her alone, they kissed - the first time in her life that she had kissed a man. Alma's mother and step-father learned of the progress of the flirtation and quickly intervened. It was in Venice when painter Gustav Klimt chased after her in the small streets and places to secretly embrace and kiss her when Alma was still a young girl of 18.

Alma Mahler writes on 24 May 1900 :

« Once, in Venice, we were standing on a bridge, staring into the black canal in front of us (it was night-time) , the magnificent arch of the Bridge of Sighs. We were leaning on the parapet, Klimt standing at my side, the others further off. Suddenly, I could feel Klimt's fingers pulling, tearing at my collar. As I was leaning on the stone, the neck-line was tight. Before I could realize what he was about, everyone moved on, and we had to start walking too, but further behind.

As was his wont, he pinched my arm, whispering :

“ Silly girl, Alma, I could have put my hand on your heart - easily. ”

A cold shiver went through me, my heart missed a beat. He wanted to feel my breasts ! Or did he want to see how fast my heart was beating ? The former would have been lechery, the other love - unfortunately, I'm sure it was the former. »

Saturday, 15 April 1899 : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Another « Charity Concert » to fund the project for a Bruckner Monument.

Ferdinand Löwe conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Vienna Schubert Society male-choir and the « Wagner-Vereins-Chor » .

Programme

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

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) - orchestration changes in Wagnerian fashion ; cut of 122 bars from the middle of the Finale ; off-stage brass band composed of 11 extra players in the Finale.

Wednesday, 9 August 1899 : Anna Maria Moll, the biological daughter of Carl (Julius Rudolf) Moll and Anna Schindler, is born in Vienna.

She is the half-sister of Margarethe (Grete) Julie Berger, Alma (Margaretha Maria) Mahler, and Margarethe Julie Schindler.

Sunday, 1 October 1899 : The « Linzer Volks-Blatt » announces that the Mass in E Minor (**WAB 27**) will be performed on October 15, 1899, in the Votive Church of Vienna. The Bruckner Monument will be unveiled on October 25, 1899.

Wednesday, 11 October 1899 : The « Deutsche Volks-Blatt » Number 3871 reports on page 3 the up-coming performance of the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) on 15 October 1899 plus the performance of the patriotic cantata « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) on October 25, 1899, for the unveiling of the Bruckner Monument (October 11th, date of the composer's death, was originally chosen) .

Thursday, 12 October 1899 : Letter from Mathilde Kralik von Meyrswalden :

« Dear “ Herr ” Doctor !

Allow me to send you a contribution for the Monument honouring the “ Master ” coming from 2 admirers of the Bruckner Muse : namely, 50 Florins from my brother, Imperial engineer Ludwig von Kralik ; and also, 50 Florins from me. I kindly request that both amounts be donated to the Memorial Fund.

For my part, I am particularly pleased to be able to take this opportunity to express a small expression of enthusiastic and faithful gratitude towards my great teacher.

Respectfully,

*Mathilde von Kralik
Vienna, First District, “ Elisabeth-Straße ” Number 1.*

Vienna, 12 October 1899. »

The « Deutsche Zeitung » reports that the Adagio from the Seventh Symphony in E major (**WAB 107**) - in Ferdinand Löwe's version for wind-instruments - and the patriotic cantata « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) will be performed during the unveiling of the Bruckner Monument on October 25, 1899. The « Österreichische Volks-Zeitung » Number 281 reports on page 5 that Hermann (Theodor Otto) Grädener will give the opening speech.

Before 25 October 1899 : The Mayor of Vienna, Doctor Karl Lueger, sends printed invitations to special guests for the unveiling of the Bruckner Memorial in Vienna's City Park which will be held on October 25, 1899, at 11:00 o'clock in

the morning. Among them, Franz-Xaver Müller, Ignaz Bruckner and Provost Ferdinand Moser from St. Florian.

Wednesday, 25 October 1899 (11:00 o'clock) : Unveiling ceremony in Vienna's City Park of the Bruckner Monument created by sculptor Fritz Zerritsch (which includes a moulded replica of Victor Tilgner's original bust of the Master) .

Were present among others :

Doctor Karl Lueger (Mayor of Vienna) , Ignaz Bruckner, Katharina Kachelmayr (« Frau Kathi ») , Professor Bernhard Deubler (from St. Florian) , August Göllerich junior, Ferdinand Löwe, Josef Schalk, Carl Almeroth, Fritz Zerritsch, Doctor Roderich Krenn (City Councillor of Vienna) , Doctor Alois Höfler, a representative of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society who will give a speech (this association donated a sum of 100 Florins) , Franz Bayer who brought a laurel wreath coming from the Men's Choral Society « Kränzchen » of Steyr, Johann Habrda (President of the Vienna Police) , Ministerial Councillor Friedrich Stadler von Wolffersgrün, Director Professor Richard von Perger, Imperial Councillor Professor Doctor Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, Ludwig Koch (Secretary-General of the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna) .

Presumably also present :

Ferdinand Moser and Franz-Xaver Müller (from St. Florian) , Albert J. Gutmann, Gustav Hueber, Doctor Johann Schauer (Mayor of Wels) , Magistrate Director Victor Tachau, August Fetzmann from the Vienna Men's Choral Society, Music-Director Otto Kitzler (from Brno) , « Frau » Thury, Architect Anton Gürlich (who represents the Liedertafel of Steyr) .

Concert : The Vienna Choir Association and members of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra will perform the patriotic cantata « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) under the direction of choir-master Adolf Kirchl. The solo-part will be sung by a group of 20 singers coming from the Vienna Schubert Society, the Vienna Academic Choral Society and the Vienna Men's Choral Society.

The Vienna Schubert Society, the Vienna Academic Wagner Society and the Vienna Men's Choral Society (through its Chairman Franz Schneiderhan) laid laurel wreaths at the foot of the Bruckner Monument.

« Special Further Homage » were offered by :

The Liedertafel of Gersthofer, the « Haydn » Music Society, the Men's Choral Society « Kränzchen » of Steyr, the Lower-Austria Choral Association, the « Singverein » , the Men's Choral Society of Upper-Austria, the Men's Choral Society of Währing and the Liedertafel of Steyr.

Church Celebration :

Performance at the « Votiv-Kirche » of the Mass in E minor (**WAB 27**) , « Locus iste » (**WAB 23**) and « Ave Maria »

(WAB 6) by the Vienna Academic Choral Society under the direction of choir-master Doctor Josef Neubauer.

Donations :

Mathilde von Kralik supported the Bruckner Monument project with a personal donation of 50 Florins.

Further donations came from :

Rudolf Weinwurm, the Hugo Wolf Society, Moriz Orel, Prince Wilhelm von Hanau-Hořovice, Paul Caro, Doctor Julius Bittner, Doctor Rudolf Kolisko, Professor Julius Epstein, Mister and Mrs Leeb, Anna Kieß, the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna, Publisher E. Kainz & R. Liebhart, the Vienna Academic Choral Society, Martha Schneid, Doctor J. Scharff, Gustav Schnabel, the Society of Friends of Music in Reichenberg, Professor Hans Wagner, R. Grebner, Mister Lustig, Imperial Engineer Ludwig von Kralik, Doctor Heinrich Rietsch, Doctor Öllacher, Doctor Heinrich Gröber, Doctor Mayer, Doctor R.W. , Doctor K.H. , Doctor St.W. , Theodor Hämmerle, the Vienna « Singverein » , Mister and Mrs Anderle, members of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society, and the Society itself.

An amount of 50 Florins was taken from the total sum of donations and was kindly offered to Mrs Katharina Kachelmayr (« Frau Kathi ») , the Master's loyal house-keeper.

The « Deutsche Volks-Blatt » Number 3885, on page 6, and the « Österreichische Volks-Zeitung » Number 294, on page 7, report about the opening lecture (an obituary, considering the occasion) given by Professor Hermann (Theodor Otto) Grädener, who succeeded the Master at the University of Vienna. Both articles include a description of the Bruckner Monument.

The Vienna Academic Wagner Society had supported the Bruckner Memorial Fund through special concerts and donation events (Annual Report, 1898) . - The City Council of Vienna has provided 5,000 Guilders.

Thursday, 2 November 1899 : The Viennese satirical magazine « Kikeriki ! » Number 39 publishes a cartoon entitled « At the Unveiling of the Bruckner Memorial » ridiculing the (Jewish) Director of the « Hofoper » , Gustav Mahler, for refusing to support the Monument Committee by not adding his signature to the public petition.

<https://www.germanpostalhistory.com>

Ever since the Victor Tilgner Bruckner Monument was installed at the « Stadtpark » in Vienna, there were jokes about the adoring lady on the base of the monument.

(Image) This cartoon appeared in the 1899 issue (Number 39) of the satirical magazine « Kikeriki ! » (Cock-a-doodle-doo !) just after the monument was installed.

Text of the caricature :

« Mahler : “ Mir scheint eppes, die Figur will etwas von mir ? ” »

Anmerkung des Kikeriki : “ Na freilich ! Sie sagt : Gehst net weiter, Du musikalischer Bamschabel ! ” »

The following translation contains idioms and slang from the era, so a literal translation would be difficult :

Mahler : « It seems a little bit as the figure wants something from me ? »

Annotating by the magazine : « Of course ! She says : You don't go away, you musical “ Scalawag ” ! »

This cartoon, in relation with the time that it was published may well contain undertones of Anti-Semitism. It is presented here in its context with the history of the Bruckner Monument in Vienna and its transformation over time.

Until the 1880's, « Kikeriki ! » had a liberal orientation. But with the increasing influence of Doctor Karl Lueger on the Christian-Social Party (« Christlich-Soziale Partei »), the magazine became sharply anti-Semitic.

After Anton Bruckner's death, the Viennese publishing-house Ludwig Döblinger published the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**, edited by Cyrill Hynais) in **1899**, and the Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**, edited by Ferdinand Löwe) in **1903**. With the posthumous publication of these 2 Symphonies, all of Bruckner's 9 numbered Symphonies were now available in print from several different publishers. Despite the fact that Bruckner left multiple versions of some Symphonies, generally the last version of each Symphony was selected as the basis for the first printed edition. There were simply 9 scores : one for each of the 9 numbered Symphonies.

Gustav Mahler performed Bruckner throughout his career, yet, his performances of the Symphonies were mostly concentrated in a brief period between 1899 and 1901, during his time as music-director of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. In each of his 3 concert seasons, he presented one Bruckner Symphony : a modest total but more than that of any other symphonist aside from Beethoven, whose symphonies he performed 9 times during his tenure. In fact, his performance of Bruckner's Fifth proved to be the last concert he gave as music-director of the Philharmonic : the night after the concert, he was stricken with a near-fatal hemorrhage, which put an end to his activities for his last season in that position.

November 1899 : Rudolf Krzyzanowski performs Gustav Mahler's completion of « Die Drei Pintos » by Carl Maria von Weber.

1900-1901 : Gustav Mahler was responsible for further Bruckner performances ; he conducted the Fourth and Fifth

Symphonies in Vienna, and the « Scherzo » from the Fourth at the Trocadero, in Paris, on **21 June 1900**, when the Orchestra visited the French capital as part of the World Exhibition (« Exposition universelle ») ; this brave gesture must have been one of the first occasions, if not « the » first, when Bruckner's music travelled outside Austria or Germany. Thereafter, Mahler's connection with the Vienna Orchestra ceased (as conductor of the Philharmonic concerts, that is) , and though he continued to lead a busy life as a conductor in the concert-hall, the loss of an orchestra of which he was artistic director inevitably brought with it a certain loss of freedom. The possibility of pioneering was restricted by the taste in programs of the agency extending the invitations, and resistances to Bruckner's music during the early-years of the 20th Century were still influential in many quarters. There was, of course, similarly active opposition to Mahler's music, but, in relation to his own works, Mahler, as a conductor, stood in a naturally favourable position. It was not until some years later, when Mahler was working in America and (significantly enough) , once again, in possession of his own Orchestra, that he was able to resume his championing of Bruckner's « glorious art » .

Sunday, 28 January 1900 : Vienna, « Musikverein Großer-Saal » . Sixth subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Gustav Mahler, conductor.

Programme

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Concert Overture « Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage » (« Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt ») , based on 2 short poems by Goethe, Opus 27.

Richard Wagner : « Kaiser-Marsch » (Imperial March) in B-flat major (WWV 104) - the Philharmonic played this work under Wagner's direction on March 1 and 14, 1875.

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (1889) (**WAB 104**) .

The unusual order of Mahler's programmes can be explained by his desire to play the longest and most difficult work while the audience was still fresh enough to listen to it. In this way, he also hoped to stop the Viennese public from leaving before the Finales of the symphonies, which it was apt to do, even with Johannes Brahms. The « Neue Zeitschrift » correspondent reproached Mahler for having conducted the « Kaiser-Marsch » in honour of « Kaiser » Wilhelm II's birthday, whereas he had discontinued the custom of giving a new opera each year on Franz-Josef's birthday.

Mahler made some cuts in the second and fourth movements of the score of Bruckner's Fourth, and retouched the orchestration. He wondered at the last moment whether he had been right to include it in the programme, which, in principle, should only offer masterpieces.

Mahler said :

« One cannot really expect the public to listen to these scraps of music and glaring absurdities even

if they are frequently surrounded by sublime ideas and themes. »

This « revised and corrected » version of a Bruckner symphony was bound to shock the Brucknerians. Doctor Theodor Helm accused Mahler of « wilfully re-arranging tempos and dynamics » , « exaggerating the accents » , and, worst of all, « tearing the poetic and musical form of the work to shreds » with his cuts : the symphony had always been given in its entirety before. Helm acknowledged, however, that many sections had been « magnificently played » , in particular the Scherzo. He rejected Mahler's « furious haste » in the return in the major mode of the subsidiary theme in the Finale, where Bruckner's marking was « a little faster » (« etwas beleben ») : and also disapproved of the slow tempo of the Trio. On the other hand, the same Trio had been played too fast in Hans Richter's performance in the presence of the composer in 1896. The next work on the programme, the Mendelssohn Overture, had seemed « rather pale » , while the Wagner's Imperial March, played too fast, had made little impact. This was hardly surprising, as « one could hardly expect Mahler to possess the true German spirit » . Max Kalbeck, on the other hand, called Mahler's interpretation of Bruckner's Fourth a true rebirth : for the first time, Bruckner, « strange magician, so strong in his faith, so weak in thought, bewitched the general public » . Superb themes were clumsily built into a « schematic, arbitrary, baroque » structure, and if listeners had not tired of the composer's « incalculable, crazy and desperate flights of fancy » , it was, thanks to the orchestra, and, above all, to Mahler, who had abridged the work and given his performance « the strangely fascinating character of a free improvisation » . Robert Hirschfeld entirely shared this point-of-view. Mahler had « demonstrated how deeply he penetrated the works of his Master » , who was never before so warmly applauded. Although Bruckner's musical concept was « far removed from classical form » , Mahler had rendered his themes and his « sound mystique » comprehensible and accessible. Furthermore, he had revealed Bruckner's « musical logic » by bringing out this or that motif, rhythmic figure, or sound effect, even in transitional passages, thus allowing « the spirit of the work to transcend details of form » . By omitting certain « peculiar cæsuras » so as not to « tear the fabric » , he had served the work with love and comprehension, whereas others battled « for the letter of the law, and against Bruckner » . Hirschfeld particularly admired the « mysterious veil » Mahler had drawn over the Scherzo. However, he had not succeeded in rescuing the « Meeresstille » Overture. Despite the « mystic slowness » of the opening Adagio, all that was revealed was a « strip of water with a cramped horizon » . Mahler thought otherwise : he had enjoyed rehearsing this Overture and admired Felix Mendelssohn's « splendid colours and orchestral mastery » : if he had composed nothing but this Overture, the « Hebrides » , and the Fourth Symphony, he would in Mahler's estimation still remain one of the greatest composers of all time.

Sunday, 18 March 1900 : The « Deutsche Zeitung » publishes an « Open Letter to Gustav Mahler » , in which an anonymous journalist attacks Mahler's administration and, above all, his repertoire. He claims that he was, at first, delighted to see him throw off the inertia of the (Wilhelm) Jahn era and breathe new life into Mozart, Auber, and Boieldieu. However, instead of Händel and Gluck, Hector Berlioz's operas, Peter Cornelius's « Der Barbier von Bagdad » , or Hugo Wolf's « Der Corregidor » , Vienna was offered no more than a few Jewish works like Anton Rubinstein's « The Demon » and Karl Goldmark's « Die Kriegsgefangene » , or such mediocrities as Siegfried Wagner's « Der Bärenhäuter » and Emil von Řežníček's « Donna Diana » . As conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, Mahler not only neglected Franz Liszt and Anton Bruckner, he massacred them. As for Beethoven's Ninth, he merely used it to show off.

« And do you know why, “ Herr Mahler ” ? Because the man is too great for you ; because taste, routine and a sense of history are not sufficient for such tasks (...) and you were bound to fail when confronted with the “ really great ”. We suspected as much when we heard you conduct Wagner ; your performances of Beethoven and Bruckner have entirely confirmed our suspicions. »

Friday, 15 June 1900 : Gustav Mahler leaves for Paris to conduct 4 concerts with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra at the « Palais du Trocadéro » and the « Théâtre du Châtelet » as part of the 1900 « Exposition universelle » (World Exhibition) . Mahler becomes acquainted with Paul and Sophie Clémenceau. Indicating his interest in the 20 year old Alma Schindler already, he sends her a postcard from the French capital.

Friday, 22 June 1900 : « Salle des Fêtes du Palais du Trocadéro » . Concert from the Paris International Exhibition.

Gustav Mahler conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Karl Goldmark : « Im Frühling » (In the Spring) Overture, Opus 36.

Richard Wagner : Overture from the Opera « Tannhäuser » (WWV 70) .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, « Eroica » , Opus 55.

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

Anton Bruckner : « Scherzo » from the Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » (1889) (**WAB 104**) .

Before leaving the podium, Mahler makes a short farewell speech in which he expresses the orchestra's thanks to Princess Pauline von Metternich.

This brave gesture must have been one of the first occasions, if not the first, when Anton Bruckner's music travelled outside Austria or Germany. Mahler was appalled by the acoustic properties of the vast hall of the « Trocadéro » . He was always fastidious in matters of orchestral balance, but had no answer to the infamous echo.

Between 1884 and 1919, the splendid mansion at « 57, rue de Varenne » , the « Hôtel Matignon » , served as the Embassy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In June 1900, Gustav Mahler brought the Vienna Philharmonic to Paris for the World Exhibition. Thanks to the patronage of Princess Pauline Metternich, Mahler was received graciously by the ambassador, Count Wolkenstein, and invited to stay at the Embassy. Mahler was less than impressed to discover that notices advertising the Orchestra's concerts referred to him as « Monsieur Malheur » .

The « Exposition Universelle de Paris » of 1900 received over 50 million visitors, including Gustav Mahler and Jean Sibelius.

Oscar Berggruen, in « Le Ménestrel », contrived an unusual description of Bruckner's style, which he said combined « the joyful serenity of Haydn with all the orchestral refinements of Berlioz and Wagner ». Besides these 2 pieces, the programme included Beethoven's « Eroica » Symphony, Schubert's « Unfinished », and the Overture to « Tannhäuser », which the audience applauded with shouts of « “ Hourra ” for the orchestra ! “ Hourra ” for Mahler ! “ Au revoir ” ! ». Berggruen deplored the fact that the wretched acoustics had not only prevented the 10 double-basses from « delivering their beautiful phrases with the desired intensity » at the beginning of the « Unfinished » Symphony but, in the Overture to « Tannhäuser », had rendered the characteristic motif on the violins practically inaudible above the pilgrims' theme played by the brass.

Although it had drawn an audience of about 4,000 people, including such musicians as Henri de Curzon, Émile Palhadilhe, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Gustave Charpentier, and almost all the best seats had been sold, this third and last orchestral concert was virtually ignored by the press. « Willy » (pseudonym of Henry Gauthier-Villars) again accused Mahler of being « too slick » and too cold, and of having « conducted Wagner as though he had never heard his prodigious predecessor, Hans Richter ». « And why illuminate things that belong in the shadows ? I heard one lady enthusing : “ How well he brought out the second-violin figurations that everyone normally leaves buried ! ” “ Madame ”, would you then also enthuse if he brought out the cords on his underpants ? » The Prelude to « Tristan » distressed « Willy » « because of a certain inexplicable and to be quite honest, even rather unintelligent coldness here and there, alternating with superbly rendered passages. (...) As for the “ Eroica ”, thus chopped up, no, no ! (...) True, there was a large audience in the hall, but Beethoven was absent. » In « Willy's » opinion, it was too easy « to have 8 horns blow certain themes written for one or two ». Instead of sounding « a gay sylvan fanfare, the Trio of the Scherzo snivelled gloomily ». « Willy » did admit, however, that his disappointment had been largely due to the appalling acoustics of the « Trocadéro », for « even God's musicians, the angels, archangels “ ac beata seraphim ”, would be incapable of producing any effect there ». He concluded with a final tribute to the « “ Kapellmeister ”, who sometimes beats time, frequently beats the dynamic, but never beats about the bush ». An untranslatable French pun : « qui bat parfois la mesure, souvent la nuance et jamais la campagne » ; « battre la campagne » means « to let one's mind wander ».

According to Gustave Robert of « La Musique », who was soon to publish a collection of articles about the musical activities of those years, Mahler's « conducting technique resembled Richter's more than that of Mottl, Weingartner, Strauß, or Nikisch ». He concluded that there was an « Austrian tradition » closer to the French than the German one. Perhaps Mahler showed exaggerated concern with details, perhaps one could wish for « more abandon, more life ». But Robert emphasized the standards of the orchestra, its sincerity, the way Mahler « forgot himself » and « thought only of the composer » without ever seeking to impose a personal interpretation. It is worth comparing this fresh and un-prejudiced view with those of the numerous critics who had accused Mahler of « wanting to be new at any price ». Robert concluded : « We are left with the impression of having heard performances full of taste, even nobility, that do great honour to the players and their conductors. ». Robert's view was that the Viennese strings,

despite their technical mastery, lacked the « broad sound » of French strings. He may have been misled by the acoustics of the « Trocadéro ». The first movement of the « Eroica », and its Scherzo, seemed to him slower than usual. He thought that Mahler took the B-flat motif in the opening Allegro too slowly (this probably refers to the second theme) and played the « staccato » bars that followed rather dryly (probably the beginning of the development) .

Saturday, 1 September 1900 : At the age of 37, Franz Schalk, an experienced and cultured conductor, is engaged by Gustav Mahler as first « Kapellmeister » (first assistant conductor) at the Vienna Court Opera.

The reasons for the choice, however, were not musical. Of those Mahler would have preferred, some were not available and others were Jewish ; Mahler feared accusations in the Right-wing press that he was filling the Opera with Jews. Nonetheless, Schalk's talents had impressed Mahler in Prague, and he was Viennese and Vienna trained. Schalk, in turn, wanted the post to be near to his brother, who was seriously ill in Vienna.

Schalk will be regularly seen in tails with Mahler at the « Café Impérial » (« Kärntner Ring » Number 16) located between the Opera and the « Musikverein », and, before performances, in white tie and tails, which leads the uninitiated to confuse him with the head-waiter.

Mahler and Schalk were not drawn to each other. Mahler's attitude to Schalk seems to have varied.

Schalk was one of Mahler's pet hates. He made some very harsh, uncalled for judgments on this conductor who came from a different era, accusing him of incompetence, pedantry and outrageous conservatism.

At times, Schalk may not have been consistently inspired, but Mahler could rely on him for part of the repertoire. At other times, Mahler, in his obsession for perfection in every aspect of performance, would impose his views on Schalk, even in front of the Orchestra. Perhaps, for Schalk, the insights gained out-weighed the humiliation. Oskar Fried, Otto Klemperer and Bruno Walter are seen as disciples of Mahler - but not Schalk. Nevertheless, when Walter, undoubtedly his favourite, came to Vienna, he was never elevated over Schalk, and whatever Schalk's feelings, a decade after Mahler's death, he was among the many who remembered the brilliance of Mahler's productions - « now, the interval is more important » .

Wednesday, 7 November 1900 : Professor Josef Schalk dies at his home at « Elisabeth-Straße » Number 14 in Vienna's First District. He is buried at the Central Cemetery. (« Zentral-Friedhof ») .

Doctor Otto Böhlér makes a painting in his honour (Iconography : IKO 110) .

The manuscripts of the final movement of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) , in his possession, now come into the possession of his brother Franz. Ferdinand Löwe will receive further material.

Josef Schalk is still known today as a piano arranger of the Symphonies of his teacher, Bruckner. He was thus able to achieve a greater degree of recognition for these works, although he often made major and even disfiguring modifications. Josef was also significantly involved in the instrumentation of the Symphonies which were under the supervision of his brother Franz and Ferdinand Löwe (who also mismanaged the original intention of the composer) .

Sunday, 24 February 1901 (afternoon) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Sixth subscription-concert of the season by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Gustav Mahler, conductor.

Programme

Carl Maria von Weber : Overture from the incidental music to « Turandot » , Opus 37 (J. 75) .

Antonín Dvořák : Serenade in D minor for wind instruments, violoncello and double-bass, Opus 44.

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) - orchestration changes in Wagnerian fashion ; cut of 122 bars from the middle of the Finale ; off-stage brass band composed of 11 extra players in the Finale.

Alexander von Zemlinsky and Alma Schindler are attending the concert together.

Mahler's Fifth Symphony, composed in 1901 and 1902, was begun shortly after this concert.

The concert went off relatively smoothly. For the third time since his appointment as titular head, Mahler conducted a Bruckner symphony. This time, it was the Fifth, which the Philharmonic had not performed before. Vienna's many Bruckner supporters, far from welcoming the performance, found it particularly offensive. Their spokesman, Doctor Theodor Helm, accused Mahler of an « outrageous lack of regard » for his former Master and of having « with an impious hand, smashed the magnificent whole into unconnected fragments, leaving only its torso intact » .

The complete list of the crimes of which Helm accused Mahler reads as follows : cutting about 200 bars in the first 2 movements, inverting certain elements in the first, cutting the third theme and the characteristic unison passage that follows it, inserting transitions of his own invention ; cutting the restatement of the great 4/4 melody, the most beautiful passage in the Adagio according to Helm, so that the final crescendo of the principal theme had come far too soon ; finally, accelerating several tempos and particularly that of the Scherzo, in which, disregarding the indications in the score, Mahler had failed to slow down for the second theme. Helm indignantly recalled the unabridged performances Ferdinand Löwe had conducted in Vienna, on 1 March 1898 and 15 April 1899. The world-

premiere had been given by the Kaim Orchestra conducted by Franz Schalk, in Graz on 8 April 1894.

It is true that Mahler had, this time, made far more significant cuts (*) than in the 2 symphonies he had previously conducted, thus, revealing the profound ambiguity of his feelings about Bruckner's music.

(*) 160 bars from the first movement, 94 from the second, and 69 from the fourth. On the other hand, Mahler had added to the recapitulation of the principal theme in the first movement several bars borrowed from the exposition. He changed many of the tempos and dynamic markings, and, here and there, the orchestration.

At the beginning of the third group of themes, which he cut, he wrote in the Döbbling score he used for the Vienna performance :

« Sehr schade ! Aber es muß sein ! » (A pity ! But it has to be !)

Mahler had already shown this ambiguity in 1898, when he refused to subscribe to a collection proposed by friends and admirers of Bruckner to erect a statue in his memory. Word of his refusal had been spread by musicians glad of the chance to do him harm.

He explained his position at the Philharmonic rehearsal :

« The fact that I did not respond to this appeal (...) should not be taken to mean that I am against Bruckner. On the contrary, I am one of the most enthusiastic admirers, both of the man and his works. However, I disliked the idea of seeing my name alongside those of people who never concerned themselves with him in his lifetime and who gave anything but whole-hearted support to him and his works. I have tried to raise a monument to Bruckner in my own way, and have made it a point of honour to interest myself in his works and to play them with all possible veneration. »

(« Wiener Fremden-Blatt », 23 February 1899.)

In Vienna, where the musical world was always on the look-out for a new « scandal », Mahler's « ingratitude » towards his former Mentor must have fuelled a good deal of gossip. It is true that he had earlier conducted the Philharmonic in an abridged version of the Sixth Symphony (**) (**WAB 106**) and, in 1900, he had made many small cuts in the Fourth, especially in the second movement and the Finale.

(**) Theodor Helm had then warned his readers in the « Deutsche Zeitung » of the absence of numerous passages, of 6 or 7 bars here, or 20 there.

Before the February 27 concert, Mahler spoke about Bruckner with the brutal frankness characteristic of him when he was with close friends : by shortening the first movement, he had sought « merely to eliminate what is empty and irrelevant ». The symphony, as a whole, caused him more pain than pleasure. Many splendid passages and themes « of Beethovenian grandeur », were not carried through, developed, and integrated into the whole. The general effect

was that of « a mish-mash » devoid of any logical structure, « a sort of fabric that someone has woven with old bits of thread chosen at random and coarsely knotted, without bothering about whether or not they blend in and without noticing that they destroy the unity and beauty of the ensemble » (February 1901) .

Natalie Bauer-Lechner described as « the extremely stormy applause » unleashed by Mahler's conducting a « heavily cut » version of Bruckner's Fifth.

When Mahler made cuts and changes to the Fifth that were just as far-reaching as those in the Fourth, Bauer-Lechner reported that Mahler liked the Scherzo, and above all the Trio, « with its marvellous original, “ typically Viennese ” melody » , and had finally been moved to declare :

« But you'll see ! Bruckner is not to be helped without a scalpel. As he is, he will never find his way into the concert repertory. I have done what I can to restore him to life. And, perhaps, the 3 symphonies I have given so far in the Philharmonic concerts will be the ones most likely performed in the future with dramaturgical cuts. »

...

« You'll see ! There's nothing to be done for Bruckner without a scalpel. As he is at present, he will never really take his place in the repertoire. I've done my best to make him five. Possibly, the 3 symphonies I've done here with the Philharmonic will be the ones most often performed, but with all the cuts I've made. »

(February 1901)

These remarks, which reflect the mature Mahler's considered judgement concerning Bruckner's music, may be compared with 2 other passages in Natalie's unpublished manuscript.

One day, in January 1900, when she was passing the monument to Bruckner in the « Stadtpark » in Vienna, Natalie witnessed the following scene which she later described to Mahler :

« 2 small boys, upon seeing this tiny bust dwarfed between the 2 immense figures crowning it with laurels, had exclaimed :

“ The little fellow is too small for all that fuss ! ” »

A remark that had neatly summed up both the disproportion inherent in his work and Mahler's true opinion. (« Der Mann is z'klan für die G'schicht. » , January 1900. The words are Natalie's, but it is clear from the context that Mahler shared her opinion.)

A year later, after having re-read Bruckner's First Symphony (**WAB 101**) , his unfavourable opinion was re-inforced :

« The beautiful theme returns (unchanged !) , followed anew by the most appalling wilderness (“

ärgerste Wüstenei »). The conclusion is grandiose but bears no relation, either profound or superficial, to the rest. »

(29 September 1901)

Given these severe views, it is no surprise that Mahler treated Bruckner's Fifth in a « sacrilegious » way. The score at his disposal, newly-published by Ludwig Döblinger, and already considerably retouched and abridged by Franz Schalk, had been conducted in its entirety in 1898 and 1899 by Ferdinand Löwe. Now, Max Vancsa, in the « Neue Musikalische Presse », reproached Mahler with « passing himself off as a pupil and disciple of Bruckner, when his whole decadent and excitable personality remains fundamentally detached from the naive creativity of a genius like Anton Bruckner (or indeed like Beethoven) », who simply followed his abundant inspiration rather than producing intellectually contrived compositions ». Theodor Helm accused Mahler of having « torn to shreds » the first movement of the Fifth Symphony and, in so doing, having justified those who complained of the Master's « lack of logic and clarity ». Like many other critics, the Viennese correspondent of the « Neue Zeitschrift » thought Bruckner incapable of coping with large musical structures and added that, because of his lack of any « sense of form », his music was made up of a succession of « little phrases ». Helm berated Mahler for having « violated » Bruckner's tempos by accelerating them beyond all reason in order to reach the Finale, the only movement he had conducted with « unparalleled power, dash, virtuosity, beauty of sound and intelligence ». Whereas the « snobs » among the Philharmonic public had perhaps applauded more warmly the work thus abridged, he added, « the connoisseurs were filled with boundless fury and bitterness at such a shameful mutilation of the first half of an immortal creation » (Helm notes in his memoirs that Ferdinand Löwe conducted an un-cut performance at the « Konzertverein » several months later, on 12 December 1901). Beside this « colossal Symphony », the 2 other pieces on the programme, Weber's little Chinese Overture, « Turandot » (*), and Dvořák's Serenade, Opus 44, for wind instruments (receiving its first Viennese performance) had seemed, according to Helm, very light weight. Helm was indignant that the audience should have been « so naive and puerile » as to encore the Trio of this Serenade, before the repeat of the Minuet. Max Kalbeck judged that the listeners had given the work a triumphal welcome because, in it, Dvořák showed no ambition other than to « make music ».

An opinion not shared by Mahler himself, who had derived great pleasure from conducting Dvořák's little masterpiece :

« Several people sit down and engage in the loveliest music-making, with more in it than in many big orchestral works. It shows how enjoyable and genuinely musical Dvořák's talent is, when confined to a small frame. But when he tries to be big, he becomes empty and pompous. »

(February 1901)

Unlike Helm, Robert Hirschfeld found the Serenade indescribably « charming ». Although in principle opposed to all abridgement, he made an exception in the case of Bruckner, who made a practice of « piling block upon block, with new ideas in between ». Max Kalbeck whole-heartedly agreed because, to his mind, Bruckner wrote down anything that crossed his mind, so that his scores often resembled a collage of sketch-books. Bruckner would have been far greater if he had practised « order, clarity and economy », and Mahler had done him a service by making cuts and putting on such a brilliant performance.

(*) Mahler probably chose this Overture, based on an « authentic » Chinese theme noted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, because of its piquant orchestration, but Theodor Helm saw it as merely a « witty curiosity » .

1901 : A large semi-detached luxurious villa (duplex) is built for Carl Moll and Koloman Moser by architect Josef Hoffmann at « Steinfeld-Gasse » Numbers 6-8 on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling, a fashionable residential area in Vienna's 19th District : the first of a planned residential colony for wealthy clients.

...

Foundation in Vienna of Universal-Edition (at the suggestion of a brother-in-law of Johann Strauß, among others) through the collaboration of 3 existing publishers : Josef Weinberger, Adolf Robitschek, and Bernhard Herzmannsky (of Ludwig Döblinger) - with the aim of creating Austrian editions of Classical composers, and providing educational materials for schools. Emil Hertzka joins the Vienna-based music publishing-house.

Announced in the « Wiener Tagblatt » newspaper, the new publishing-house intended to counteract the domination of music-traders from foreign countries in Vienna. It was a kind of « declaration of independence in the interests of cultural policy » for the capital city of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. With its approximately 2 million inhabitants, Vienna was one of the largest cities in the world at the time and the Imperial and Royal Ministry of the Interior gave its approval for the new joint-stock company without putting up any serious obstacles.

The name of the new publishing-house was both its strategy and its manifesto. It signified the whole world of music, which meant there was a lot of ground to cover. Franz-Josef Haydn's piano sonatas were awarded catalogue number 1. Number 1000, just 3 years later, was a piano score of Ludwig van Beethoven's « Missa solemnis » . When the « success that had been anticipated too eagerly had not yet materialized » , as Hertzka's successor Alfred Schlee once phrased it, Universal-Edition gained « the face for which it is now known around the world » (Schlee) with its programmatic re-alignment. No documentation exists on the motives behind Hertzka's decision to change the profile of the publishing-house so dramatically. In any case, Universal-Edition would focus on contemporary composers from that point on.

Hertzka did not have any musical training, but he did have a first-rate musical advisor in Josef Venantius von Wöb. Hertzka also allowed himself to be guided by his own keen instinct and became one of the most important promoters of modern music ever experienced in music history. Even from a purely statistical perspective, the effects of his approach can already be perceived in his first few years as Director.

In 1909, Herzmannsky finally hands over all his Mahler rights - and the Bruckner ones - to Universal-Edition, which, at the same time, purchases those of the earlier symphonies from Waldheim-Eberle, and thus, becomes Gustav Mahler's principal publisher.

Universal publishes piano scores for 4 hands (by Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe) of Bruckner's Symphonies Nos. 1, 2, 3,

5, and 6. After acquiring the rights to the Ninth from Döblinger in 1904, it publishes a pocket edition (edited by Ferdinand Löwe) . The archives of Peters Music reveal that, in 1906, Universal offered Hinrichsen the rights to all of Bruckner's symphonies and Mahler's first four for a total sum of 160,000 Marks (Mahler was not even informed of the negotiations which led to their inclusion in the Universal catalogue) . Himichsen did not accept, and it was only in 1910 that Universal acquired the rights to Bruckner's Eighth Symphony (WAB 108) and the « Te Deum » (WAB 45) .

As the publishing-house's reputation grew, so too did the number of works by its composers. The selection of these works ultimately lay with the publishing-house, of course, and we can only look back in amazement at the certainty with which Hertzka continued his strategy. One major composer was added to the publishing-house catalogue almost every year.

Thursday, 7 November 1901 : Gustav Mahler meets the 22 year old Alma Schindler, « daughter of Austria's most important landscape painter » (Alma's very own words) .

Alma's passion for the composer Alexander Zemlinsky evaporates, as gradually does the family's anti-Semitic bias.

Alma disdains her step-father, Carl Moll, « who looks like one of those kitschy carved wooden statues of St. Joseph » .

Alma writes :

« “ But you'll come to the Opera ? ”

Hesitantly, I said yes.

“ Word of honour ? ”

The evening was over. I felt depressed and sure of having caused all sorts of misunderstandings. An unfortunate, innate shyness never let me be myself with strangers ; either I lapsed into bewildered silence or I put up a false, brazen front, as I had that night. My step-father and I discussed my new acquaintance at length and were not wholly pleased. Mahler had been talking as to a mass meeting : “ Yes, but I tell you ”, and so forth. You felt that years of power and a helplessly submissive retinue had put this man on a road that was lonely and getting lonelier, I did not think much about this impression at the time, but it probably flattered me that he had concerned himself with me alone.

Early next morning, I called for « Frau » Zuckermandl and her sister. At the Opera, Mahler was already waiting impatiently. He helped me out of my coat, rudely neglecting to do the same for the 2 ladies. With awkward gestures, my coat still over his arm, he invited us to step into his office. The women, both apparently insensitive to the submerged spiritual vibrations in the place, began to harangue him, while I stood by the piano rummaging in his music sheets. I was quite incapable of making small talk. Mahler kept stealing glances at me ; not quite without malice, I disdained to rescue him, I was young, reckless, unimpressed by glamour and position. The one thing that would have humbled me was Mahler's inner importance, which I still failed to see. Even so, my merry “ nonchalance ” was slightly shaken by a mysterious respect.

“How did you sleep, 'Fraulein Schindler' ? ”, he asked me across the room.

“Fine. Why not ? ”

“I didn't sleep a wink all night. ”, he said, and I gave some silly answer which I am glad to have forgotten. »

...

« (...) my mother and I went to the (Vienna) Opera. It was “Orpheus and Eurydice”. Almost at once, I discovered Mahler in the director's box. There was nothing wonderful in that. Every opera fan knew Mahler's box. What was a wonder, however, was that he had discovered me at once too. After that a full-dress flirtation began - a thing nobody would have believed possible of such a man, who, if anything, carried seriousness too far.

In the intermission, we went into the “foyer” and there stood Mahler as though conjured up from the floor. He hurriedly requested to be introduced to my mother, who was not present on the evening of our first meeting. Soon, we were surrounded by inquisitive onlookers, and so, Mahler proposed our retreating to his private room, where, since the occasion of the dress-rehearsal, I felt myself at home. I sat down, as before, at the piano and left my mother and Mahler to themselves. A mutual sympathy drew them together immediately and forever.

“You live on the Hohe Warte ? That is my favourite walk. ”

“Then, you must come and see us one day. ”

“I certainly shall. But when ? Soon ? ”

“That is for you to say. ”

He got up to consult his large engagement book and suggested the following Saturday. I was asked whether I was at liberty that day. I had a lesson in counterpoint with Robert Gound, but I promised to put it off.

As we left, I said I should like to be engaged as conductor of the orchestra at the Opera and he promised in all seriousness to let me try my hand : it would give him at least great pleasure. I replied that that was not enough : his verdict would not, I thought, be impartial. To which he replied, “No verdict is ever impartial. ” We parted in high-spirits, feeling that something great and beautiful had come into our lives.

We had a “rendez-vous” with Moll and Max Burckhard in a restaurant after the performance. My mother told them guilelessly of our encounter with Mahler, but it would have been better to say nothing. Moll was furious.

“You mean to tell me you took an innocent girl, your own daughter, into the private room of a roue like him ? ”

Mahler, ascetic though he was, had a lurid reputation. In fact, he was a child and women were his dread. It was only because I was a stupid, inexperienced girl that I took him off his guard. »

Wednesday, 27 November 1901 : The Molls invite for the first time Gustav Mahler at their semi-detached Villa (built by architect Josef Hoffmann) located at « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 6 on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling, a fashionable residential area in Vienna's 19th District. They will make efforts to have cordial relations with their future son-in-law, merely putting their socially acceptable anti-Semitism on hold. But Carl Moll was not enthusiastic about having Mahler join the family, unwelcome on at least 2 counts as a Jew and as a rival artist.

Alma writes :

« Mahler now came to see me every day and stayed until late at night. He often had to walk the whole way from the “Hohe Warte” to the “Rennweg”, as the buses had stopped running. But that did not worry him. He sang and whistled on his way.

Mahler kept our secret from Justine out of fear of her jealousy. One day, they went for a walk after lunch. When they reached the “Ringstraße”, he greeted a man whom she recognized as the painter, (Carl) Moll ; they had both met him on the same occasion not long before. “What a charming man he is.”, she said. “Yes”, he replied without thinking, “but you ought to know her mother !”»

Mahler was hungry for extended family. He was happy to acquire Anna and Carl Moll as in-laws. Carl was actually a year younger than Mahler, the age his brother Ernst would have been had he survived. Both Moll and Mahler were deeply involved in the cultural life of Vienna. As time went on, a sense of comradeship developed in Mahler's relationship to his nominal step-father-in-law. In 1910, Carl had an automobile that would be used for excursions and for the Mahlers' house-hunting.

Tuesday, 10 December 1901 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Ferdinand Löwe conducts the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Programme

Josef Reiter : Prelude from the Opera « Totentanz » (Dance of Death) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 35 in D major, « Haffner » (KV 385) .

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major, Franz Schalk edition of 1894 (**WAB 105**) - orchestration changes in Wagnerian fashion ; cut of 122 bars from the middle of the Finale ; off-stage brass band composed of 11 extra players in the Finale.

January 1902 : Gustav Mahler gets engaged to Alma Schindler.

February 1902 : Alma Schindler is pregnant with the first daughter.

Sunday, 9 March 1902 : Gustav Mahler and Alma Schindler get married at the « Karlskirche » in Vienna. Mahler slips and falls from the kneeling board. General merriment ensues in which he happily takes part. The couple honeymoon in frozen St. Petersburg, where Gustav concertizes, gets a migraine and a horrible cold on the train.

The Molls will have cordial relations with their new son-in-law, merely putting their socially acceptable anti-Semitism on hold. (It can scarcely be said that it evaporated.)

Alma writes :

« Mahler went to the church on foot in galoshes, as it was raining hard ; my mother, Justine and I drove. There was no one in the “ Karlskirche ” except ourselves and the witnesses, (Carl) Moll and (Arnold) Rosé. It was early in the day. When it came to kneeling down, Mahler misjudged the hassock and found himself on the stone flags ; he was so small that he had to stand-up again and make a fresh start. We all smiled, including the priest. There were six of us at the wedding-breakfast, a rather silent occasion, and our guests took their departure immediately afterwards, leaving us alone to pack and drive to the station. As the wedding had been publicly announced to take place in the evening, a crowd of inquisitive people must have come to the church in vain. »

1902 : A small case containing part of Anton Bruckner's correspondence is delivered in Linz to the Master's beloved biographer, August Göllerich junior. He will return it after use to the monastery of St. Florian.

Autumn of 1902 :

Alma writes :

« He (Mahler) played me the completed Fifth Symphony. It was the first time he had ever played a new work to me and we climbed arm-in-arm up to his hut with all solemnity for the occasion. When he had done, I told him of all that won my instant love in this magnificent work, but also that I was not sure about the chorale at the end. I said it was hymnal and boring.

He disagreed, and protested :

“ Yes, but Bruckner ... ”

I said :

“ He, yes ; but not you. ”

On the way down through the wood, I tried to make clear to him the radical difference between his nature and Bruckner's. I could not feel he was at his best in working-up a church chorale.

I was touching here on a rift in his being which often went so deep as to bring him into serious conflict with himself. He was attracted by Catholic mysticism, an attraction which was encouraged by those friends of his youth who changed their names and were baptized. His love of Catholic mysticism was, however, entirely his own. »

Interestingly, although Mahler cut the Finale of Bruckner's Fifth when he performed it in 1901, his cuts left all of Bruckner's fugal writing intact, which suggests that he felt no anxiety about any possible influence this music may have had on his own creative imagination.

Monday, 3 November 1902 : Birth of Maria Anna Mahler, nicknamed « Putzi » .

Wednesday, 10 December 1902 : Gustav Mahler sets out for Weimar to see Rudolf Krzyżanowski, the conductor of the Weimar Opera. During a walk to the Belvedere, with Krzyżanowski, the latter proves as « kind and trusting as always » . Having found, moreover, that the « friendliest relations » has been established between Emma and the Krzyżanowski family, Gustav leaves Weimar again with a load off his mind.

Around 1903 : When Gustav Mahler was asked by Anton Bruckner's biographer August Göllerich junior to comment on their relationship during his student years, he offered a somewhat intricate explanation in this letter :

« I was never Bruckner's student. This hearsay may have originated because in my younger years, which I spent in Vienna, I was always to be seen with Bruckner and, in any case, was among his special devotees and propagators. (...) My involvement with him lasted until the completion of his Seventh. I still recall with pleasure that, one beautiful morning during a lecture at the university, he called to me from the lecture-hall (to the astonishment of my colleagues) and played to me the wonderful theme of the Adagio on a very dusty piano. Given his nature, with which you are of course familiar, and which, at the time, still had a youthful, almost child-like, untroubled happiness, and a deep-seated trusting confidence that permitted a friendship to arise between us despite the great difference in our ages, I naturally gained awareness and understanding of his life and his striving, which could not fail to influence my own development as an artist and a person. And so, I can be counted among his “ students ” with greater justification than most of the others and will always be so with thankful reverence. »

...

« I was never Bruckner's pupil. The general belief that I was is probably attributable to the fact that I was regularly to be seen with Bruckner during my years as a student in Vienna and was always one of his greatest admirers and supporters. Indeed, I believe that my friend Krzyżanowski

(working in Weimar, at present) and I were the only ones at the time.

This would have been in the years 1875-1881. The letters which he sent me over a number of years are of very little interest. My involvement with him lasted until the completion of the Seventh Symphony. I still recall with pleasure that, one beautiful morning during a lecture at the University, he called to me from the lecture-room (much to the astonishment of my colleagues) and played me the marvellous Adagio-theme on a very old piano. In spite of the great difference in age between us, Bruckner's invariably happy, youthful and almost child-like disposition and his trusting nature made our relationship a real friendship, and so, it was natural that as I gradually came to appreciate and understand the trials and tribulations of his life my own development as a man and artist could not fail to be influenced by his. Indeed, I feel that I have more right to call myself his "pupil" than most of the others, and I shall always do so with respect and gratitude. »

Mahler, thus, states that, while he was influenced by Bruckner during his formative years, he was not actually his student, yet, because of the sympathy and understanding he felt for him, he had a greater claim to be considered his student than others who actually were. It is already possible to sense the ambivalence that was to characterize many later accounts of Mahler's relationship with Bruckner, a willingness to link them together co-existing with a reticence to invest fully in their affiliation.

According to Alma, Mahler enjoyed telling the following story to illustrate some of Bruckner's teaching methods ; in order to explain the resolution of dissonances, Bruckner would use scraps of cloth.

« He (Bruckner) was not, strictly speaking, Mahler's teacher, but he had a regard for him as a young man of promise. Very odd stories about his methods of teaching went the round. His methods were simple but graphic.

He used to ask his pupils :

"Know what a suspension in music is ? No ? Well, look here."

He produced a filthy bit of rag out of his trouser-pocket.

"Dirty, eh ? That's a discord."

Next, he pulled out a rather cleaner one.

"There, you see - that's better. Been resolved."

And now, he displayed a snow-white handkerchief.

"There you are - and now, we're in the tonic." »

Although Bruckner's methodology may have been somewhat naïve, his music was nevertheless considered « advanced » for its time.

In his short monograph of Mahler, which appeared in 1905 and was surely examined by the composer himself, Richard

Specht wrote :

« (It) is just as incorrect as those who claim that he had been a pupil of Bruckner. (...) Mahler was never taught by Bruckner, and it is hard to discern a specific influence of the older master symphonist upon the younger. »

Two of the earliest writings on Mahler - an essay by Arthur Seidl that forms part of a longer study of his, and Ludwig Schieder's monograph - present a view of the Mahler - Bruckner relationship that was emphatically refuted by Mahler's first official biographer, Richard Specht, who was evidently under instructions from Mahler to demolish the myth that was then in the process of being created.

In 1900, Schieder wrote :

« The young Mahler continued his studies at the University, while, at the same time, the inner-secrets of music began to become clear to him at the city's Conservatory. It was Anton Bruckner who helped to reveal them to him. »

However, in his small monograph of 1905, Specht insisted :

« Mahler never attended Bruckner's classes, and, apart from a certain predilection for the innocent beauty of the thunderous chorale-like passages that are found in both composers' works, it is difficult to perceive any specific influence on the part of the older symphonist on the works of the younger one. »

As noted, Mahler conformed to the discipline imposed by the Conservatory, in so far as the chamber works he wrote during his student days were hardly more advanced than those of Schumann and Brahms. Moreover, his tastes, goals, and artistic conceptions were all diametrically opposed to those of Bruckner, despite the latter's « influence » on his own development, which he himself later acknowledged.

As Bruno Walter states :

« I often heard him call Bruckner his forerunner, asserting that his own creations followed the trail blazed by his senior Master. Of course that was over 40 years ago, in the days of Mahler's Second, the symphony which, more vividly than all his other works, reveals his affinity with Bruckner. Yet, from the Third Symphony on, his development was marked by an ever increasing deviation from Bruckner's course. I cannot recall Mahler making the same remark during later years. Nevertheless, down to his latest works, we meet with occasional features which might be called Brucknerian. »

As to why the later relationship between the older and the younger composer never became close, it is essential to bear in mind their vastly different personalities.

Paul Stefan, quoting Theodor Rättig and others, noted :

« Bruckner always spoke of Mahler with great respect, was in frequent contact with him, and often played to him from his older and newer works. »

Yet - and this according to Max Auer too - while Bruckner spoke admiringly of Mahler, he added that his « Jewishness » troubled him. However, Bruckner had followed Mahler's early career as a conductor with a good deal of interest, and it is more likely that what really troubled him was the young man's lively, critical, innovative, and non-conformist mind. Contact between the 2 men grew less frequent between 1880 and 1890.

Wednesday, 11 February 1903 (at 7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary concert jointly organized by the Vienna Academic Wagner Society and the « Konzertverein » .

Ferdinand Löwe conducts the mixed-choirs of the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » and the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , and the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

Soloists : Agnes Bricht-Pyllemann, soprano ; Gisela Körner, alto ; Hermann Winkelmann, tenor ; Richard Mayr, bass.

According to the cellist Josef Laser, Löwe rehearsed with parts made from the original manuscript, but made numerous alterations in the course of the rehearsals, which eventually resulted in a comprehensive revision. (The Wagner Society also organized 4 days beforehand, in a small hall, a lecture by Rudolf Louis, followed by a complete performance of the piano version of the work, which Löwe played, as he was later to conduct the work itself, entirely from memory.)

During the concert, each movement was enthusiastically applauded. At the end, the work received a long ovation and the conductor was presented with 2 laurel wreaths. Vienna seemed to have set its heart on making amends for the unjust way it had treated the lonely old artist who had suffered so much from the indifference of his contemporaries. But, in spite of the enthusiastic applause and the unanimous praise of the critics, this triumph remained a « succès d'estime » .

The young Anton Webern joined the Academic Richard Wagner Society at the beginning of the concert-season (30

October 1902) . He attends the premiere and is overwhelmed.

From Leopold Nowak's « Foreword » :

« The first performance of the Ninth Symphony took place in Vienna on 11 February 1903, 7 years after Bruckner's death ; it was Ferdinand Löwe who took this step, conducting the Orchestra of the “ Wiener Konzertverein ”. He had, however, “ been zealous in carrying out retouchings and changes in instrumentation throughout all of the many rehearsals ”, (Max Auer) and, in the event, the work was clad in a quite different overall sound from the one the composer had in mind. Löwe did all this with the best of intentions and his services to Bruckner's work as a whole are still recognized as being among the greatest that anyone has ever performed for the Master of “ Sankt Florian ”. But when, on 2 April 1932, Siegmund von Hausegger and the Munich Philharmonic played the familiar version followed by the original, the invited audience were in no doubt as to how Bruckner himself had wanted his Ninth to sound. »

That evening, Mahler conducted at the Opera and did not, therefore, attend the concert, but he knew the score well, and described it, in 1906, as « the peak of absurdity » (« Gipfelpunkt des Unsinnns ») . His revered friend's swan-song, one of his most profound works, still failed to convince him that, as an artist, Bruckner was anything but a « colossus with feet of clay » (unpublished passage from a letter sent to Alma from Salzburg, on 18 August 1906) .

1903 : Bernhard Herzmandsky launches an ambitious project, the publication of Anton Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) and that of his 2 Masses, edited in collaboration with Universal-Edition.

...

During a visit to Lemberg (Lviv, now in Ukraine) , Gustav Mahler writes to Alma :

« Life here has a very odd look all its own. But the oddest of all are the Polish Jews who run around as dogs do elsewhere. My God, are these my relations ? I can't tell you how idiotic theories of race appear in the light of such examples ! »

At the instigation of Carl Moll, the Modern Gallery (today, the « Österreichische Galerie Belvedere ») is created in the Lower-Belvedere Palace in Vienna.

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

Paul Stefan studies philosophy, law, art history and music at the University of Vienna. He also takes private music lessons with Arnold Schöenberg and Hermann Grädener. He receives his doctorate in philosophy in **1904**.

1904 : Franz Schalk gets married in Edgware near London to singer Lady Lili von Hopfen (1873-1967) , the daughter of the Bavarian noble, Lord Hans Ritter von Hopfen (until 1888, Mayer) (1835-1904) - a Doctor of philosophy and popular poet, who has been the general-secretary of the German Schiller Foundation in 1865-1866 - and Baroness Auguste von Wehli (1846-1878) of Eisenbach.

Brother-in-law : Otto Helmut Hopfen (born in 1870 ; died after 1914) , doctor of philosophy, farmer and writer.

The brilliant « Frau » Lili will fiercely protect the memory and the Bruckner estate of her late-husband.

In addition to his duties at the Vienna Court Opera, Franz Schalk succeeds Ferdinand Löwe as conductor of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») - a very prestigious post that he will hold for the next 17 years (until 1921) and which will provide him important opportunities for the performance of Bruckner's music.

Universal-Edition buys the Leipzig and Munich publishing-house of Josef Aibl, whose catalogue includes most of Richard Strauß's early symphonic poems (notably « Don Juan » , « Aus Italien » , « Till Eulenspiegel » , and « Tod und Verklärung ») and works by Max Reger and Franz von Suppé. Later contracts with Béla Bartók (1908) , Alfredo Casella, Anton Webern, and Alexander Zemlinsky (1910) , Karol Szymanowski (1912) , Leoš Janáček (1917) Ernst Křenek (1921) , Zoltán Kodály (1920) , Darius Milhaud (1922) and Bohuslav Martinů (1926) , and many others, made the firm the leading publisher of 20th Century music ; a position it took up again after 1945. Universal has also published the complete works of Claudio Monteverdi and Giovanni Gabrieli.

February 1904 : Alma Mahler is 5 months pregnant with the second daughter.

Wednesday, 15 June 1904 : Birth of Anna Mahler, nicknamed « Gucki » .

Summer 1904 : Gustav Mahler re-reads Anton Bruckner's scores, and again, judges them harshly.

Late-June 1904 : Letter from Gustav Mahler to Alma :

« My dear one,

The (Oscar) Wilde is quite a thrill, but spurious. He has got hold of a good idea and ruined it with caprice and dilettantism. I should not bother to read it if I were you. Now that I've worked my way through Brahms, I've fallen back on Bruckner again. An odd pair of second-raters. The one was " in the casting ladle " (i.e. , Peer Gynt) too long, the other not long enough. Now, I stick to Beethoven. There are only he and Richard - and, after them, nobody. Mark that ! You can count on

enjoying the Wagner-Wesendonck letters ! It was a positive necessity to disinfect the mind of those paltry “ followers of ”.

I kiss you many times.

Your,

Gustav »

July 1904 : In a letter to Alma, Gustav Mahler dismissed Anton Bruckner together with Johannes Brahms - whom he had called « a puny little dwarf with a rather narrow chest » beset by a poverty of invention - as second-raters unable to compare with Ludwig van Beethoven and Richard Wagner :

« Now that I've worked my way through Brahms, I've gone back to Bruckner again. Peculiar mediocre people ! The one was “ in the casting ladle ” too long, the other not long enough. Now, I am with Beethoven. It is just him and Richard - and otherwise nothing !! »

Friday, 25 November 1904 : Gustav Mahler leaves Vienna. Once in the train, he finds to his horror that all the other berths in his compartment are occupied, so that he must lie down fully-dressed. When he reaches Leipzig late the next morning, he is thoroughly exhausted. He is greeted at the station by the concert-master of the Winderstein Orchestra.

Sunday, 27 November 1904 : In Leipzig, Gustav Mahler lunches with his sister Emma, who came along with her husband for the last rehearsals of the Winderstein Orchestra and the concert. Afterwards, Mahler pays a visit to Max Staegemann, who still directs the Leipzig Opera, and who « received him with great friendliness » . In the evening, he dines with Henri Hinrichsen, and they play a four-hand arrangement of a Bruckner symphony. Obviously, the director of Peters « Musikverlag » is particularly fond of Bruckner, and Mahler promises to send him the « old » score of the Third Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) (the one his four-hand transcription was based on) as well as the new one (*) .

It seems that Mahler did not enjoy this Bruckner evening :

« Secretly, I considered it a sacrifice, or payment of a debt of gratitude for his generosity, and a small compensation for what the failure of the Fifth had cost the poor devil ! »

(*) Letter from Mahler to Hinrichsen received on 6 December. Mahler acknowledges receipt of the « magnificent edition » of the score of the Fifth, as well as a Max Reger score which he promises to study « with great care » (« heiße Bemühungen ») . These last words are in quotation marks, which indicates that Mahler and Hinrichsen must have joked about the « care » one had to take in order to understand Reger's music.

Monday, 28 November 1904 : Fourth philharmonic concert held at the « Kongreßhalle-am-Zoo » in Leipzig. First modern music evening.

Gustav Mahler conducts the women's voices and the boy's choir of the Leipzig « Sing-Akademie » and the Winderstein Orchestra, which is re-inforced by private artists and the entire military band of the 107th Regiment.

Programme

Gustav Mahler : Symphony No. 3 in D minor. Soloist : Marie Hertzner-Deppe (mezzo-soprano) .

Robert Hirschfeld did not conceal his indignation after seeing so many people who seemed to enjoy the Third Symphony when so few of them had yet « learned to penetrate the profundity of Brahms or to feel the beating of Bruckner's heart » . What could one say of « these weak and impressionable men and women who accept compromises so readily » , who cared only for « novelty » and who mistook this music for « an organically developed world of sounds » ?

In the evening after the concert, Mahler cabled Alma :

« Leipzig, November (28) , 1904

My “ Almschili ” !

All the rehearsals are over and here I sit, quite shattered, enjoying a little peace with nothing but the performance in front of me. - And now, first of all : the orchestra, which yesterday was but a heap of ruins, a pile of unconnected noises, has now become an ordered structure. The stones took their places of their own accord at Arion's song, and I await today's performance with composure. Their behaviour has been charming, poor devils. Yesterday and today, I pitched into them for 4 hours at a stretch, and, instead of taking it in bad part, they bade me an enthusiastic farewell at the end of it.

The work is arousing tremendous interest throughout the town ; the leading critics came to both rehearsals and it is lucky I came here for the performance. Now for the details :

*I gave a look round during the first rehearsal yesterday and caught sight of someone standing at the back like a worshipper. It was “ Herr ” (Ernst Otto) Nodnagel ! At first, I was enraged, and then, touched. But what an eccentric ! In the afternoon, I went to (Max) Stägemann's. They were as cordial to me afterwards as before, asked after you and invited me to dinner. I had to decline as I was engaged to go to Hinrichsen. When I arrived (he had already telephoned to ask if he might come and fetch me) , I found him at the piano with **the piano edition for 4 hands of a Bruckner Symphony, playing one part with his hands and the second in his head. I sat down beside him and played it right through with him** - secretly regarding it as my tribute of gratitude for his generosity, and some little amends for the expenses the poor fellow incurred owing to the failure of the Fifth.*

Then, we were joined by Straube, a distinguished musician and charming person, and a fanatical admirer of mine.

A publisher, (Christian Friedrich) Kahnt, has just been in to see me. He begged me with passion for my new songs and ballads. I shall send him the piano editions from Vienna, and then, he will make me an offer.

And now addio, my “Almschl”. Nikisch has asked me to lunch tomorrow (by telegram, as he’s conducting in Berlin today) and, afterwards, I’m to play him my Fifth so as to initiate him into my intentions. In the evening, I set off home ; so, early-on the day after, Wednesday, I shall be with you ! A thousand kisses from

Your

“Gustl ” »

1906 : Music-publisher Peters is offered all Bruckner’s symphonies and Gustav Mahler’s first 4 symphonies for 160,000 Marks, but the firm baulks at the expense.

Tuesday, 14 to Monday, 20 August 1906 : Salzburg Festival.

Friday, 17 August 1906 (11:00 am) : « Aula academica » . Second orchestral concert as part of the music festival in honour of Mozart. The day before, Beethoven’s Fifth was performed.

After a refusal by Karl Muck, Richard Strauß accepts to conduct the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Overture to the opera « The Magic Flute » , K. 620.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : « Sinfonia concertante » in E-flat major for violin and viola, K. 364. Soloists : Lilli Petschnikoff (violin) , Alexander Petschnikoff (viola) .

Intermission

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

Gustav Mahler hears Bruckner’s last work for the first time. Archduke Maximilian Eugen of Austria is also attending.

As the days go by, Mahler’s exasperation with Salzburg and the artificial excitement of the festival is increasing. He bitterly regrets having abandoned his composing and the peace and quiet of his Carinthian retreat.

Saturday, 18 August 1906 : In a letter to Alma sent from Salzburg, Gustav Mahler makes scathing remarks about Bruckner's Ninth Symphony (WAB 109) .

His digestion begins to rebel against the local cuisine ...

« My dear “Almschili” !

*Yesterday was a day with driving rain. I spent the morning at a concert (conducted by Richard Strauß) . In honour of Mozart, **Bruckner's IXth was performed (the day before, it was Beethoven's Vth) . This work is the height of non-sense (*)** . Salzburg quivered with enthusiasm. It was a sort of musical “morning beer” with radishes and salty pretzels. Afterwards, in any case, a lot of Stiegel beer was drunk. I lunched afterwards with Strauß and Roller. Specht arrived at dessert, pale and slightly unsteady. Strauß took his leave and I spent an hour in quiet conversation with Specht (**), then donned my rented frock-coat and got ready for the party. Favoured with a personal address by his Imperial Highness, I staggered excitedly over to the buffet, drank something, devoured some bread and butter and slipped out to be at the Theatre for the 6 o'clock dress-rehearsal of “Figaro” (behind closed doors), which came off excellently. »*

...

My dear “Almschili” !

*Yesterday was distinguished by torrents of rain. I went to a concert in the morning (conducted by Richard Strauß) in honour of Mozart. **Bruckner's Ninth was performed (as, the day before, Beethoven's Fifth) . This work is the pinnacle of non-sense (*)** . Salzburg shook with enthusiasm. It was an orgy : a kind of musical early-morning radish drink with a pretzel stick. In any case, we drank a great quantity of Lager at Stiegel's tavern afterwards. Then, lunch with Strauß and (Alfred) Roller. (Richard) Specht (**), pale and somewhat uncertain, came in with the dessert. Strauß departed and I spent an hour over a quiet talk with Specht. Then donned a borrowed frock-coat and betook myself to the reception. After having been honoured by a few words from his Highness, I retired weak with excitement, to the buffet, had a drink, ate a sandwich, and evaporated to the theatre, where at 6:00 there began a most accomplished dress-rehearsal of “Figaro” (with locked doors) . Supped afterwards in the hotel with H. , Doctor. B. , Roller and Specht. Specht took train joyfully for Vienna. Strauß (this is truth) keeps on insisting that I should write an opera. He says I have great talent for it.*

Tuesday evening, “hurrah”, I shall be with you. Oh, had I never left you !

All my thoughts,

Your

“Gustl”

(*) « (...) Dieses Werk ist der Gipfelpunkt des Unsinnns. (...) » For obvious reasons, Alma deleted this sentence from the published version of the letter. Mahler's harsh verdict on Bruckner's Ninth is tempered by the fact that the Finale of his own Ninth clearly bears the mark of the lasting impression that Bruckner's final Adagio had made on him.

The Adagio of Mahler's Ninth Symphony, composed in 1909, opens with a theme that shows distinct similarities to the Adagio of Bruckner's Ninth, as do the movement's overall form, elements of its mood, and its position as the final movement of a symphony (a place it holds in Bruckner's work only because of the composer's inability to complete his intended Finale) .

The Viennese music historian and critic Paul Stefan even contended, probably over-playing his hand, that this movement, which was Mahler's first true Adagio since the Fourth Symphony, could not have come into being without a re-engagement with Bruckner :

« Mahler's late work is not conceivable without this Symphony of Bruckner's. »

Alma claims that, shortly before his death, Mahler renounced his author's rights for several years in order to allow Universal-Edition to add Bruckner's works to its list of publications. It has not been possible to find any evidence of Alma's claim in the Universal-Edition archives, but it is true that Universal-Edition undertook, from 1910 onwards, the promotion (hiring out of orchestral music scores) of all the works of Bruckner.

It is more tenable to say that, when Mahler composed an Adagio for his own Ninth, he responded to the Adagio of Bruckner's Ninth, and did so in ways that both emulated and countered his predecessor's work ; indeed, a Bloomian theory of creative misprision could make much of the fact that Mahler's Adagio quite explicitly appropriates salient elements of Bruckner's - beginning with the opening gesture, with its chromatic neighbour-note motif, and the inter-play of triadic sonorities with enharmonicism and prolonged dissonance - in ways that take back much of its predecessor's expressive agenda in favour of something related, yet, distinctly different. So, here again, we encounter Mahler verbally derogating and fending-off, in words and in music, precisely those aspects of Bruckner's music that had influenced him.

Another well-known incident presents a different aspect of Mahler's attitude toward the influence of Bruckner, this time involving each composer's Fifth Symphony.

(**) Richard Specht, one of the earliest and most fervent Mahlerians, was well-known for his drinking and drug-taking.

Sunday, 21 October 1906 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Otto Nicolai Concert Series : Bruckner Memorial Gala-Concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Wednesday, 7 November 1906 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor, « Wagner Symphony » , 1873 version (**WAB 103**) .

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. 3 (« The Great ») in F minor for soloists (SATB) , mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 28**) . Soloists : Leonore Bach, soprano ; Bertha Katzmayer, alto ; Hermann Winkelmann, tenor ; Nicola Zec, bass.

Universal-Edition buys the rights of several of Bruckner's symphonies from Waldheim-Eberle and Ludwig Döblinger, and of some works by Max Reger and Richard Strauß formerly published by Josef Aibl. By virtue of the 1906 contract, Universal acquires Mahler's first 4 Symphonies (hitherto in the catalogues of Döblinger and Josef Weinberger) . This purchase greatly facilitates their diffusion. Furthermore, the piano transcriptions for 4 hands and the pocket scores are published simultaneously. In backing Mahler in this, Universal is making a brave decision. Mahler's record as a composer is anything but brilliant. By 1906, every one of his symphonies, except the Third, had unsuccessful premieres.

The vexing question of the publication of Gustav Mahler's works, along with the problem of their dissemination, was on the point of finding a definitive solution. It has already been pointed out that, by 1906, Universal-Edition had taken over Mahler's first 4 symphonies from Weinberger, Ludwig Döblinger, and Waldheim-Eberle, and had published them as pocket-scores. But, by 1907, Josef Weinberger, the prime mover of the new edition, was becoming increasingly more interested in his own catalogue, which contained all the finest examples of light-music in Austria. He was less and less interested in Universal-Edition, the fate of which was bound up with serious music. In consequence, he appointed Emil Hertzka, who had earlier directed the Austrian publishing firm of Gustav Lewy & Co. (or Löwy, Mahler's first impresario) , to superintend the new edition. Hertzka's main purpose from then on was to add new works (by Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Antonín Dvořák, Pablo de Sarasate, etc.) , and he consequently acquired them from various German and Austrian publishers. In 1909, they included not only Mahler's 3 last works, but also works by Franz Schreker, whose pantomime " Der Geburtstag der Infantin " had attracted much attention during the " Kunstschau " exhibition of 1908. Schreker was followed in 1910 by Arnold Schönberg and by several Czech composers such as Josef Bohuslav Fierster, Vítězslav Novák, and Josef Suk ; also by Alfredo Casella and Alexander Zemlinsky (1910) ; Ethel Smyth and Karol Szymanowski (1912) , Joseph Marx (1913) , and Frederick Delius (1914) . Leoš Janáček (1917) , Béla Bartók (1908) ,

Zoltán Kodály (1920) , Alban Berg and Anton Webern joined them soon after the First World War.

Although his editorial policies were anything but conservative, Hertzka's physical appearance and apparel were highly-traditional, and they never changed throughout his long life.

The following description was written many years later by his close associate Hans Heinsheimer :

« A tall, slim, and soft-spoken man, who never raised his voice or sounded irritable. He generally wore sombre, long-tailed jackets of frock-coatlike (" gehrockartige ") appearance and an old-fashioned cut, and accordion (" Harmonika-Hosen ") trousers that were never ironed, which were often livened (" leich belebt ") by pleated waist-coats of brown or black " moiré " velvet (" braune oder schimmernd-schwarze fahige Samtwesten ") . Never, even in a heat wave, or at garden parties in the " Kaasgraben " in Baden-Baden, when he was the guest-of-honour at music parties in the park of my parents' house, would he appear in shirt-sleeves, a pale yellow, summer jacket and a large straw hat were as far as he was willing to go in concession to informality (" frivole ' Nonchalance ' ") .

Hans Heinsheimer goes on to describe Hertzka's huge beard, the purpose of which was to conceal the neck scars of an operation he had undergone in his youth, rather than to compete with Johannes Brahms, God, or Wotan, as many malicious rumours or innumerable jokes hinted. In winter, Hertzka wore a broad-brimmed fedora hat, and, in summer, a white boater of similar size. He had sparkling and penetrating blue eyes. Slightly hard of hearing, his musical education was elementary which, according to Heinsheimer, was « an indispensable pre-condition (" Requisit ") for any successful publisher who should never allow himself to be influenced by personal tastes or prejudices » . As to his editorial instincts, they were « infallible and awesome » (« furchterregend ») . Until Hertzka's death, Universal-Edition remained his own creation : he searched for new composers and knew precisely how to entice them and keep them in bondage. He wrote all the important business letters and travelled incessantly, promoting his catalogue in distant countries such as America and the Soviet Union. His companions on such journeys were wise, competent, and faithful collaborators such as Josef Venantius von Wöb and Alfred Kalmus.

In 1908, when Hertzka took over the business, Universal-Edition's catalogue featured a large number of classical scores, notably including a series of critical editions that were supervised by Raoul Pugno, Julius Epstein, Arnold Rosé, Ignaz Brüll, and Heinrich Schenker. They comprised a large number of transcriptions for piano (2, 4, and 8 hands) , as well as numerous works for voice and piano. The first modern works included in the catalogue had been 5 Bruckner symphonies, in respect of which Ludwig Döblinger and Josef Eberle had given up their rights in exchange for shares in Universal-Edition. The rights for Mahler's Fourth Symphony had been taken over from Döblinger in 1903, and a number of contemporary works had been purchased in 1904 with the catalogue of the Munich publisher Josef Aibl. Amongst these were compositions by Max Reger, as well as Richard Strauß's major symphonic poems, which Hertzka had already published in the form of study scores. When Hertzka assumed responsibility for Universal-Edition, he found liabilities amounting to no fewer than 900,000 Crowns (« Kronen ») , since the company - still only 7 years old - had not yet found a way of competing with older and larger firms such as Carl Friedrich Peters, Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, or Casa Ricordi, all of which were long established in music-publishing. During his first year with Universal-Edition, Hertzka's chief-concern was to place the company's finances on a sounder footing, and to formulate a new strategy for

the future. The first concrete result of this was a contract, dated 7 June 1909, in which Universal-Edition acquired all of Mahler's scores that had previously been owned by Waldheim-Eberle. According to the terms of the contract, Mahler himself retained the performing rights.

Later that same month, the enterprising Hertzka suggested to Mahler that the firm might now like to publish the most ambitious of the composer's scores - that of the Eighth Symphony - which had been languishing at the bottom of a drawer in a large metal container on « Auenbrugger-Gasse » .

1907-1911 : Alma Mahler was 3 times in New York between 21 December 1907 and 8 April 1911, together with her husband Gustav Mahler who worked at the Metropolitan Opera House until he became music-director of his own orchestra, the Philharmonic Society of New York.

1907 : An article written by Felipe Pedrell deals with Gustav Mahler and his first 6 symphonies. For Pedrell, the dominant influence on Mahler was that of Anton Bruckner, whose « fervent and grateful disciple » he was :

« From Bruckner, he learned all the scholastic algebra and controlled audacities, every one as sensible and irresistible as a theorem and as convinced as a creed ; all his musical seriousness and sincerity ; those formidable and titanic progressions that overwhelm the most indifferent listener ; the colossal simplicity of the “ Scherzos ”, the source of which is that of the Ninth ; and the introduction of the Austrian “ Ländler ” with its melodies saturated with poetry and untamed vitality. But Mahler overloads, amasses, and animates all this with instrumental and harmonic accumulations which, in spite of their peculiarities, extravagances, and anarchic boldness, never destroy the marvellous architectonic order of the composition nor threaten the intelligent scheme of the work. His work contains all of Beethoven and all the loftiness of Bruckner's solitary soul ; the proportions, capacities, and the conception of the works of Beethoven and Bruckner have been developed ; and that is all. »

Wednesday, 5 June 1907 : Gustav Mahler is in Berlin for a meeting with the New York impresario Heinrich Conried, director of the Metropolitan Opera House.

Conried, who has lured Enrico Caruso from Italy to America and staged Richard Wagner's sacred « Parsifal » outside of Bayreuth, thereby earning the enmity of the Wagner family, begins negotiations with Mahler to come to work for the Metropolitan.

Tuesday, 11 June 1907 : Official announcement of Gustav Mahler's contract with the New York Metropolitan Opera House (which was signed on the 21st) .

December 1907 : After years of disputes and intrigues, as well as great artistic success, Gustav Mahler leaves the Vienna Court Opera.

His farewell letter to the Opera House staff says :

« Dear members of the Court Opera,

It's come to this, our collaboration has ended. I'm leaving the stage that has become so dear to me, and saying farewell to you. Instead of leaving a completed project, as I had dreamed, I'm leaving a mass of wreckage behind me. In the heat of the battle, we were not spared wounds, but if a work was successful, we forgot the hurt and felt ourselves richly rewarded. Thank you for fighting with me and for your willingness to help me with my difficult, often thankless task.

I wish you all well. »

Gustav Mahler's musical farewell is a performance of his Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») .

An eye-witness writes :

« The applause was colossal, swelling to the force of a hurricane and bringing the composer to tears. Mahler was called back onto the stage 30 times, women were weeping and waving handkerchiefs. The cries of "Hoch, Hoch" would not stop (...) »

Monday, 9 December 1907 : Gustav and Alma Mahler leave Vienna for Paris, where they spend a few days, then, sail for New York during the middle-weeks of the month.

An impromptu gathering of admirers, mainly made-up of Arnold Schönberg's students, sees them off at the train station. Among those present are Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Gustav Klimt, Alfred Roller and many others.

Schönberg feels a serious sense of loss with Mahler's departure from Vienna, as it was mainly Mahler who supported the work of him and his pupils ; this is a large part of the even bigger crisis experienced by Schönberg over the next year.

Sunday, 15 December 1907 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.. Third subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. I in C minor (WAB 101) .

César Franck : « Le Chasseur Maudit » (The Accursed Huntsman) , Symphonic-poem for orchestra (M. 44) (1882) , inspired by the ballad « Der wilde Jäger » (The Wild Hunter) by the German poet Gottfried August Bürger.

Saturday, 21 December 1907 : This year of horrors for Gustav Mahler comes to a close with his arrival in New York on the Transatlantic ship « Kaiserin Augusta Viktoria » . He settles in a suite at the « Hotel Majestic » in Manhattan's Central Park West. Mahler's arrival in New York is preceded by a flurry of publicity that surpasses even the New Yorker's sensation-seeking best.

His performances at the Metropolitan Opera House went splendidly, but trouble was brewing behind the scenes. Heinrich Conried, who had hired Mahler, was forced out, partly because of Strauß's « Salome » « débâcle » , and the board expressed a desire to « work away from the German atmosphere and the Jew » . Giulio Gatti-Casazza, of La Scala in Milan, became the new manager, bringing with him the fire-brand conductor Arturo Toscanini. But another opportunity arose. The Society figure, Mary Sheldon, offered to set Mahler up with a star orchestra, and the New York Philharmonic was re-constituted to meet his needs. Mahler believed that this arrangement would allow him to present his own works and the « Classics » under ideal conditions.

He wrote home :

« Since (New Yorkers) are completely unprejudiced, I hope I shall here find fertile ground for my works, and thus, a spiritual home, something that, for all the sensationalism, I should never be able to achieve in Europe. »

Things did not turn out quite so rosy, but Mahler and America got along well. The conductor was no longer so addicted to perfection, nor did he hold himself aloof from society as he had done in Vienna.

On a good night, he would take all 70 of his musicians out to dinner (like at the « Liederkrantz » Club, located at 111-119 East 58th Street, east of Park Avenue ; the building's acoustics were such that it was used at one time by RCA Victor for recording sessions) . He went to dinner parties, attended an occult « séance » (spiritism session) , even poked his head into an opium den in China town. When traveling to a concert, he refused the assistance of a « chauffeur » , preferring to use the newly-constructed subway system. A Philharmonic musician once saw the great man alone in a subway-car, staring vacantly like any other commuter.

New York City during Mahler's years still had more horse-cars than automobiles, trolleys crowded the streets, and the subway was not yet 5 years in operation. The subway, opened in 1904 and operated by the Interboro Rapid Transit Company (IRT) , began at City Hall and divided into 2 lines at West 96th Street. In 1908, a new line was added, connecting the existing subway with a tunnel travelling under the East River into Brooklyn as far as Atlantic Avenue. Mahler would have disembarked at the Atlantic Avenue Subway Station, to conduct rehearsals at the Brooklyn Academy

of Music.

A New York friend, Maurice Baumfeld, recalled that Mahler loved to gaze out his high window at the city and the sky :

« Wherever I am, the longing for this blue sky, this sun, this pulsating activity goes with me. »

1907, early-1908 : Universal-Edition is on the brink of failing. To rescue the company, Emil Hertzka, born 1869 in Budapest, is appointed the new managing director of the Viennese music-publisher (replacing Arthur Fadüm) . He will remained in that position until his death in 1932.

At that time, the management offices of Universal-Edition are known for anything but sleepwalking. Hertzka is the catalyst for the most significant turning point in the publisher's history.

By purchasing smaller music-publishers, such as Albert J. Gutmann and the Vienna Philharmonic publishing-house, Hertzka was able to acquire the rights for Universal-Edition for other important composers such as Anton Bruckner, Max Reger, Richard Strauß and Franz von Suppé.

Confusion was fuelled by the dispersion of Bruckner's various works in the hands of several music-publishers with whom the composer had successively contracted. Sub-contracting relationships, such as the one between the firms Josef Eberle & Co. (which was essentially responsible for manufacturing the engraving of the works) and Carl Haslinger, which ensured their distribution and sale, or cases of take-over of one firm by another, added their cascades of editorial entropy, before Universal-Edition set out to gradually acquire the rights to the entire Brucknerian production, following a series of negotiations and buy-outs.

Emil Hertzka also moved contemporary music to the centre of its enterprise. By sound judgement, a keen sense of publishing politics, and skillful negotiation, Hertzka identified many of the leading progressive and « avant-garde » composers. By entering into agreements with other companies (e.g. , Josef Eberle, Josef Aibl, Adolph Fürstner, Bote & Bock, Nikolaus Simrock) in the first few years, he offered contracts to progressive composers like Gustav Mahler, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, Anton von Webern, Franz Schreker and Josef Bohuslav Fierster (most of them forged strong personal bonds with him) .

Alma writes :

« When I returned to Toblach that summer after leaving the sanatorium, Mahler told me that Hertzka of the Universal-Edition had been to see him. He had taken over Mahler's first 4 symphonies from Waldheim and Eberle. The terms of publication were that the symphonies were to earn 50,000 Kronen (\$ 10,000) before yielding Mahler any royalty. They were now within 2,500 Kronen of doing so, and Mahler was therefore just about to profit from them. Having made this clear, Hertzka went on to ask Mahler to forego his profits until a second sum of 50,000 had been

earned, on the ground that the Universal-Edition would like to take over the works of Bruckner also and advertise them at great expense. Mahler agreed at once. He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. »

From 1908 onwards : On the advice of Gustav Mahler, Universal-Edition and its new managing director Emil Hertzka undertake to acquire the copyrights of all the published Symphonies by Anton Bruckner to enrich to their own catalogue, which was one of the conditions for the possibility of a homogeneous and systematic « Critical Edition » .

Wednesday, 1 January 1908 : Gustav Mahler makes his « Metropolitan » Opera debut, in New York, conducting Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » .

« The influence of the new conductor was felt and heard in the whole spirit of the performance. It's comparable with the best that New York has known. »

(The « New York Times »)

January 1908 : Gustav Mahler wrote to Alfred Roller shortly after arriving in New York.

« Here, the dollar does not reign supreme ; it's merely easy to earn. »

Mahler will conduct « Don Giovanni » in January, « Die Walküre » and « Siegfried » in February, and « Fidelio » in March.

1908 : The German scholar, diplomat, jurist and statesman Wilhelm Solf gets married to Johanna (Hanna) Dotti.

They will have 2 children :

Daughter : So'oa'emalelagi Solf (known as « Lagi ») , born in Samoa in 1909. Her Samoan name translates as « she who has come from heaven » .

Son : Hans Heinrich Solf.

Solf's widow Johanna and « Lagi » will host the anti-Nazi « Frau Solf » Tea Party get-togethers.

...

Gustav Mahler meets Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony, rival of the Philharmonic. Gustav's contract forbids him from conducting the orchestra.

Mahler is overwhelmed by the megalopolis : sky-scrapers, Central Park West, and especially the subway, which he rides delightedly for amusement as though it were the « Prater » giant ferris-wheel back home.

Thursday, 23 April 1908 : Gustav and Alma Mahler leave New York, sailing back to Europe.

At the time, their Viennese apartment is located on the top-floor (4th) of the « Jugendstil » building designed by Otto Wagner located on « Auenbrugger-Gasse » Number 2 (facing the « Strohgasse ») , in the Third District of Vienna (« Landstraße ») near Belvedere Park.

Sunday, 10 May 1908 : Gustav and Alma Mahler arrive in Vienna. Mahler almost certainly resumes his contact with Arnold Schönberg at this time. Mahler spends only 1 week in Vienna, then, travels to Prague.

Early-June 1908 : Gustav and Alma Mahler are, again, in Vienna. The city is buzzing with preparation for Emperor Franz-Josef's « Jubilee » celebration, on **June 12th**. Wanting to escape the commotion, the couple decides to spend their summer at a farm-house in Toblach (now, Dobbiaco, in Italy) .

Summer 1908 : Gustav Mahler's banker, Paul Hammerschlag, visits during the summer. Mahler expresses his interest in Chinese music. Back in Vienna, Hammerschlag buys some phonograph cylinders of Chinese music and gives them to Mahler.

Saturday, 21 November 1908 : Gustav and Alma arrive again in New York, where they stay at the « Savoy » Plaza Hotel.

Maher begins his second season in America. He abandons the Metropolitan Opera House in favour of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. He conducts 3 concerts including his own Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») , and performances of Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » .

Saturday, 28 November 1908 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Extraordinary concert of the Society of Friends of Music on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the reign of

Emperor Franz-Josef.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Soloists : Tilly Cahnbley-Hinken, soprano ; Ilona Durigo, alto ; Hermann Winkelmann, tenor ; Anton Sistermans, bass ; Arnold Rosé, violin ; Rudolf Dittrich, organ.

Programme

Franz Liszt : « Coronation Mass » for soloists, choir, organ and orchestra.

Intermission

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

Tuesday, 8 December 1908 : At his second concert of the season, Gustav Mahler conducts the American premiere of the Symphony No. 2, « Resurrection » , with the New York Symphony Orchestra (enlarged to 115 players) to a flabbergasted audience at Carnegie Hall in Manhattan.

Soloists : Laura L. Combs (soprano) , Gertrude Stein-Bailey (contralto) , the Oratorio Society Choir of New York (200 singers) under choir-master Frank Damrosch.

According to the review in the « New York Tribune » , the performance lasted 1 hour and 25 minutes, including 2 intermissions of 5 minutes each.

1909 : The « Musikverein » Conservatory is nationalized. The resultant « Kaiserlich-Königliche Akademie » (Imperial and Royal Academy) becomes the predecessor to the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna.

Franz Schalk assumes the directorship of the Conductor School of the Vienna Music Academy (« Kapellmeister-Schule der Wiener Musik Akademie ») .

Gustav Mahler conducts Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's « Le nozze di Figaro » in New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia.

Tuesday, 16 February 1909 : Gustav Mahler is engaged as conductor in New York City. The ladies are excited about him. After all, he is the world's greatest conductor !

As the new music-director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Mahler includes a cycle of « historical concerts » in his first season.

Mahler wrote to Bruno Walter :

« I see everything in such a new light - am in such a state of flux, sometimes, I should hardly be surprised suddenly to find myself in a new body. (Like Faust in the last scene.) I am thirstier for life than ever before. (...) »

My Orchestra here is a real American orchestra, phlegmatic and un-talented. »

As Mahler was celebrated in New York, the music-publisher Rudolf Schirmer and his wife - accompanied by an armed detective - organizes an excursion for Gustav and Alma Mahler to visit a opium den in the China town, where « a creature with the most degenerate man-woman face you could imagine » took them into rooms lined with bunks on which lolled doped addicts. Up-stairs in a luxuriously furnished room, they watched a Chinese man slowly succumb.

Alma's account is more prurient than ethnographic :

« We were invited by the music-publisher, Schirmer, and his wife to dine with them one day and drive with them afterwards “down town”, into China town. The indispensable detective sat beside the “chauffeur”. We turned out of the busy streets into narrower ones which became by degrees quieter, narrower, darker and more uncanny. We got out, accompanied by the detective with a loaded revolver in his pocket, and went into an opium den. A creature with a sickeningly womanish face received us in an ante-room, where we had to put down a sum of money. He began, at once, to give us a long list of his successes with white ladies, and told us he acted female parts in the Chinese Theatre. A Chinese woman, of course, may not either act or look on in a theatre. He showed it in his face - it was the most degenerate man-woman face you could imagine. He showed us numerous photographs of American women he had - and he said the rest by gestures. Then, he conducted us into several small but high rooms, empty in the middle but furnished with bunks along the sides, each of which contained a stretcher ; and on each stretcher lay a doped Chinese with his head lolling into the room. Some of them raised their heads heavily as we approached, but, at once, let them sink again. It was a gruesomely horrible sight. They were simply dumped there to sleep-off their intoxication. They might be robbed or murdered while they were in this state and know nothing about it. The whole scene resembled a baker's shop with human loaves.

On now to a house-of-cards higher and higher, up into a room luxuriously furnished for strangers, cushions everywhere, and, beside each cushion, an opium pipe. And a Chinese, for payment, was ready to smoke a pipe on the spot while we watched him slowly succumb, rolling his eyes and twisting his limbs about. We were invited to smoke too, but declined with horror. Next, the theatre. Charming, but no play was being given. If it had been, no European would have been allowed among the audience. On again. Rats with long pig-tails slunk nimbly and rapidly along the walls of the stinking street.

On again. Small shops, small hotels, all silent. Finally, on the outskirts of this district, we came on the habitat of a religious sect. There was a large hall at the far-end of which sat a man with the

face of a fanatic playing hymns on a harmonium in a pronouncedly whining style. The benches were occupied by a starving congregation. We were given the explanation. For listening to those hymns and joining in - a cup of coffee and a roll. What wretchedness in those faces ! We pushed our way out, followed by hostile eyes, and, for long afterwards, we could still hear the flat notes of the hungry singers.

On again, and now the Jewish quarter. It was dark by this time. But here all was life and bustle, chaffering and shouting. The racial difference was staggering, but it was because the Jews worked day and night shifts to lose no time. The whole street was full from end to end of old clothes and rags. The air was heavy with the smell of food.

I asked Mahler softly in his own words :

“I can hardly believe that these are my brothers.”

He shook his head in despair.

With a sigh of relief, we, at last, turned a corner and found ourselves in a well-lighted street among our own sort of people. Can it be that there are only class and not race distinctions ? »

Gustav Mahler's experiences venturing into New York's China town with the great Russian basso Feodor Chaliapin during their collaboration at the Metropolitan Opera House, « in order to drown their sorrows in Chinese tea and to commiserate about those pesky rules that didn't allow these Europeans, who were accustomed to their words being taken as law, to rehearse as long and as often as they wished. (...) »

February 1909 : The Polish soprano Marcella Sembrich bids farewell to the Metropolitan Opera House with Mahler conducting. Mahler also conducts « Fidelio » .

Wednesday, 31 March 1909 : Suffering from influenza, Gustav Mahler conducts for the first time the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (a « trial » concert) .

Friday, 9 April 1909 : Gustav Mahler sets sail from New York to Paris, where he sits for sculptor Auguste Rodin.

Alma writes :

« (...) when we arrived in Paris in the spring, we were able to take a certain pleasure in life. They were days of blissful repose.

Carl Moll had had the wonderful idea of commissioning Rodin to do a bust of Mahler, and Sophie Clémenceau had contrived to represent it as Rodin's own wish to model a head which interested him so much. Mahler believed this - though with reservations - and agreed, as he never otherwise would have done. The sittings which followed were a marvelous experience.

Rodin fell in love with his model ; he was really unhappy when we had to leave Paris, for he wanted to work on the bust much longer. His method was unlike that of any other sculptor I have had the opportunity of watching. He first made flat surfaces in the rough lump, and then, added little pellets of clay which he rolled between his fingers while he talked. He worked by adding to the lump instead of subtracting from it. As soon as we left, he smoothed it all down and, next day, added more. I scarcely ever saw him with a tool in his hand. He said Mahler's head was a mixture of Franklin's, Frederick the Great's and Mozart's. After Mahler's death, Rodin showed me a head in marble, which he had done from memory, and pointed out how like these it was. A custodian of the Rodin Museum in Paris actually labelled it "Mozart".

One of his mistresses was always waiting patiently in the next room while he worked. This singular arrangement held good in whichever of his numerous studios he happened to be ; some girl or other with scarlet lips invariably spent long and unrewarded hours there, for he took very little notice of her and did not speak to her even during the rests. His fascination must have been powerful to induce these girls - and they were girls in what is called "society" - to put up, unabashed, with such treatment. But then, his own wife waited in Meudon all her life.

When we finally had to leave Paris, Rodin was quite unhappy. He would have liked to keep modeling Mahler forever. »

June 1909 : Emil Hertzka, the director of the Viennese music-publisher Universal-Edition signs his first contract with Gustav Mahler.

Hertzka will take-over a large part of Anton Bruckner's works from the Albert J. Gutmann publishing-house.

Mahler's generosity towards his « mentor » means agreeing to forego royalty payments due from the publication of his own works in order to finance Universal-Edition's projected publication of Bruckner's works.

Hertzka was an influential and pioneering music-publisher who was responsible for printing and promoting some of the most important European musical works of the 20th Century.

Monday, 7 June 1909 : Gustav Mahler grants Universal-Edition music-publishers in Vienna the rights to all works previously published by Josef Weinberger music-publishers and others.

July 1909 : A contract is concluded between Universal-Edition and Franz Schreker.

With a mandate to build the « greatest orchestra America has ever heard » , Gustav Mahler set out in the **summer of 1909** to hire the best musicians around. The old New York Philharmonic's base of permanent musicians had been depleted through competition, from other orchestras, and they would be replacement by players who, for the first time, would be selected a conductor rather than the musicians themselves. Of the 102 players listed in the spring 1909

music program, only 56 would appear on the roster for Mahler's opening-concert in **November**. The greatest changes occurred in the wind sections ; there were a fair number of adjustments in the second violins ; eventually, the entire timpani and percussion section would be replaced.

Monday, 6 September 1909 : Gustav Mahler lives in Vienna with his parents-in-law, the Molls, at their house located at Number 10 on « Woller-Gasse » on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling, a fashionable residential area in Vienna's 19th District.

October 1909 : Emil Hertzka, the director of the Viennese music-publisher Universal-Edition signs his first contract with Arnold Schœnberg.

Tuesday, 19 October 1909 : Gustav Mahler arrives in New York for the new concert-season as director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.

He meets press, and tells « Musical America » :

« The best orchestra in the world today is, to my mind, that of Vienna. Munich, Dresden, Berlin and Paris have splendid organization, but that of Vienna attained under Hans Richter a perfection that I know of nowhere else. »

During the few short months before Mahler officially took over the New York Philharmonic in **November 1909**, he began radically remaking the orchestra. Even before his first performance, he replaced almost 50 % of the musicians. In his first season, the number of concerts grew from 16 to 46 ; rehearsals were rigorous ; and the orchestra toured as far west as Pittsburgh. What had been a respected ensemble began to grow into a musical power house.

This met with some controversy, as seen through Mahler's spirited interaction with the Philharmonic musicians, guest-artists, the newly-powerful Musical Mutual Protective Union, the press, and local rivals.

When Mahler arrived in New York, the U.S. labour movement was reaching new levels of activity, drawing in all classes of society to both sides of the issue. In 1878, the New York City-based Musical Mutual Protective Union formed, taking the first steps toward unionizing musicians by establishing pay scales for different types of music.

One particular point of contention, protested successfully in 1897, was the wholesale importation of European musicians « as being instrumental in endangering the existence of musicians in this country and depreciating their opportunities to earn a respectable livelihood as American citizens » .

The movement quickly grew more robust, developing into the American Federation of Musicians.

4 November 1909 to 2 April 1910 : Gustav Mahler conducts 44 concerts with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, including a series of 6 « historical concerts » . Notable works included in the programmes are Mahler's own First Symphony (« Titan ») , Richard Strauß's « Till Eulenspiegel » , and Sergei Rachmaninov's Third Piano Concerto with the composer himself at the piano.

Mahler's ambition is to make the Philharmonic the greatest Orchestra in America (hoping to replicate the high-standard and even the sound of the Vienna Philharmonic !) . Mahler plans 4 series of concerts, including a « historical series » , to present to the public the evolution of the art from the 18th Century to the present.

But Mahler ran into trouble with Mrs. Mary R. Seney Sheldon's Programme Committee. A streak of adventurous programming, encompassing everything from the music of Johann Sebastian Bach to far-out contemporary fare such as Edward Elgar's « Sea Pictures » , met with a tepid response from traditional concert-goers, as adventurous programming often does. Meanwhile, Arturo Toscanini was ensconced at the Metropolitan Opera House, winning over New York audiences. For a time, it looked as though Mahler would return to Europe : the local music-critics had turned against him, as their Viennese counter-parts had done, and he felt harried on all sides. In the end, he signed a new contract, and retained his equanimity of mood.

Born in 1863, Mary Seney Sheldon descended from a family that had been actively involved in the early American republic. One of 9 children, as a teenager she lived at 4 Montague Terrace, in Brooklyn Heights. Her father was the president of the Metropolitan Bank in Manhattan, who, in 1881, gave half a million dollars to establish the Methodist Hospital in Park Slope. At 18, Mary married George Rumsey Sheldon, a Harvard graduate with his own banking firm in New York City. The couple would have 2 daughters, kept a yacht at Glen Cove, and opened their home in Manhattan's Murray Hill neighbourhood for frequent musicales.

With Gustav Mahler in the city, Sheldon now worked with Minnie Untermeyer, Ruth Draper, and others to resurrect the 1903 plan.

Their Committee for the 2 Festival Concerts, which evolved into the Philharmonic Guarantors' Committee, drew up a circular letter in April 1908 that declared :

« We feel that a man of “ Herr ” Mahler's eminence who has entered so wholly into the spirit of training a really fine orchestra for this City, will have trained the men to such a degree of perfection, that, if in the future, another conductor should have to be considered, this orchestra already formed, shall be of such a standard of excellence as to appeal to other eminent conductors should the moment arise to engage them. “ Herr ” Mahler sees the promise of the very best in orchestral development in this country and it only rests with us to determine whether we will support the best. »

Sunday, 28 November 1909 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Second subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 66 in B-flat major (Hoboken I:66) .

Intermission

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

1910 : Gustav Mahler is suffering from laryngitis, nervous disintegration and has a strained arm.

Universal-Edition adds Anton Bruckner's First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Symphonies (**WAB 101, 102, 105, 106, 109**) to their catalogue, together with his Masses in E minor (**WAB 27**) and F minor (**WAB 28**) , Erich Wolfgang Korngold's pantomime « Der Schneemann » , and Franz Schreker's opera « Der ferne Klang » .

Around 1910 : An ostensibly later issue of the Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk arrangement which has a plate-number signifying that it is actually a re-issue of the Gustav Mahler - Rudolf Krzyzanowski arrangement of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

In the « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft Mitteilungs-Blatt » No. 27, of June 1986, Nigel Simeone explains :

« Löwe's and Schalk's arrangement was widely circulated and often re-printed. It is probable that, on this occasion, the publisher (Rättig & Lienau) or more likely the printer (Josef Eberle) selected the “ correct ” (i.e. , Löwe and Schalk) title-page but the “ wrong ” (older) plates with the same plate number (165) but with different letters preceding the number. The result is a well-disguised “ Titel-Auflage ” (edition with new title-page) of Mahler's earliest publication, the most significant of all Bruckner 4 hand arrangements. »

January 1910 : Gustav Mahler conducts Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 (« Emperor ») with Ferruccio Busoni as soloist. The occasion is a triumphant success.

The fourth concert from the « historical series » (on the evolution of the art from the 18th Century to the present)

includes Mahler's « Kindertotenlieder » (Songs on the Death of Children) . Pianist Josef Weiß throws a tantrum and walks out of a rehearsal conducted by Mahler.

Between January and March 1910 : The difference between newly-built mansions up-town and the tenements down-town was vast in New York. The seedy and dangerous reputation of the Lower East Side, especially to those who didn't know it, was luring. Despite this reputation (or perhaps because of it) , it was not un-common for middle- and upper-class New Yorkers to go « slumming » in these « exotic » areas of the city.

After an evening dinner at the residence on East 68th Street of the millionaire banker and music patron Otto H. Kahn, the philanthropist of the Metropolitan Opera House, Mahler's personal physician, the surgeon doctor Josef Fränkel, invited an adventurous group to experience a popular but expensive attraction of the time : a « séance » (costing \$ 250 per person) led by the celebrated italian medium Madame Eusapia Palladino in her flat located on Lincoln Square Arcade at the corner of « prolaterian » Broadway and Columbus Avenue in Lower East Side. Otto and his wife Addie (« née » Wolf) , Gustav and Alma, Doctor Fränkel and a unknown Englisman went up to the attic by elevator in a room with walls papered black and a curtained-off alcove. While all were holding hands in a circle in her studio, Palladino was going into convulsions. Fränkel counted her racing pulse as her trance approached its climax. Suddenly, phosphorescent bodies touched them, the alcove was bathed in phosphorescent light, the table shot up to the ceiling, and a mandolin flew through the air and hit Mahler on the forehead.

« Palladino commanded Mahler to look into the alcove behind her and murmured that he was in danger. She summoned him almost compassionately to sit beside her. »

Predictably, the experience affected Mahler, who superstitiously perceived danger in many quarters - in his own music, for example, in the hammer blows of the Sixth Symphony.

Alma commented :

« We went away in silence, pondering deeply. »

For some days, Mahler was preoccupied with the experience, recalling numerous details.

After a week, he said :

« Perhaps, there wasn't any truth in it, and we only dreamed it. »

Palladino convinced many persons of her powers, but was caught in deceptive trickery throughout her career.

Alma related in her memoirs :

« I saw a lot of a young American woman who tried to imbue me with the occult. She lent me books by (Charles Webster) Leadbeater and Mrs. (Annie) Besant. I always went straight to Mahler the moment she left and repeated word for word all she had said. It was something new in those days and he was interested. We started shutting our eyes to see what colours we could see. We practiced this - and many other rites ordained by occultists - so zealously that “Gucki” (daughter Anna) was once discovered walking up and down the room with her eyes shut.

When we asked her what she was doing, she replied :

“I’m looking for green. ” »

Although struck by the phosphorescent light show, levitating tables and flying objects on display, Mahler did not seem to undergo any kind of conversion to the spiritualist cause as a result. For Mahler and others, the work of mediums constituted a scandalously unacceptable short-cut to the beyond, but, at the same time, together with scientific advances, it made claims of the unknowability of the metaphysical essence of existence seem all the more like a desperate retreat into an argument of last resort. The re-assurance Mahler found in figures such as Gustav Theodor Fechner, Arthur Schopenhauer (in part) , Friedrich-Albert Lange and Orest Chwolson assuaged this situation, though not without introducing its own range of problems, and it is here that the composer’s belief system faced its second serious test.

There is not a great deal of documentation to be found regarding spiritualism and the occult in Gustav Mahler’s life, but there are hints that experiments in occult practices such as « séances » were of interest to him and his colleagues Siegfried Lipiner and Mathilde Kralik at least.

Lipiner was probably influenced, in this regard, by his studies in philosophy with Gustav Theodor Fechner, one of the founders of experimental psychology who also had interests in the metaphysical direction - as evidenced in his book entitled « Über das Seelenleben der Pflanzen » (Of the Spiritual Life of Plants) .

As for Kralik, she noted in her memoirs :

« (Lipiner) and an even more mystically inclined friend led me into the “séances” of a spiritualist where we observed some writing mediums. »

Lipiner said :

« We also read the chief-works of this movement, but did not find ourselves inclined to pursue these questionable attempts further. »

Despite Alma’s disclaimer, it is clear from the history of the Pernerstorfer Circle that the occult was not merely « new » to Mahler in 1910.

Wednesday, 30 March 1910 (8:15 pm) : Subscription-series, sixth and last « historical concert » .

Gustav Mahler conducts the New York Philharmonic Orchestra at Carnegie Hall in Manhattan.

Programme

Hans Pfitzner : Overture to the opera « Das Christ-Elflein » (not originally included in the programme) .

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

Richard Strauß : 2 Preludes to the opera « Guntram » (Acts I and II) .

Richard Strauß : « Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche » (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks) , Symphonic-poem, Opus 28.

Once again, the concert attracted only a very small audience, but, on this occasion, Mahler had drawn up a programme that was of limited appeal to the broader New York public.

According to concert-master Theodore Spiering :

« The Bruckner Symphony, in particular, Mahler prepared with remarkable care and love. By a whole series of masterly cuts [which, in themselves, bore evidence of a certain genius] , he ensured that the symphony no longer sounded jerky or episodic in nature, achieving a logical unity that brought out the many beauties to a degree that few would have thought possible. The manner in which he made this symphony of Bruckner and Schumann's C major Symphony (to name only the 2 most striking examples) playable, i.e. , as enjoyable as possible for the listener, seems to me entirely justified. »

Richard Aldrich of the « New York Times » recalled that Bruckner's Fourth had not been heard in New York since Anton Seidl had conducted it there in 1888 :

« Last night's performance showed it to be considerably more worth rehearing than the symphonies of Bruckner that have been played here in recent years. It is more interesting in its substance, more spontaneous, more concise, than those others. It has a more truly symphonic structure, and its themes are more significant and truly musical. There is less of the laborious and arduous work in development, dry elaboration in counterpoint, and other technical devices in which the composer so often loses himself. It is, in fact, a work that can be listened to with true pleasure, without weariness to the flesh. »

Aldrich also paid tribute to Mahler's reading :

« Some of the impression no doubt was due to the truly superb interpretation which the symphony received at the hands of Mr. Mahler - a performance that proclaimed, even more unmistakably than they have been proclaimed before,

the mastery and authority of the conductor. It showed his insight and entire sympathy with Bruckner's music, of which he is a chief exponent, and, as well, the fine skill of the orchestra, which is steadily gaining for itself the right to be called a virtuoso organization. The freedom, breadth, and brilliancy of last night's performance, its many-sided eloquence, did much to carry conviction for the music. »

Only the final movement struck Aldrich as far inferior to the rest of the work. Turning to the « Christ-Elflein » Overture, Aldrich felt that Pfitzner was fully-justified in describing himself as « an old-fashioned melodist - and « that », in spite of the « modern spirit » and « modern refinements » in his handling of the orchestra. The performance of « Till Eulenspiegel » had been « dazzlingly brilliant », but the whole concert had been performed to a « deplorably small » audience.

For Edward Henry Krehbiel - who had now taken summarily to dismissing every Philharmonic concert in no more than a handful of lines - the Finale of the « Romantic » Symphony destroyed the agreeable impression left by its earlier movements, while Pfitzner's Overture proved « peculiarly empty and uninteresting ». Richard Strauß's various works were « brilliantly played, without exception, though the boundary between sonority and noise was frequently overstepped ». The « New York Tribune » critic derived evident pleasure from noting that the audience was « probably the smallest that ever attended a Philharmonic concert in 50 years ».

Likewise, Henry Theophilus Finck from the « New York Evening Post » dismissed Pfitzner's Overture as « mere "Kapellmeister" music, without a trace of originality ». As to Bruckner, his symphonies did contain « traces of individuality », « but not enough of melodic novelty to ensure legitimate success ». Mahler and his musicians had given « a glowingly eloquent exposition of the "Romantic" Symphony, and if they made no converts, it was not their fault ».

Finck concluded by expressing the hope that Mahler might « give us less of Strauß and more of his own works » during the forthcoming season.

William J. Henderson from « The New York Sun » offered his readers a relatively detailed analysis of the same symphony, the « superb » performance of which « gave music-lovers an opportunity to study the methods and mannerisms of a deeply serious mind, perhaps too absorbed in its own operations ». In Henderson's view, the Finale of the « Romantic » was « laboured and without clearness of purpose ». Furthermore, Bruckner's « over-worked repetitions » and distended codas often prevented listeners from appreciating this music.

John Philip Sanford from the « The New York Globe » felt that the performance had « made a profound impression ».

Like most of his colleagues, Farwell had mixed feelings about Bruckner's music. Assuredly, it contained ...

« (...) moments of authentic inspiration, true musical outpouring ; but something of an old-world flavour is over it all. The wine of life which Bruckner offers has stood for a moment too long in the glass. His fundamental ideas are

poetic, but they are not of a sufficiently nervous sort to constitute him a great leader. Every great composer should be epochal in some sense, and as musicianly a composer as Bruckner is, it is still doubtful whether he arrives at this. »

Arthur Farwell, the chief music-critic for « Musical America », also felt that the noisy and unconvincing Finale was not of the same high-standard as the rest of the work. Farwell felt that the second of the 2 « Guntram » preludes had created what he termed a « Walpurgis Night » effect, one that may have been due, he thought, to the fact that it had been « intensively Mahlerianized » .

In the same vein, the critic of the « Musical Courier » praised Bruckner's « moments of inspiration », but felt the piece to be « inordinately long and wearisomely detailed as to thematic expansion and development », Mahler's « grandiose » reading notwithstanding.

He concluded :

« The cause of Bruckner seems to be a hopeless one all over the musical world. »

Obviously, New York was not yet ready to welcome the « Pater Seraphicus » of Austrian music as a major composer of symphonic music.

A young Viennese conductor named Ernst Jokl, who probably spent the whole of the 1909-1910 season at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, attended several of Mahler's Philharmonic concerts, and, in the course of a few conversations, delivered some first hand impressions. Jokl felt it was « tragic » that such a conductor had ever been « condemned to spend time in America » .

Mahler replied in this context :

« One goes to America when one is finished with the Theatre, as I am. »

Jokl :

« (...) Mahler still possessed the one quality that made all his performances so irresistible : he identified with the work that he was conducting. I remember how he literally discovered Bruckner's " Romantic " Symphony, which he conducted in New York and discussed it as though he had just held the score in his hands for the first time. (...) »

Friday, 1 and Saturday, 2 April 1910 : Gustav Mahler conducts the last New York Philharmonic concert of the season.

Tuesday, 5 April 1910 : Gustav Mahler sets sail from New York.

Monday, 11 April 1910 (7:30 pm) : Symphonic concert held in Klagenfurt.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Franz Liszt : « Les Préludes » , Symphonic-poem No. 3 after Alphonse de Lamartine (S. 97) .

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

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music for Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84.

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

Tuesday, 12 April 1910 (7:00 pm) : Symphonic concert held at the « Stefaniensaal » in Graz.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Franz Liszt : « Les Préludes » , Symphonic-poem No. 3 after Alphonse de Lamartine (S. 97) .

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

Ludwig van Beethoven : Overture from the incidental music for Goethe's tragedy « Egmont » , Opus 84.

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

Wednesday, 27 April 1910 : Gustav Mahler writes to Emil Herzka asking him to send 3 or 4 copies of the full-score of the First Symphony in D major (« Titan ») to the Hotel « Pensione Quisiana » in Rome, where he was planning to stay :

« I had originally included Bruckner's Second in the programme, but they insist on having something of my own. »

The Hotel is located at « Via Torino » Number 107, « Piazza Esedra » Number 59, near the « Palazzo delle Finanze » .

Tuesday, 3 May 1910 : With the help of Carl Moll, Gustav Mahler buys a plot of land (around the time of the heart-rending crisis over Alma's infidelity) on which to build a new holiday - or perhaps retirement-home. High on the Semmering mountain pass, an hour or so south of Vienna and accessible by a spectacular railway.

Around June 1910 : Gustav Mahler writes to Anna Moll, signing himself with « Love, my dearest little Mama, to you and Carl » .

Yet, Anna will soon be privy to Alma's love-affair with Walter Gropius, and become her confidante.

Concurrently, Gustav is undertaking, in addition to a strenuous rehearsal schedule, the husbandly duties of house-hunting for the following season. Having given up the year before the apartment at « Auenbrugger-Gasse » Number 2 (facing the « Strohgasse ») , in the Third District of Vienna (« Landstraße ») near Belvedere Park, Mahler, with the help of Carl Moll (and Carl's newly-acquired automobile) , is seeking a suitable house in the suburbs of Vienna : a 10 hour excursion warrants a detailed report to Alma.

July 1910 : Gustav Mahler is suffering of cramp and acute pain in a shoulder blade. Victim of an attack of angina (« Angina pectoris ») in Toblach. Troubled appendectomy. Alma Mahler is also infected.

Friday, 15 July 1910 : « Gustav Mahler's secret act of devotion » to Anton Bruckner.

Mahler allows his first 4 Symphonies (in which he had continued the Master of St. Florian's artistic heritage) to be used as security for 50,000 « Kronen » , making it possible for Universal-Edition to produce a new edition of the printed versions of Anton Bruckner's Symphonies (which were becoming increasingly scarce) . Universal-Edition purchased Bruckner's First, Second, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies as well as the Masses in E minor (**WAB 27**) and F minor (**WAB 28**) from Josef Eberle & Co.

There is doubtless a paradox here, as in many of Mahler's judgments. But, then, there is something altogether paradoxical about Mahler's friendship with Anton Bruckner, a friendship whose common centre of interest was, as Ernst Křenek suggests, a common enthusiasm for Wagner, while « the mutual attraction between Jewish intellectuality and endemic " naïveté " is also a peculiarly Austrian phenomenon » . One may well wonder, along with Křenek, « with what feelings the elder musician looked upon the nervous, talkative Jewish boy from Bohemia » ; but the brief history of their personal association contains, in fact, the basic constituents of their musical relation : some common ground, and certainly a major degree of genius in either case - and, for the rest, profound « contrasts » that are, nonetheless, strangely complementary. It was the complementary nature of the relation that enabled 2 composers, in many respects so opposed to work with equal success within the same medium, to sustain, despite intense differences in character

and procedure, a great Symphonic tradition for a further 44 years, from the date of Bruckner's Symphony No. 1 to the date of Mahler's Symphony No. 10, an extension that maintained the status of the Viennese Symphony until the first decade of the 20th Century.

Mahler pressured Emil Hertzka, the founder of Universal-Edition, to buy up all the publication rights to Bruckner's Symphonies since they were owned by several smaller publishing firms and recent mergers had made it next to impossible to get any of Bruckner's scores re-printed.

Despite vigorous opposition, Mahler performed Bruckner in America. He certainly did not give « performances of all his Symphonies one after the other in New York, although they had a very bad press » (as suggested by Alma) . In fact, Mahler performed only 3 of the Symphonies in full and only one, the « Romantic » , more than once.

In his monumental Bruckner volume, Ernst Kurth affectionately described Mahler's conductorial support for his deeply revered master Bruckner and, naturally, also addressed the influence of Bruckner's symphonic practice on Mahler as a composer.

Anton Bruckner's works had long been out-of-print and could not be re-printed due to peculiarly complicated circumstances of legal ownership. Although Bruckner only twice received a publisher's fee during a lifetime's work (50 « Gulden » and 150 « Gulden ») , and was happy when any firm was prepared to print one of his works, the rights of ownership and sale of Bruckner's works changed hands many times partly as a result of monopolisation amongst music businesses and the buying-up of smaller firms by larger ones. So, it transpired that works by Bruckner were often in the hands of 2 or 3 publishing firms at the same time, with the owner of the rights, from whom agencies expected payment for the placing and marketing of the works, themselves hampering distribution because they would not commit themselves to print material at their own cost but rather expected to share the costs with their partners since they shared the profits.

For example : Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) had been published in 1878 in its first printed version by the firm of « Rättig & Bösendorfer » . In a contract, dating from **13 July 1901**, this firm sold the joint copyright to the publishers Universal-Edition, which had been founded by the merging of several smaller music-dealers in that same year. This large publishing-house, accordingly, had the right to include the Symphony in its catalogue and to sell it, although it had to pass on the revenue from the ownership rights to « Rättig & Bösendorfer » . « Rättig & Bösendorfer » , then, sold their entire enterprise to the publishing-house « Schlesinger-Lienau » , in Berlin, which, thus, also acquired the ownership rights to the Third Symphony (together, with the « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) , which had earlier been published for the first time by « Rättig & Bösendorfer ») , and while Universal-Edition retained the copyright, it was not in a position to reprint material for performance without the agreement of the new owners. Yet, more complicated were the publication terms of the First, Second, Fourth and Sixth Symphonies, as well as some works for male-choir that the Master only managed to get printed in 1892, 4 years before his death, and, then, only by the music-printers Josef Eberle & Co. , in Vienna, who were not themselves a publishing-house and, therefore, handed over the works on commission to the firm of Carl Haslinger. Several years later, Josef Eberle & Co. merged to become a

joint-stock company, « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » which, in practical terms, meant a change of ownership. The expensive printing-plates of Bruckner's works ended-up in a basement where they lay unused for nearly 2 decades. In the meantime, the firm « Haslinger » , which owned the commission rights for the above-mentioned works, was also bought by « Schlesinger-Lienau » , in Berlin, and set-up as their Vienna branch. With that, Bruckner's Eighth Symphony, previously published for the first time whole publishing firms, such as Albert J. Guttmann, who had Bruckner's works on their books. This amalgamation of Bruckner's works by Universal-Edition was completed when a contract was signed on **21 June 1910** with « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » to transfer the complete rights of those works formerly printed by Josef Eberle & Co. to Universal-Edition. At the same time, Universal-Edition purchased Gustav Mahler's first 4 Symphonies from « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » .

Since Emil Hertzka knew that Mahler, the idealistic instigator of the new Bruckner Edition, was not immediately dependent on royalties from his works because of his current conducting activities in America, he felt able to ask him for certain further practical support. As Alma Mahler reports in her memoirs, he visited Mahler in Toblach, during the summer of 1910, to pass-on the welcome news that he had acquired his first 4 Symphonies from « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » for Universal-Edition. The 4 Symphonies, printed at a cost of 50,000 « Kronen » (\$ 10,000) , were almost beginning to show profit : only 2,500 « Kronen » were still outstanding. Now, Hertzka had fulfilled Mahler's dearest wish by acquiring all Bruckner's works in one go, in preparation for the new edition.

What Hertzka expected from Mahler in return, and the way in which the latter received this proposal, is described by Alma as follows :

« Having made this clear, Hertzka went on to ask Mahler to forgo his profits until a second sum of 50,000 “Kronen ” had been earned, on the grounds that Universal-Edition would like to take over the works of Bruckner also, and advertise them at great expense. Mahler agreed at once. He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale [out] of affection for Bruckner. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. »

Mahler agreed, at once. He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years, out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him.

Part of Universal-Edition's archives has disappeared, and it has proved impossible to confirm or deny this assertion of Alma's, which must, after all, have been the object of a written and signed agreement. Mahler's generosity is all the more admirable in that he was never as close to Bruckner as some of his other pupils and was far from admiring the older composer's works unreservedly. Be that as it may, Alma - while not being a business woman in the usual sense of the word - was always able to handle her inheritance herself and to do so effectively. Following Mahler's death, she had frequent dealings with Universal-Edition, notably in the context of the performing rights of his works, rights that she needed to exercise if she was to survive. It is difficult, therefore, to imagine that she would have made up this story.

Alma writes :

« He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. »

...

« Mahler's love of Bruckner was life-long and, despite Mahler's revaluation of 1904, which I have already quoted, I see no serious grounds on which Mahler's attachment to Bruckner may be challenged. What he wrote on the title-page of his copy of the "Te Deum" - he deleted the customary vocal and instrumental specification and substituted :

"For the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire ! ", must be given as much weight as his more critical utterance. »

Monday, 22 August 1910 : Gustav Mahler is victim of a severe attack of angina in Toblach.

Sunday, 4 September 1910 : Gustav Mahler is victim of a severe attack of angina in Munich.

The diversity of opinions, or rather the consensus of scathing judgements in Gustav Mahler's own musical world - that of Germany and Austria - immediately displayed itself in the reviews of the Viennese music historian and critic Paul Stefan's 2 books - his biography (*) and collection of tributes - for they soon began to appear alongside accounts of the premiere of the Eighth Symphony. For instance, in the same issue of the Austrian « Tagesbote von Mähren und Schlesien », which, on **17 September 1910**, reported on the wildly successful premiere, Wilhelm von Wymetal, Felix Weingartner's principal assistant conductor at the « Hofoper », criticized Stefan's approach to the facts in his biography, especially those relating to Mahler's activity as director of the « Hofoper », and for passing over many points in silence.

(*) « Gustav Mahler. Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werk », R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munich (1910) - translated to English as « Gustav Mahler : A Study of His Personality and Work » (1913) .

Mahler might not have seen Stefan's volume, nor read any of the tributes it contained, until he reached Munich on **3 September**. After replying to all the kind words of friendship and admiration received in **July** for his birthday, he at last found himself blissfully alone in Toblach, after the frantic excitement of the New York season and the exhausting rehearsals for the new symphony. His first concern was to ensure that he had something to read, in both literary and musical terms. So, we find him writing to his new publisher, Emil Hertzka, for whom the preparation of the various scores and parts of the Eighth Symphony was to prove a major undertaking.

It was also a pressing one, since only a few weeks remained before the final rehearsals and premiere of the work :

« And so, here I am in my splendid isolation, and feel fine. (My intestines, too, are behaving.) But, in the upheaval of my departure, I forgot to bring any music with me. I have already cabled to Universal-Edition, but I don't want to lose any time, and so, I would ask you, my dear Director, to send me straight away a few Bach cantatas, the B minor Mass, Mendelssohn's "Walpurgisnacht", and a few things by Reger, at least to the extent that they are published by Universal-Edition. Have you also published any of the Masses of Haydn, Mozart or Schubert ? If so, I'd like to have some of them. - Cherubini, "Requiem" ? Beethoven, "Battle of Waterloo" (or whatever the thing is called) , Liszt, "Christus". »

Forgive me for troubling you, dear Hertzka, but you yourself are to blame for my treating you as an old friend and laconically burdening you with my shopping list. (...) Incidentally, if you have any interesting novelties, I'd be grateful if, now and later, you could keep me informed, as I'd like to find something new for my programmes. »

A few days later, after receiving the first package of scores, Mahler returned one of them :

« I already have the Bruckner, so I'll be returning these volumes. Conversely, you would place me in your debt if you were to send me as soon as possible, all the works by Brahms that are published by Universal-Edition (above all, all the songs and piano pieces, including those for 4 hands) . »

Wednesday, 12 October 1910 : Gustav Mahler attends the rehearsals for the performance of Arnold Schœnberg's 2 String Quartets (Opus 7 and 10) in Vienna.

Alma writes :

« Mahler in his own later years was a stand-by to all struggling musicians, particularly to Schœnberg, whom he did his best to protect from the brutality of the mob. Twice, he took a foremost part in quelling disturbances at concerts.

The first time was when Schœnberg's Quartet, Opus 7, was performed. The audience was quietly and, by tacit agreement, taking it as a great joke, until one of the critics present committed the unpardonable blunder of shouting to the performers to stop. Whereupon a howling and yelling broke out such as I have never heard before or since. One man stood up in front and hissed Schœnberg every time he came apologetically forward to make his bow, wagging his Semitic head, so like Bruckner's, from side to side in the embarrassed hope of enlisting some stray breath of sympathy or forgiveness. Mahler sprang to his feet and went up to this man. "I must have a good look at this fellow who's hissing." he said sharply. The man raised his arm to strike Mahler. (Carl) Moll, who was among the audience, saw this and, in a second, he forced his way through the crowd and collared the man. Moll's superior strength sobered him and he was hustled out of the "Bösendorfer-Saal" without much difficulty.

But, at the door, he plucked up his courage and shouted :

“Needn’t get so excited - I hiss Mahler too ! ” »

Tuesday, 25 October 1910 : Gustav Mahler and Alma arrive again in New York.

He conducts 47 concerts, including 7 in Brooklyn and 8 on tour. Among the works performed are his own Fourth Symphony, and works of American composers such as George Whitefield Chadwick’s « Melpomene Overture » , Charles Villiers Stanford’s « Irish Symphony » , Edward Elgar’s « Sea Pictures » , Charles Martin Loeffler’s « La Villanelle du diable » and Henry Kimball Hadley’s « The Culpit Fay » .

1 November 1910 to 21 February 1911 : Gustav Mahler conducts 47 concerts, including 7 in Brooklyn and 8 on tour.

Mahler is touched by the abiding affection of some of the ladies for his work :

« I may end-up being my own successor in New York. »

Monday, 20 February 1911 : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. Gustav Mahler catches a cold. He wakes up in the morning with a sore throat and fever (37.8°C) . He is examined by Doctor Josef Fränkel. Mahler has to stay in bed. The next few days are better, but the fever stayed.

During the night, Mahler announced to his dinner companions :

« I have found that people in general are better, more kindly, than one supposes. »

The following night, against his doctor’s advice, he led a program of Italian works that included the premiere of Ferruccio Busoni’s « Berceuse élégiaque » , a beautifully opaque piece that seems to depict a soul entering a higher realm.

Busoni had a close personal and professional relationship with Mahler while in New York. The two were neighbours on Fifth Avenue : Busoni at « The Hotel Netherland » and Mahler at the « Savoy » Plaza Hotel.

Tuesday, 21 February 1911 (8:15 pm) : 13th regular subscription-concert of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra given at Carnegie Hall. Gustav Mahler presents an all Italian music program. This will be his final concert. With his health rapidly failing, he will be forced to cancel the remaining 10 concerts in the season.

Mahler was suffering from high-fever (40°C / 104°F) due to recurring throat ailment. His friend, Doctor Josef Fränkel, had advised against his appearance. However, the ever conscientious Mahler, who had cancelled performances due to

sickness only a few times over his long conducting career, disregarded his doctor's advice and conducted what sadly proved to be his last concert of the season.

Wednesday, 22 February 1911 : « Savoy » Plaza Hotel, New York. In the morning, Gustav Mahler suffering from a hectic fever cancelled the repeat performances scheduled for February 24th, which only emphasizes the gravity of his illness.

Monday, 6 March 1911 : The Guarantors' Committee of the New York Philharmonic votes to end negotiations with its present conductor, Gustav Mahler, under conditions he set forth, and to approach Felix von Weingartner to conduct the Orchestra next season.

Thursday, 30 March 1911 : Anna Moll comes from Europe with the S.S. Mauretania to help her daughter Alma with the patient Mahler.

Saturday, 8 to Sunday, 16 April 1911 : 6 days after the last planned concert, Gustav and Alma, along with Ferruccio Busoni and Stefan Zweig, sail from New York for Europe (Eastbound) on the S.S. Amerika. Busoni takes care of Mahler during the whole trip.

He said in an interview :

« I have never worked as little as I did in America. I was not subjected to an excess of either physical or intellectual work. »

Monday, 10 April 1911 : During the crossing, Gustav Mahler's condition will gradually go further backwards. Last picture taken of Mahler.

Monday, 17 April 1911 : The Mahlers arrive in Paris at 5:00 pm and stay at the « Hôtel Élysée » Palace on « les Champs-Élysées ». Gustav seems to recover from the terrible fever that made him so restless during the crossing. But this was a figment of his imagination caused by the disease itself.

Alma writes :

« We reached Paris at 5:00 in the morning. My step-father had come from Paris to meet us and got on our train at an intermediate station. Rooms were reserved and ready for us at the "Hôtel Élysée". We all went to bed, utterly worn out. When I woke at 7:00 next morning, Mahler was sitting on the balcony. He was fully-dressed. He was shaved. He rang for breakfast. I could not believe my

eyes.

“I always said I should recover as soon as I set foot in Europe. I’ll go for a drive this morning and, in a few days, when we’ve got over the voyage, we two will set-off for Egypt.”

I stared at him in utter astonishment. It seemed literally to be a miracle. He had not done anything for himself for months. My mother and I had almost had to carry him from the boat. And now ! I sent for Mama and Moll, whose love for Mahler was nothing short of idolatry. We all laughed and wept for joy. It seemed he was saved. »

Tuesday, 18 April 1911 : On his first morning at the « Hôtel Élysée » Palace, Mahler is dressed, shaved and ready for a ride by car. In the evening, he is about to collapse again. When Alma brings Anna to bed in the evening, Mahler gives final instructions to Anna Moll : He wants to be buried in Vienna next to his daughter Maria at the Grinzing Cemetery. No fuss and just « Mahler » on the tomb-stone.

« Any who come to look for me will know who I was, and the rest do not need to know. »

Sunday, 23 April 1911 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Symphonic concert as part of the first Austrian Educational Music Congress.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

Programme

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

Franz Liszt : « Psalm 13 » for tenor, choir and orchestra. Soloists : William Miller (tenor) , Rudolf Dittrich (organ) .

Thursday, 11 May 1911 : Arrival of Doctor Franz Chvostek junior at the expected time. Carl Moll is present. Gustav Mahler asked Moll for poison because he could not longer tolerate the headaches. Once Mahler saw Chvostek, he was over-taken by the strong desire to be in his homeland. Chvostek greeted Mahler extremely amicable, but told Alma, later in the evening, that there was no hope.

Chvostek gave his approval for the trip on the condition that the trip would be undertaken immediately. In the evening, Mahler was taken to the « Gare de l’Est » (East station) to travel by night train to Vienna. With him are Alma, Moll and Chvostek. Newspapers report that Mahler lies on a stretcher. Journalists arrived, according to Alma, on every station in Germany and Austria to the doors of the Orient Express (Paris - Straßburg - Munich - Vienna) for the

latest news. In Salzburg, his situation was reported as « unchanged » . Anna Sofie Moll-Schindler-Bergen and Anna Mahler (« Gucki ») (and Maud Turner ?) left the next day for Vienna (on 12 May 1911) . Doctor Chvostek informed Alma in the train there was no hope.

Friday, 12 May 1911 : Arrival in Munich at 10:45. Arrival in Salzburg at 13:00. Arrival at the « Westbahnhof » in Vienna at 17:55. The journey went relatively well. The police put-up screens so Mahler can be laid straight and unseen in an ambulance right to the Lœw Sanatorium at « Mariannengasse » Number 20. At the platform, Bruno Walter, Albert Spiegler, Justine Mahler, Arnold Rosé and a few other members of the family. Carl Moll went quickly of the train to shield Mahler from the public gaze. The train corridor was too small and Mahler had to sit on the linked hands of 2 male nurses. With an ambulance to a side-entrance of the Lœw Sanatorium. Arrival at 18:45.

Wednesday, 17 May 1911 : Vienna - Gustav Mahler is calm in the morning. No interest in his surroundings. Temperature : 38°C ; pulse : 130-140. Injection oxygen under the skin to help him breathe. Thunder-storms in the afternoon. Pulse lower in the evening. Coma. One newspaper, the « Wiener Bilder » , publishes a sketch of Mahler on his death-bed.

Writer Hermann Bahr and composer Alban Berg are keeping watch outside the sanatorium, but there is little news from inside. May 18th will prove to be a long vigil ...

Thursday, 18 May 1911 : Physician and writer Arthur Schnitzler walks through the garden of the Lœw Sanatorium during lunch-time and meets writer Hermann Bahr who kept an eye on what happened on the street. Alban Berg continues pacing the corridor. Mahler holds a trembling finger over the blanket as if he is conducting.

Alma hears him say :

« Mozartl » (little Mozart)

Carl Moll, Anna Moll and Bruno Walter are with him (Room 82) during his last hours.

Alma collapses and is sent to another room (Room 83) :

« I was not allowed into the death chamber. Moll was with him to the last. »

Early in the evening, in the final stage, he is staring and can only with difficulty be persuaded to take a spoonful of milk or tea. His mind is troubled, and he does not answer questions. He only reacts to loud noises. He can not move independently. At 16:00, pulse : 140. By 18:00, pulse cannot be counted anymore. Lœw's resident physicist Doctor Michalik (Mihalic, Mihalik, Mihalicks, Michailitsch) administers a further injection of caffeine and morphine, to no avail.

In the course of the evening, Mahler gradually becomes completely unconscious from 18:30. The breathing becomes erratic. The lungs do not work, in spite of the extra oxygen. He has no longer the strength to swallow to clear his wind-pipe. His pulse is very high. Attempts to give him still some liquid food, come to nothing because he keeps his jaws firmly together. Medical practice is limited to injections of caffeine and the oxygen supply. Later, he is given injections of ether and camphor for the affected and cripple lungs. As last attempt, a camphor injection is given at 19:30 and continues oxygen. Despite his unconsciousness, it is still possible to give him a spoonful of soup and some caviar.

At 20:00, Doctor Franz Chvostek comes to the bed-side. He says there is no hope to keep alive the sick man :

« He is very ill. All symptoms of cripple lungs are there (edema (swelling and fluid retention)) . The patient is completely unconscious. His pulse is 160. His temperature is too high to measure, and the breathing is very quickly. The disease is in the final stages. »

It is a day of storm and rain. Richard Strauß's « Elektra » is played at the Opera, the Orchestra is led by concert-master Arnold Rosé (brother-in-law of Gustav Mahler) while it thunders. When it is dark, it becomes a thunder-storm. Rosé runs to the Lœw Sanatorium, drenched in the rain. He is just in time.

Beside Mahler are : his wife Alma, his sister Justine, Arnold Rosé, Carl and Anna Moll, Bruno Walter accompanied by his wife.

Also present : Doctor Franz Chvostek junior and Doctor Michalik.

Mahler dies at 23:07, aged only 50. Heart-stitch is performed. This is common in 1911, as a result of the fear of being buried alive.

Alma is taken to the house of Carl Moll on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) , at Number 10 on « Woller-Gasse » . Only Moll stays at the sanatorium.

Friday, 19 May 1911 : Carl Moll is back at the Lœw Sanatorium at 22:00 to make a death-mask. No autopsy is practised on Mahler.

Alfred Roller later recalled how :

« When I went to take my leave of Mahler's mortal remains on the morning after his death, his features still bore traces of his long and tormenting struggle with death. Klimt, who saw him several hours later, told me how solemnly calm and sublimely beautiful they later became, and it is thus that they appear in the wonderful death-mask taken by Moll.

The above words, recorded at the wish of “ Frau ” Alma Mahler, represent only what I have personally observed or what I had heard from Mahler’s mouth. They are intended for all who love Mahler. For the others, may they - in so far as possible - not be available. »

That evening, the body, dressed in black, is placed in its heavy glass and metal coffin in the presence of Carl Moll, Arnold Rosé, Bruno Walter, and Wilhelm Legler. 4 men then lift the coffin on to their shoulders and pass along the clinic’s darkened corridor, while a 5th lead the way with a candle. The hearse is already at the clinic’s side-entrance, waiting to take the coffin to the small chapel in Grinzing cemetery, where it is placed on a dais flanked by candles.

Alma tells her daughter Anna (« Gucki ») , aged 6, that her father has died. Her sister Maria-Anna (« Putzi ») died 4 year before.

« Deutsches Volks-Blatt » (19 May 1911) :

« Vienna : Gustav Mahler Died

Yesterday, at 7 minutes past 11 in the evening, the former director of the Vienna Court Opera, Gustav Mahler, died at the Lœw Sanatorium. He was a Jew who was idolized by Jews and who was their favourite, earning the universal hatred of the artists of our artistic institution because of his arrogance. He contributed much to the deplorable Judaization of that institution. The Jewish press drummed up publicity aplenty for his insane Symphonies and his other musical activities. It is tempting to contrast the repugnant ado about Mahler’s “ talent ” with the hateful persecution and suppression of Wagner and Bruckner. »

Saturday, 20 May 1911 : The newspapers in Europe and America are full of the news that Mahler is deceased. In Vienna, the « Neue Freie Presse » publishes Mahler’s last wishes and will (put on 27 April 1904) . Alma is, therein, designated as sole legatee and Carl Moll as legal guardian of the children.

Monday, 22 May 1911 : Gustav Mahler is buried at the Grinzing cemetery located in the suburbs of Vienna, as he had requested.

By a quarter to five in the afternoon, the whole area around the tiny funeral is filled with a dense throng of mourners. Towards 5 o’clock, the coffin is brought out of the chapel by 6 members of the undertaker’s staff. A priest walks ahead and the whole procession moves slowly down the main avenue, on each side of which hang countless wreaths, until they reach the hearse drawn by 4 horses that is waiting outside the gates. Among the most elaborate wreaths are the ones from the « Regulars in the gods at the Opera » ; the Institute for the History of Music at the Vienna University (« Viro et arte et scientia musicæ insigni ») and its founder Guido Adler (« To our friend ») ; the Dutch Society for the Encouragement of Music ; and from Arnold Schoenberg and his pupils with the most heart-felt inscription of all :

« He who had so much to give, Gustav Mahler, the loss of whose saintly presence plunges us into the deepest mourning, has bequeathed to us for life the undying example of his work and influence. »

On doctors' orders, Alma is absent, but among the mourners at a relatively pomp-free funeral are also Arnold Berliner, Bruno Walter, Alfred Roller, the Secessionist painter Gustav Klimt, soprano Anna von Mildenburg's husband Hermann Bahr, and representatives from many of the great European Opera Houses.

European commentators make an anti-American cultural parable out of Mahler's demise.

One Berlin newspaper says :

The conductor was a « victim of the dollar » , of « the nerve-wracking and peculiar demands of American art » .

Alma Mahler helped to foster this impression, which had caused her husband more angst than any of Mrs. Sheldon's memos.

She told the press :

« You cannot imagine what “ Herr ” Mahler has suffered. In Vienna, my husband was all powerful. Even the Emperor did not dictate to him, but in New York, to his amazement, he had 10 ladies ordering him about like a puppet. »

Alma writes :

« After Mahler's death, (Carl) Moll told friends of ours what he had said and they resolved forthwith to collect a considerable sum and to put it at my disposal year by year for the benefit of young musicians. I chose (Richard) Strauß, (Ferruccio) Busoni and (Bruno) Walter as trustees of the fund, and, at my request, the proceeds frequently went to (Arnold) Schœnberg. War and inflation have unfortunately made it worthless. »

Tuesday, 20 June 1911 : Death at 52 years old of Rudolf Krzyzanowski of uremia (« Carc.Vesicare ») as a result of a failed operation. He is living at the time at « Heinrich-Straße » Number 31/II, Parish of St. Leonard Church in the Second District of Graz, Styria. His body is burned in a Berlin crematorium located at « Gœthe-Straße » Number 21, near Eminger.

Krzyzanowski's few surviving compositions consists in 5 songs for solo voice and piano, published by Ries & Erler.

1911 : Franz Schalk loans the surviving material of the final movement of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony (WAB

143) to Max Auer for analysis. The manuscripts were first owned by Josef Schalk.

Referring to a sketch sheet, which is no longer available today, Auer states :

« The sketches ... reveal a main theme, a fugue theme, a chorale and the fifth theme of the “ Te Deum ”. »

In addition, Auer writes :

« Once these themes even towered over one another as in the Finale of the Eighth. »

However, it is not possible to clearly identify which passage of the Finale is actually meant.

Publication by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen of « Frauen-Berufe und Männer-Erziehung » (Women's jobs and men's upbringing) , Hugo Heller, Vienna.

1912 : Publication by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig of a biography on Anton Bruckner by the music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold. A second edition will appear in 1920.

Sunday, 14 April 1912 : The doctor of medicine, writer and playwright Arthur Schnitzler writes in his diary of a walk on the Semmering with the German physicist Professor Walter Heitler, who speaks to him of a walk he took with Gustav Mahler along these same heights, discussing Ludwig van Beethoven and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

2 days later, Schnitzler plays the first movement of Mahler's Second Symphony in C minor (« Resurrection ») on the piano (4 hands) , and then, the opening of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) .

Thursday, 27 June 1912 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » . Vienna Music Week Festival.

Franz Schalk, Adolf Kirchl, Viktor Keldorfer, Carl Führich conduct the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Soloists : Lilli Claus-Neuroth, soprano ; Rudolf Hofbauer, baritone ; plus singers Jella Liebesny and Hedwig Jaroljmek.

Also performing, the (Karl) Stiegler Horn Quartet.

Programme

Franz Schubert : « Das Dörfchen » (« Ich rühme mir mein Dörfchen hier ») , song in D major for male-choir (TTBB) and orchestra, Opus 11, No. 1 (D. 598) .

Anton Bruckner : « Abendzauber » (Evening of magic) , based on a short poem by Heinrich von der Mattig, secular Cantata for baritone, 3 distant female voices (Alpine « yodlers ») , 4 part « a cappella » male-choir (TTBB) and horn quartet. (WAB 57) .

Hugo Wolf : « Elfenlied » (Elf Song) from the « Midsummer Night's Dream » , based on a poem by Eduard Mörike, for soprano, female-choir and orchestra.

Hugo Wolf : « Der Feuerreiter » (The Fire Rider) , based on a text by Eduard Mörike, ballad for choir and orchestra.

Antonín Dvořák : « Heldenlied » (A Hero's Song ; also called : Heroic Song for orchestra) , Symphonic-poem, Opus III (B. 199) .

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Chorus « O Isis und Osiris » (Sarastro) from Act 2 of the Opera « Die Zauberflöte » (The Magic Flute) (KV 620) .

Wednesday, 13 November 1912 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Symphony No. 41 in C major, « Jupiter » (KV 551) .

Richard Strauß : « Tod und Verklärung » (Death and Transfiguration) , Tone-poem for orchestra, Opus 24.

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

Saturday, 7 December 1912 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Third gala-concert of the Society of Friends of Music on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the hall.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft » , Cantata (BWV 50) .

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

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

Richard Wagner : « Karfreitagszauber » (The Magic of Good Friday) from the sacred festival drama « Parsifal » (WWV 111) .

Richard Wagner : « Transformation Music » and « Feast of the Holy Grail » from the sacred festival drama « Parsifal » (WWV 111) .

Soloists : Erich Schmedes, tenor ; Nicola Geisse-Winkel, baritone ; Richard Mayr, bass.

Wednesday, 15 January 1913 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Second « Gesellschaft » concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

Programme

Max Reger : « Konzert im alten Stil » (Concerto in the “ old-style ”) in F major, Opus 123.

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

Sunday, 19 January 1913 (11:00 am) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra.

Programme

Franz-Josef Haydn : Symphony No. 96 in D major, « The Miracle » (Hoboken I:96) .

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

Monday, 17 February 1913 : Emil Hertzka writes for the first time to the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») specifically regarding space requirements :

« We are unconcerned about the storey on which the rooms are located. »

For the « management offices » , he needed 8 to 10 rooms, plus some « dry souterrain or cellar rooms » for the store-house.

1913 : At the Vienna premiere of Igor Stravinsky's « Sacre du Printemps » , the whole « Musikverein » concert-hall changes into a real inferno. People laugh, jeer, mock, hiss and it looks as if this genial work cannot be heard to the end.

Into the tumult, a man shouts from the gallery to conductor Franz Schalk :

« **Play Bruckner !** »

30 years before, the same man would probably have shouted :

« **Play Mozart !** »

Alma Mahler, Oskar Kokoschka and Carl Moll discuss plans to build a house. It will be small, with 8 rooms, in the middle of the plot. It will be her « second » home.

Tuesday, 17 June 1913 : The Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») welcomes the proposition from Emil Hertzka with the « warmest sentiments » .

The Society intends to focus « every effort » on making it work and an agreement will be reached after only a short time.

Saturday, 26 July 1913 : Emil Hertzka fulfills his objective « with great pleasure » , and Universal-Edition becomes a tenant in the « Musikverein » building.

Summer and autumn 1913 : Alma had a vacation home built on property that Gustav Mahler had purchased outside the small community of Breitenstein-am-Semmering back in November 1910. The location was unique : on the crest of the Kreuzberg (a gently curved promontory between the Semmering Pass and the rocky Rax mountain range) , it offered an unimpeded view of the 2,000 meter high Schneeberg.

The vacation house was out of the ordinary ...

Alma writes :

« I told the builder :

“ Build me a house around a gigantic fireplace. ”

He took me literally - and broke the biggest blocks out of our mountains there, shaping them into an oversize fireplace, which with its stone walls extended over the entire length of the room. »

The construction proportions, along with the low-slung roof covered with larch wood shingles, gave the 2 story « Villa Mahler » the rustic charm of an American farm you would be more likely to see in Texas than in the cool heights of the Austrian Alps.

Ernst Křenek, Alma's later son-in-law, remembered :

« It was encircled by a huge verandas, which invited the visitor to rest in the shade, yet, could hardly be used for this purpose. Their principal effect lay in the fact that they made the adjoining rooms dank and dismal. »

Before Alma moved into her new refuge in **December**, Oskar Kokoschka painted a 4 meter wide fresco above the fireplace ...

She continues :

« (...) showing me pointing to the heavens in their pectral radiance, while he, standing in hell, seemed surrounded by death and serpents. The whole thing is based on the idea of flames continuing up from the fireplace. My little “ Gucki ” (Anna) stood next to it and said :

“ Hey, can't you think of anything else to paint besides 'mommy' ? ” »

Autumn 1913 : Alma Mahler's country-villa (Villa Mahler, « Haus Mahler ») which is located at « Werfel-Weg » Number 6 in Breitenstein is ready.

Anna Moll does the decoration. The first weeks were « beautifully cloudless » , as Alma remembered.

She writes :

« Work was under way in every room, curtains were being sewn on the machine and then hung, etc. My mother was cooking in the kitchen, and, in the evenings, we sat by the fireplace, read scores, or made music - in short, the time was totally devoted to reconstruction. »

The death-mask of Gustav Mahler arrives. Kokoschka futilely objects to its ensconcing. After an interlude of relative calm, tensions in the relationship will escalate.

...

In the country-villa, hectic activity was, as so often before, the order of the day, and Alma's many friends and acquaintances made stop-overs there.

Ernst Křenek remembered :

« A fairly colourful individual was an Italian by the name of Balboni who looked like a gangster and showed up with a huge bevy of women, who, as far as I know, might well have been some kind of harem. »

This visit was made in connection with Alma's decision to purchase a little « palazzo » in Venice. Balboni may possibly have been a real estate agent, but, perhaps, he might also have been the owner of the property, not far from the Grand Canal, that Alma finally acquired in **April 1924**.

1914 : 4 score bi-folios of the final movement of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) are transferred from Cyrill Hynais to the Vienna City and State Library, and classified as such on 14 April 1915.

Publication by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen of « Beiträge zur Geschichte der amerikanischen Frauen-Bewegung » (Contributions to the history of the American women's movement) , a supplement print from « Der Bund » , the Official Journal of the Federation of Austrian Women's Associations.

Friday, 26 June 1914 : A tenancy agreement is signed between Universal-Edition and the « Musikverein » .

Emil Hertzka, the director of the Viennese music-publisher, moves into the mezzanine-floor of the « Musikverein » building. The address in those days was still « Gisela-Straße » Number 12, and not yet today's « Bösendorfer-Straße » Number 12. There was an entirely enthusiastic feeling that the publishing-house was entering an economically prosperous age, although it would need an even greater effort to find acceptance for the recently published works. The extent to which the start of the First World War had an effect on international promotions, which were already anything but simple, need not be emphasized.

Only 2 days after the tenancy agreement was signed, fatal shots are fired in Sarajevo.

Universal-Edition survives the First World War in astonishingly good shape. The company remains in business even during the War, and a number of composers conclude their initial contracts during this period (Franz Schmidt in 1914

; Joseph Marx, Egon Wellesz in 1915) .

August 1914 : Alma Mahler begins to rent a 10 room apartment at « Elizabeth-Straße » Number 22 in Vienna's First District (the city-centre) , which will remain her Vienna residence until 1931.

Wednesday, 13 January 1915 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

Soloists : Gertrude Förstel, soprano ; Bertha Katzmayer, alto ; Lothar Riedinger and Friedrich Zimmermann, tenors ; Rudolf Ertl, baritone ; Ludwig Hauswirth, Stefan Pollmann, Nikolaus Schwarz, basses ; Karl Berla, violin.

Programme

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : « Psalm 42 » for soloists, choir and orchestra.

Robert Schumann : Concerto in A minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 54. Soloist : Emil George Konrad Sauer.

Robert Fuchs : « Mariä Himmelfahrt » (The Feast of the Assumption) on a text by Max Kalbeck, for baritone, chorus and orchestra. Soloist : Rudolf Ertl.

Johann Sebastian Bach : « Schwingt freudig euch empor » , Cantata (BWV 36c) .

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

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

Monday, 9 August 1915 : The slightly shortened annual report for the 13th fiscal year of the joint-stock company « Universal-Edition » for the period from 1 January to 31 December 1914 is submitted to the 12th Annual general meeting.

It reads as follows :

« My dear Sirs !

The 13th fiscal year of Universal-Edition has just come to an end and the first-half more than justified our high hopes. We achieved an increase in turn-over and, in expectation of a general upturn, all measures taken were designed to exploit the expected favourable economic situation to the fullest extent. Our foreign relations, particularly with England, where we had recently received full freedom of delivery, were developed under favourable auspices. Several large-scale works which the publishing-house had purchased in previous years had excellent prospects. These included (Franz) Schreker's opera " The Distant Sound " and some of the most successful symphonic works from the entire musical repertoire of recent years, such as (Gustav) Mahler's Symphony No. 8, (Arnold) Schœnberg's " Gurre-Lieder " and the newly-purchased symphony by Franz Schmidt, which were all due to be performed in many places at home. »

Wednesday, 27 October 1915 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Tonkünstler » Orchestra.

Programme

Karl Goldmark : « Psalm 113 » (« Wer sich die Musik erkiest ») , for SATB, choir and orchestra, Opus 40. Soloists : Jella Libesny, soprano ; Wanda Kirchweger, alto ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Franz Markhoff, bass.

Emil George Konrad Sauer : Concerto No. I in E minor for piano and orchestra. Soloist : Emil George Konrad Sauer.

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

1916 : Another bi-folio of the final movement of Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) , also in private hands, is handed to the Music Academy in Vienna.

Thursday, 5 October 1916 : The daughter of Alma Mahler and Walter Gropius, Manon (Alma) Gropius, is born in Vienna during the height of World War I, in the absence of the father, who has unsuccessfully tried to time a 2 week leave to coincide with the birth. Walter's gift to Alma, on the occasion of the birth, is the painting entitled « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach, 1902) by Edvard Munch.

Wednesday, 29 November 1916 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Concert sponsored by the Society of Friends of Music. « In Memoriam » : Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : « Requiem » in D minor (KV 626) . Soloists : Berta Kiurina, soprano ; Hermine Kittel, alto ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Richard Mayr, bass ; Georg Valkner, organ.

Wednesday, 6 December 1916 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Second « Gesellschaft » concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna « Tonkünstler » 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**) .

Over the course of **1917**, with Walter Gropius mostly absent, on active duty in France, Alma Mahler, after regaining her health and energy, carries on a lively social life, often gathering visitors at her home on « Elizabeth-Straße » . A new appearance in Alma's inner-circle at this time is the writer and critic Franz Blei, founder of the Expressionist magazine « Die weissen Blätter » . Alma is not terribly fond of Blei, but, when he has the idea to bring along the young poet Franz Werfel to meet her, she becomes interested.

November 1917 : About 3 months after Franz Werfel, who is serving in the Austrian military at the time, Walter Gropius arrives in Vienna to work in the Military Press Bureau.

Tuesday, 20 November 1917 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. « In Memoriam » : Funeral Music honouring Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria (II) .

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

Sunday, 25 November 1917 : « Burgtheater » in Vienna. Memorial ceremony for director Bernhard Baumeister.

Opening address given by Max Millenkovich-Morold.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

1918 : Franz Schalk becomes the music-director of the Vienna Court Opera, succeeding to Hans Richter. This also makes him the music-director of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Early on during Alma's recovery following the birth of Manon, Walter Gropius discovers the on-going love-affair between his wife and Franz Werfel. A period of turmoil follows for all concerned. It quickly becomes evident that Alma is not going to stay in her marriage to Gropius. At first, he very much desires to take custody of their now 2 year old daughter, but, in the face of Alma's resolute refusal to agree to this, he eventually yields to her.

Alma writes :

« Some time after World War I, Hans Pfitzner met Franz Werfel at my home. At first, he kept signaling to me, asking whether the intruder would not leave soon ; I pretended not to understand. With our frugal dinner, I served a few bottles of Tokay, which did not fail to take effect : the 2 started arguing fiercely about things to come. “ Germany will win yet ”, Pfitzner shouted, shaking his fists. “ Hitler will show you ! ” »

1919 : The Vienna Court Opera is renamed the Vienna State Opera. Franz Schalk shares the directorship with Richard Strauß, succeeding Hans Gregor. The intention of the government agencies in the « capital of music » is to maintain Austria's cultural prestige after losing the First World War by integrating a composer of world-wide renown.

Operas are frequently conducted by both within a short space of time, thus, it is a fine period for audiences, but it is not a happy marriage. Because of increasing differences between the two, of an artistic as well as personal nature, Strauß will take his wrathful leave (to use Bruno Walter's words) in 1924, leaving Schalk in sole charge of the Opera House until his retirement in 1929.

Schalk's most famous quote is :

« Every theatre is an insane asylum, but an Opera theatre is the ward for the incurables. »

During the closing years of his tenure, the Opera flourished, its productions including even modern operas by composers such as Paul Hindemith, Ernst Křenek, Erich Wolfgang Korngold and Igor Stravinsky. Although the music of these composers did not appeal to Schalk's more traditionalist views, he felt it his responsibility, as Director of the Vienna State Opera, to maintain ties with contemporary composers, for which purpose he engaged an assistant-conductor, Robert Heger, who was put in charge of these more modern productions.

Richard Strauß is mentioned today as one of the 20th Century's great conductors ; it should not be forgotten that, at the time in some works, Schalk could impress even more.

The Austrian opera and concert contralto Jella Braun-Fernwald marries conductor Hermann Ritter von Schmeidel (1894-1953) , who is then an employee of Franz Schalk in Vienna. Daughter of the Viennese doctor Egon Ritter von Braun-Fernwald and Jella Gabriele (born Vivenot) , she studied singing with Vittorio Vanzo in Milan and with Rosa Papier-Paumgartner in Vienna during the First World War.

The German conductor Georg Göhler brings the issue of Bruckner editions to the public attention in an article where he points out the questionable quality of the published scores and calls for a new « Critical Edition » from the perspective of a performer.

The Austrian musicologist Alfred Orel responds to the article confirming the necessity of a modern « Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works. Orel cites the significant differences between the printed scores and the original manuscripts, and calls for a « Critical Edition » of the works of Bruckner based on the composer's manuscript sources.

Göhler decried the poor quality of the then-available editions of Bruckner's music in a polemical article. Göhler did not work from a direct knowledge of Bruckner's manuscripts, but was alarmed by prevalent errors and discrepancies in the published orchestral score, piano score, and orchestral parts of the Sixth Symphony. What was needed, Göhler argued, was a « definitive, rigorous scholarly edition of Bruckner's scores » that reflected « what Bruckner himself had originally written » . Alfred Orel promptly confirmed that it was well-known in « musicological circles » that significant

differences existed between printed versions and autograph manuscripts of Bruckner's Symphonies, and agreed that a « stringent « Critical Edition » of the works of Anton Bruckner that contains authentic texts based on the Master's manuscripts is urgently needed » . Despite these calls by Orel and Göhler, it was not until 1927, with the founding of the « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » , that concrete steps were taken towards a New Bruckner Edition.

The « Bruckner-Gesellschaft » included among its main goals the publication of a « Critical Edition » of Bruckner's complete works, and, over the course of the next decade and a half, 12 volumes were published, most of them edited by Robert Haas.

Haas and his supporters argued, at times on slender evidence, that, prior to the publication of the Collected Works Edition, Bruckner's editors - Franz and Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Max von Oberleithner and Cyrill Hynais, all former students of the composer - had altered the Master's printed scores without his knowledge or permission. Or worse, they and their colleagues had coerced a composer, victim of years of conflict and rejection in Vienna and notorious for revising his pieces, into making ill-advised changes.

Haas interpreted the will of Bruckner as the composer's most emphatic stipulation that future editions should be based on the manuscripts Doctor Theodor Reisch, the legal executor, deposited regardless of Bruckner's previous assertions.

Haas's opponents pointed out that the editors had been Bruckner's students and friends who had worked tirelessly on the composer's behalf for years in the hostile Viennese environment. Bruckner had been grateful for their support and applauded performances of the readings in their editions. Those readings were superior from a performance standpoint to those of the autograph manuscripts. Eyewitness testimony was summoned to the effect that nothing had happened in the preparation of the early editions without Bruckner's approval.

Friederich Eckstein, for example, described the composer's conversations with his students as follows :

« I know that every note ... was set in stone during endless conversations among Bruckner, Franz and Josef Schalk, and (Ferdinand) Löwe. (...) It is certain that these conductors advised Bruckner regarding changes at least in the instrumentation, but also in tempo and dynamics. »

For the most part, supporters of the early editions ignored the content of Bruckner's will.

The bi-monthly journal « Musik-Blätter des Anbruch » appears for the first time. It will be edited by Paul Stefan from 1922 onwards (No. 7) .

Franz Schalk wants to see Anton Bruckner's Mass in F minor (**WAB 28**) printed in the original, simple version of the Vienna Court Chapel (« Hofburg-Kapelle ») , because, **after 1919**, he gladly and regularly conducted this work in the manuscript version.

He somehow indirectly rejects the work of his brother Josef, who had heavily edited the first edition.

Wednesday, 19 November 1919 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the mixed-choir of the « Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

Anton Bruckner : Mass No. I in D minor for soloists, mixed-choir, orchestra and organ « ad libitum » (**WAB 26**) .
Soloists : Felicie Mihacsek, soprano ; Emilie Rutschka, alto ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Julius Betetto, bass ; Georg Valker, organ.

Saturday, 27 March 1920 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Eighth subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

Sunday, 28 March 1920 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Eighth subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

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) .

Paul Stefan is one of the most remarkable modern music writers and critics, as well as dance observer of his time.

1920 : Alma Mahler hires, as a nurse for Manon Gropius, the 25 year old Agnes Ida Gebauer (called « Ida » , or « Schulli ») , who stays with the family for many years to come. (Born in 1895, « Ida » is a former Austro-Hungarian army nurse.)

Manon is known affectionately as « Mutzi » . A school friend of Manon, Susi Kertes, who is an aspiring actress, becomes a close friend of the family. Manon, too, has an interest in acting.

Alma writes :

« Gropius sent a telegram to Werfel in Vienna, asking him to meet me in Dresden. Emma Mahler Rosé, my dear friend and former sister-in-law, took the child and me to Dresden. I was half-dead when Werfel arrived from Vienna and took me off her hands.

Werfel's first act was to get a nurse for the child. Her name was Ida Gebauer ; we called her " Sister Ida ". Manon started watching her warily out of the corner of her eyes, but they were friends before the evening was over. We took Sister Ida right along to Berlin ; she understood us immediately, lived with us as though she had always done so, and became our most loyal friend, one who stayed with us for many years.

Now that I was in Berlin and far from him, Walter Gropius suddenly became the gentleman I always knew he was. He not only agreed to the divorce ; but he did everything necessary to co-operate in obtaining it. »

Wednesday, 20 October 1920 : The divorce of Alma Mahler and Walter Gropius becomes official.

Saturday, 6 November 1920 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Second subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Richard Wagner : « A “ Faust ” Overture » in D minor, revised version (WWV 59) .

Ottorino Respighi : « Fontane di Roma » (Fountains of Rome) , Symphonic-poem for orchestra (1916) .

Intermission

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

Sunday, 7 November 1920 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Second subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Richard Wagner : « A “ Faust ” Overture » in D minor, revised version (WWV 59) .

Ottorino Respighi : « Fontane di Roma » (Fountains of Rome) , Symphonic-poem for orchestra (1916) .

Intermission

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

Saturday, 13 November 1920 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Popular concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Richard Wagner : « A “ Faust ” Overture » in D minor, revised version (WWV 59) .

Ottorino Respighi : « Fontane di Roma » (Fountains of Rome) , Symphonic-poem for orchestra (1916) .

Intermission

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

1920's : There were important Free-Masons amongst the Conservatives, such as the long-standing head of the Austrian National Library, Doctor Josef Bick. In his person, however, there were numerous contradictions of the time. For example, he was concerned about the international orientation of the library (he opened the Esperanto Museum) , but he was also a member of the anti-Semitic « German community » . In **1921**, he was admitted to the Viennese lodge « Fortschritt » , to help some brothers to make the lodges « free from Jews » .

Monday, 10 October 1921 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Special concert commemorating the 25th anniversary of Anton Bruckner's death.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 1 in C minor (WAB 101) .

Intermission

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

1922 : The music historian and critic Paul Stefan is one of the founding members of the International Society for Contemporary Music (« Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik ») , along with Rudolf Réti, Egon Wellesz and others. In the following years, he holds the post of vice-president of the Austrian section.

Alma Mahler's daughter, Anna, begins a relationship with composer Ernst Křenek, who only met the once celebrated Viennese beauty when she was already in her early forties.

In his memoirs « Im Atem der Zeit » (In the Breath of Time) , he paints a very personal picture of her :

« A magnificently tarted-up battleship. - She was accustomed to wearing long, flowing garments in order not to show her legs, which were perhaps a less remarkable detail of her physiognomy. Her style was that of Wagner's Brunhilde transported into the atmosphere of Johann Strauß's "Fledermaus". »

Křenek was impressed by Alma's inexhaustible and indestructible vitality :

« She actually had what it takes to turn life into a vertiginous carousel. »

Alma invited Anna and Ernst Křenek to the best restaurants in Berlin, where she ordered « sophisticated, complicated and clearly expensive dishes and, above all, very rich beverages of all types » . On these occasions, Křenek noticed that food and drink were the basic elements of her strategy aimed at « making people helpless subjects of her power » . She indulged and bewitched her guests and was on top-form « when the senses and reason of her entourage were simultaneously befuddled and aroused » .

« Sex was the main topic of conversation, and, mostly, the sexual habits of friends and enemies were analyzed vociferously, with Werfel attempting to introduce a serious and intellectual note by festively spreading the word about global revolution. »

1922-1937 : The music historian Paul Stefan succeeds to Paul Amadeus Pisk as chief-editor of the Austrian music journal « Musik-Blätter des Anbruch » (simply called « Anbruch » from 1929) .

Stefan is also for many years music- and dance-critic for the Viennese newspaper « Die Stunde et Die Bühne » , as well as other European and American newspapers, including the « Neue Zürcher Zeitung » and « Musical America » .

January 1924 :

Alma Mahler confides in her diary about Franz Werfel

« I don't love him any more. My inner-life no longer connects with his. He has dwindled away once more to become that small, ugly, adipose Jew of my first impression. »

Alma's marriage is also a reaction to her advancing age and her physical decay. Neither, since her youth, had she lived alone, and she feared no longer finding a life partner. However, the two spent lengthy periods apart.

Sunday, 17 February 1924 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Extraordinary charity concert to raise money for the Philharmonic's Pension Fund.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 1 in C minor (WAB 101) .

Intermission

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

March 1924 : The city of Venice ranges among the most significant places in Alma's life.

There was scarcely anything left of Mahler's estate, since, in 1914, Alma had invested a large part of it in War Bonds. The remainder was eaten up by inflation in the 1920's. Moreover, since during this time, Mahler's Symphonies were played only occasionally, income from royalties was too low to finance the opulent life-style which Alma Mahler led.

Alma writes :

« I dream of living completely separated from the rest of the world, in my little house in Venice, all alone, protected by a wall of bricks - and to die there. But I do not know still whether I could bear at last great solitude. (...) In my house ! A little garden, a true paradise. »

April 1924 : In addition to her apartment on « Elisabethen-Straße » in Vienna and her country-villa (« Haus Mahler ») in Breitenstein-am-Semmering, Alma buys a further residence in Venice : a small palazzo belonging to the Soranzo family, which is not far from the Church of San Tomà and the « Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari » .

She names it « Casa Mahler » .

The house has a garden and a magnificent old gate, « under government protection as an historic monument » .

Venice becomes a refuge for Alma. She spends many months together with her beautiful daughter Manon Gropius. She installs 2 bath-rooms, and also enlarges one of the rooms in preparation for the coming of Franz Werfel.

Alma writes :

In April 1924, I moved into my own house, with its walled clematis garden. It was a paradise. Everything had turned out exactly as I wanted it. I spent an entire month there with Franz Werfel - alone with him, at last. We were happy. Nothing remained to be desired from the outside world, and I thought it was sinful of me, now and then, to feel undefined longings.

After renovations, the couple spends part of the summer there in 1924. It will remain an additional home until 1934.

The purchase of the « palazzo » brought Alma to the outer-limits of her financial possibilities. Even before the family was able to move into the house in the **spring of 1924**, a few reconstruction measures became necessary that drove the cost sky-high. And not least, the frequent trips between the 3 residences in Vienna (« Elisabethen-Straße ») , Breitenstein-am-Semmering, and now also Venice cut a gaping hole in the budget. Alma was certainly aware that she couldn't afford this costly lifestyle when she described her financial situation in **late-September 1923** as « little money - many needs » . Besides this, the inflation in Germany and Austria made planning impossible. The rapid devaluation of the currency over the course of the year seemed unstoppable. While one U.S. dollar cost 47,670 Marks on the Berlin stock-exchange in May 1923. By October, the exchange rate had already sky-rocketed to 25,260,000,000 Marks.

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.

Saturday, 14 June 1924 : Graz, Opera House.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Hugo Wolf : « Italienische Serenade » (Italian Serenade) in G major.

Intermission

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

Monday, 3 November 1924 : Innsbruck.

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) .

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Opus 67.

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

Wednesday, 5 November 1924 : Bregenz, « Blumenegg-Saal » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, « Eroica » , Opus 55.

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

Saturday, 22 November 1924 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Third subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Karl Goldmark : « Sakuntala » , Overture for orchestra, Opus 13.

Jean Roger-Ducasse : « Nocturne de printemps » dedicated to « ma chère maison des champs » , Nocturne for orchestra (1920) .

Jean Roger-Ducasse : « Le Joli Jeu de furet » , Scherzo for orchestra (1909) .

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

Sunday, 23 November 1924 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Third subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Karl Goldmark : « Sakuntala » , Overture for orchestra, Opus 13.

Jean Roger-Ducasse : « Nocturne de printemps » dedicated to « ma chère maison des champs » , Nocturne for orchestra (1920) .

Jean Roger-Ducasse : « Le Joli Jeu de furet » , Scherzo for orchestra (1909) .

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (**WAB 104**) .

Sunday, 30 November 1924 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Bruckner Gala-Concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Anton Bruckner : Overture in G minor for orchestra, Opus posthumous (WAB 98) .

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

Between 1924 and 1927 : All the Bruckner scores are newly-edited by Josef Venantius von WöB.

WöB consulted the scores and orchestral parts stored in the archives of the « Konzertverein » in Vienna, of which Ferdinand Löwe was conductor and founder.

The reception of Bruckner's music was based on scores edited (and sometimes markedly altered) by his pupils until the establishment of the first « Critical Edition » starting in 1930.

1925 : Alma Mahler is able to support Alban Berg in the publication of his opera « Wozzeck » . In gratitude, the composer dedicates the work to her.

That same year, she looks for the black trunk which is supposed to contain all of Otto Mahler's effects. Since the suicide of his younger brother on February 6, 1895, Gustav was too afraid to open it himself. The trunk had been looted thoroughly ; all of Otto's clothes, underclothes, and so on, are missing (for which Alma is grateful ...) but, just as Mahler had expected, the autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements of the second version of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) is laying under the school books and (« mediocre ») music dating from Otto's academic years at the Vienna Conservatory.

In his book of 1925, the Viennese musicologist Alfred Orel advocated publishing a « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works that would also contain detailed notes and commentaries on the variants between the different versions of each work.

Thus, when the customary period of copyright expired 30 years after Bruckner's death, the time came for the implementation of such a « Critical Edition » and for the opening-up of the manuscripts in the Vienna National Library containing the hitherto unknown original versions of the Symphonies. The scene was, then, set for posterity to pass judgement on a by-gone but chronologically very close musical era, some of whose protagonists were still alive or only very recently dead.

It was clear that the scholarly preparation of a « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works had first of all to be placed in the hands of the director of the Vienna National Library's music collection, Robert Haas, who was officially responsible for making the manuscripts of the Master's Estate accessible. He also formally took charge of the publication, initially together with Alfred Orel, whose first undertaking was to edit the original version of the unfinished Ninth Symphony in D minor (WAB 109) using all the hand-written sketch material.

Haas was confronted with legal constraints that hindered his editorial work. As a result, he had to wage an extensive campaign to promote his editions, which eventually proved durable and affected the reception of Bruckner's music half a Century later.

Monday, 31 August 1925 : Salzburg Festival, « Großes Festspielhaus » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

Saturday, 14 November 1925 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

Robert Schumann : Concerto in A minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 54. Soloist : Julius Isserlis.

Intermission

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

Sunday, 13 December 1925 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

Robert Schumann : Concerto in A minor for piano and orchestra, Opus 54. Soloist : Julius Isserlis.

Intermission

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

Sunday, 31 January 1926 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Extraordinary charity concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : Adagio and Fugue in C minor (KV 546) .

Intermission

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

1926 : The project for a « Critical Edition » is discussed when the 30 year legal copyright protection of Anton Bruckner's work expires.

The collection of manuscripts bequeathed by Bruckner to the Imperial Library in Vienna will remain unused until the 1930's.

Friday, 27 August 1926 : Salzburg Festival, « Großes Festspielhaus » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

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

1927 : Amalie Löwe, the widow of conductor Ferdinand Löwe (who died on 6 January 1925) , and Rosalia (« Sali ») Hueber (Anton Bruckner's heiress sister) sell a number of manuscript pages of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) to the Vienna City and State Library.

Meeting of Bruckner experts in Munich. Professor Max Auer reports that Franz Schalk, who originally authorized the publication of the manuscripts for musicological purposes only, finally imposed no restrictions. The « Linz version » of the First Symphony (**WAB 101**) and the publication of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) , based on the original manuscript, also seemed very important to him.

Publication of Josef Venantius von Wöb's « new revision » of Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk's piano-arrangement of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) (Universal-Edition, Vienna) .

The same year, an « umbrella organization » , which was registered in the Book-Trade House in Leipzig as a « Bruckner Society » , was founded through the then existing Bruckner Associations which included the ones created in 1926 in Vienna, Lower-Austria, Upper-Austria, and Switzerland. The foundation had already been decided in 1925. A structure was initially set-up to « build the new entity from the bottom » through the creation of regional alliances or local groups. The founders included Franz Moisl, Franz Gräßlinger, Karl Grunsky, Fritz Grüninger, and Max Auer who became the first President. As a result, numerous other local groups were founded. The main task was the publication of Anton Bruckner's works.

The « Complete Edition » was published between 1930 and 1932 by the publishing-house of Doctor Benno Filser in Augsburg, and then, under the Nazi regime, by the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Leipzig.

Alfred Schlee joined Universal-Edition as an employee on the recommendation of Hans Heinsheimer, initially as editor of the quarterly journal « Schrift-Tanz » (1928-1931) . Soon afterwards, he was offered the position of Universal-Edition representative in Berlin, which he « accepted with the greatest pleasure » .

Sunday, 3 April 1927 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Extraordinary charity concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : « Namensfeier » (Feastday or Name-day) , Symphonic Overture in C major, Opus 115.

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

Intermission

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

Monday, 18 April 1927 : Concert broadcast by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktien-Gesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : « Namensfeier » (Feastday or Name-day) , symphonic overture in C major, Opus 115.

Antonín Dvořák : « Klid » (Silent Woods) for violoncello and orchestra, Opus 68 (B. 182) (1893) . Soloist : Friedrich Buxbaum.

Antonín Dvořák : « Rondo » in G minor for violoncello and orchestra, Opus 94. Soloist : Friedrich Buxbaum.

Richard Wagner : « Siegfried Idyll » , Symphonic-poem (WWV 103) .

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

Alma writes :

*« On **Friday, July 15, 1927**, the seed of radicalism came up in Vienna : rioting in the streets, a hundred killed, a thousand injured, the Palace of Justice burned down, the mob unleashed. Our literary ideologists were thunderstruck. “ Mass murder of ideals ! ”, one of them wailed in a letter to me. Why had he not known what I saw so clearly coming ?*

I wrote :

“ It is madness to think the machine would serve us as an outward means to inner freedom. The more we rely on it, the more surely will the worker become our Czar (...) .”

I had seen it on July 15, in my newly-electrified house. A general strike had been called, and, every night, we expected to sit suddenly in darkness. As long as our work was done by candlelight, it had not been so easily disrupted ! »

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, which has come about because the Leipzig publishers «

Breitkopf & Härtel » has declared itself ready to take-over the preparation of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works.

The Imperial German predominance in this « Bruckner Society » was so overwhelming that Austrian institutions, above all the National Library in Vienna, owner of all the manuscripts in Bruckner's Estate, could not consent to the publication under these circumstances, since not only the Austrian but also the international character of the whole enterprise would be stifled. Negotiations with Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig were broken off and they withdrew, terminating their association with the « Bruckner Society ». A different arrangement was made instead, which, although outwardly giving greater prominence to the Austrian character of the enterprise and simultaneously emphasizing its international flavour, in reality did nothing to reduce the Imperial German predominance within the organisation.

The new arrangement that finally obtained the agreement of the general management of the National Library in Vienna made provision for the following changes :

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

2) The music-publisher Benno Filser in Augsburg is entrusted with taking-over arrangements for the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works but, for its part, must forgo public recognition as publisher of the edition.

3) The publication of the « Complete Edition » will take place through a firm to be established in Vienna under the auspices of the general management of the National Library in Vienna and the « International Bruckner Society » .

4) The publishing firm to be established in Vienna, which is assigned with the production of the « Complete Critical Edition », is to be given the title : « Musicological Publishers of the “ International Bruckner Society ” » .

5) The professors of the University of Vienna, Doctor Robert Haas, director of the music-collection in the National Library, and Doctor Alfred Orel are to act as editors of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

6) The title-page of the « Complete Critical Edition » is to read :

« Anton Bruckner, Complete Works. “ Complete Critical Edition ” on behalf of the General Management of the National Library and the “ International Bruckner Society ”, edited by Robert Haas and Alfred Orel. Musicological Publishers of the “ International Bruckner Society ”, Vienna. »

7) 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 ». Additional treasurers of the « International Bruckner Society » are Doctor Benno Filser (from Augsburg) ; and the manager of the Leipzig Office, Doctor Karl Krieser.

Monday, 5 December 1927 : Prague, « Lucerna Velký sál » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Gustav Mahler : « Kindertotenlieder » (Songs on the Death of Children) , song-cycle based on poems by Friedrich Rückert. Soloist : Hans Duhan, baritone.

Intermission

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

February 1928 :

Alma writes :

« I arrived yesterday. Venice ! I live in my house. My house built from nothing, a sum of money that never worried me ... if I sold it now, I would gain 100,000 Lira, a sum with 5 zeros. In exchange though, my universe would vanish and I would only have a few zeros more. »

Today, the enchanting « Oltre il giardino » (Beyond the Garden) Hotel, which lies next to a small canal just a stone's throw from the Church of the Frari in the heart of Venice, is a unique country-villa overlooking its delightful garden. The garden, with its olive trees, magnolia and pomegranate, is an oasis of peace and tranquillity.

Saturday, 11 February 1928 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Fifth subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Richard Wagner : « A “ Faust ” Overture » in D minor, revised version (WWV 59) .

Richard Wagner : « Siegfried Idyll » , Symphonic-poem (WWV 103) .

Intermission

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

Sunday, 12 February 1928 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Fifth subscription-concert of the season.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Richard Wagner : « A “ Faust ” Overture » in D minor, revised version (WWV 59) .

Richard Wagner : « Siegfried Idyll » , Symphonic-poem (WWV 103) .

Intermission

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

Friday, 9 March 1928 : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna. Major concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Giacomo Meyerbeer : Coronation March from Act 4 of the Opera « Le Prophète » . Soloist : Franz Schütz, organ.

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

Intermission

Richard Strauß : « Eine Alpensinfonie » , Symphonic-poem for large orchestra, Opus 64. Soloist : Franz Schütz, organ.

Friday, 20 April 1928 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

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

Saturday, 21 April 1928 (7:30 pm) : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

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

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

Sunday, 24 June 1928 : « Turnfesthalle » in 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**) .

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

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 following individuals were elected to the governing body of the « International Bruckner Society » , which had its headquarters located at Number 1 « Bücker-Straße » , at the old Vienna University (editorial office of the « Weiner Zeitung ») and described itself in the first paragraph of its statutes as « non-political, non-denominational, international » :

The Honorary President :

« General-Musik-Direktor » Professor Franz Schalk, from Vienna (who died on 3 September 1931, and exerted no practical influence on the Society's affairs but, in fact, later adopted an extremely sceptical attitude towards it) .

The 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.

The Secretaries :

Government Councillor Professor Franz Moßl, from Vienna-Klosterneuburg.

Prelate Doctor Franz-Xaver Münch, from Cologne.

The Treasurers :

Doctor Benno Filser, from Augsburg.

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

Engineer Norbert Furrer : Manager of the Vienna Office.

When one surveys this list of functionaries, which included several eminent individuals, and when one reads the highly-respectable aims of the Society outlined in the statutes, it becomes clear that an organizational apparatus was set-up under the cloak of internationalism and of reverence for a great musical Master who lived and worked in Austria, whose funding was nevertheless supplied by Imperial German capital (from the Filser publishing-house, in Augsburg, working anonymously in the background) . As a result of this, while 2 Viennese musicologists found work as editors of the new « Complete Edition » , at the same time, a position was created for an Imperial German publishing concern

in Austria that was able to develop extreme ideological propaganda in the name of Anton Bruckner with methods that were quite different from those usual for a commercial venture. When one considers that apart from Franz Schalk, who belonged to the governing body in a purely nominal sense as Honorary President, the managing committee of the « International Bruckner Society » contained only 2 outstanding individuals, Ernst Kurth in Berne and Walter Braunfels in Cologne, and that they were far from the scene of the action and, therefore, rarely took an active part in the organizational work of the society, then, it becomes clear that the real initiative behind implementing the programme of activities lay in the hands of President Max Auer from Vöcklabruck in Upper-Austria and the Imperial German financial supporters.

The sense in which Auer understood his office as President of the « International Bruckner Society » emerges from his book « Anton Bruckner. Sein Leben und Werk », published by the « Musicological Publishing House » in 1924.

This begins as follows :

« When Mars reigns, the muses are silent. The truth of this sentence was demonstrated during that great global event which overtook Europe in the form of the Great War. Only that kind of unhealthy, distorted, and convulsive artificiality could have emerged from this arena of murder and conflagration, from this release of all emotion, and begun to crystallise into the hyper-modernity that followed the War ; an art that was being prepared in the extreme materialism and naked intellectualism of the pre-War years and which stereotypically swore allegiance to catch-words such as “ linear ”, “ atonal ”, and so on.

Above this chaos, this Bolshevism in music, the forward-looking art of the Master from Ansfelden, which progressed from the material to the metaphysical (“ Übersinnliche ”), began to glow in tranquil splendour, visible to all who sought redemption from the wasteland of materialism in a higher spiritual existence. To them, Bruckner became the leader, the saviour of a new spiritual world, the dragon slayer Michael ! Already, the demons of musical demagoguery were retreating before the flaming sword of the Archangel Michael, the guardian of the most sacred treasures of the German nation.

Thus, the last great German Master of the 20th Century opened up a new era, illuminated the path and pointed the way. »

It was completely obvious that, behind this whole arrangement, stood nothing other than Nazi propaganda directed from Munich and Berlin, and that this was the real motivating force behind the campaign to bring to fruition a new « Complete Critical Edition » in opposition to the universally adopted printed versions of Universal-Edition ; and this became abundantly clear when one observed the co-ordinated actions of different groups and individuals from the great-German and National-Socialist camp who played active parts in the controversy in one way or another, whether it be through adopting a public position in word or print, forming committees to explain certain factual findings, or merely through engaging in whispering campaigns to promote particular slogans.

When one examines Nazi propaganda activities in the musical life of Imperial Germany during these years, it is

obvious that this National-Socialist propaganda was, by no means, concerned just with Bruckner, but, not least, with striking a blow against Universal-Edition, hitherto the disseminators of Bruckner in « falsified form » . For Universal-Edition was the leading Austrian music-publisher, which thanks to Emil Hertzka's wide-ranging support for contemporary music - and, particularly, contemporary opera production - had built-up a dominant position in this field. The influence Universal-Edition had on shaping programmes of new productions amongst Imperial German opera-stages became so great in the post-War years that it assumed politico-cultural importance. If Republican Germany was able to develop a new post-Romantic opera culture, then it was largely due to Universal-Edition, which had brought a wealth of new composers and new works to its opera stages.

This in itself, however, was a disquieting development for nationalist reactionaries in Germany who were preparing a counter-revolution. Clearly, the Republican regime could be culturally and politically strengthened, and international influence in German music life increased, through a new flowering of German operatic culture. For that reason, as early as the mid-1920's, National-Socialist propaganda began its so-called « purification campaign against influences of foreign races in German musical life » , which operated along approximately the same lines as the « purification campaign against filth and trash in German cultural life » . In addition to an entire network of concerted press-propaganda, this led in practical terms to the organisation of disturbances at important opera premieres.

The National-Socialist campaign for the « true Bruckner » contained in the « original versions » was certainly a welcome tag under which they could strike a blow against the reviled Universal-Edition by exposing the printed editions as « falsifications » of Bruckner's music. At the same time, by spreading the « falsification theory » amongst Austrian circles of the Bruckner movement, the possibility arose of exploiting the sharp divisions that had already developed between Vienna and the Austrian provinces in the years of the democratic Republic, and which had grown much more marked in the period of the clerical-fascist dictatorship after 1934. In Linz and Upper-Austria, Bruckner's immediate homeland, where the « (Upper-)Austrian Bruckner Society » had its headquarters, it was not difficult to incite local patriotic feeling against the « falsification » of Bruckner's scores perpetrated in Vienna by the « cultural Bolshevik » music-publishers Universal-Edition, and to persuade them to join the systematic campaign for the promotion of the « original versions » published in the « Complete Critical Edition » . This propaganda was supported and re-inforced in Upper-Austria from the Bavarian side, where the « International Bruckner Society » , to which the « Austrian Bruckner Society » was annexed, had its base in Regensburg near Munich.

The draft English translation differs from the original German text, and has the end of this sentence thus :

« (...) where the " International Bruckner Society " in Augsburg had its office, to which the 2 large Austrian Bruckner Leagues (the Upper-Austrian and the one for Vienna and Lower-Austria) were annexed as local groups » .

A pre-condition of this, of course, was that the editors of the « Complete Critical Edition » repeatedly raised the subject of the « falsification theory » in subsequent volumes as well, albeit in new variations. According to this theory, which was advanced by Robert Haas, Bruckner was intellectually violated and compelled against his better judgement and conscience by friends and students (principally, conductors of the first performances of his Symphonies such as Ferdinand Löwe, Franz Schalk, Arthur Nikisch, and others) to accept, into the printed editions, those cuts and

instrumental retouchings carried out by these conductors, on practical grounds. Thus, the « true Bruckner » , to be found only in the scores of the « original versions » , had not been heard at all, until now.

(While Robert Haas's ties to the Nazi Party at the end of his career cast doubt on certain motivations for his publishing endeavour, his unique knowledge of archival sources to establish his « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's work was unmatched at the time.)

The way in which Haas supported the « falsification theory » in the introductions and commentaries of the « Complete Critical Edition » and, in his other verbal and written statements, all too obviously trying to construct a « criminal musical case around Anton Bruckner » , contrasts so strongly with the scrupulousness and wealth of information in his other musicological works that one cannot possibly mistake his role as an illicit, clandestine agent of National-Socialist propaganda. It is scarcely credible that he would, otherwise, have neglected to examine more closely the personal relationships between Bruckner and his friends and the various conductors of his first performances as they appear in several contemporaneous sources (particularly, the correspondence between Bruckner and his conductors relating to questions of cuts and alterations) and that he would have overlooked the conclusions arising from this, in his historical-critical introductions and commentaries to the « Complete Critical Edition » . Instead, Haas attempted to represent each divergence between the original and printed versions as an act of sacrilege committed against Bruckner's music by his conductors and friends who had imposed their will on the old Master.

Haas was confronted with a difficult issue that was to hinder the work of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») . Universal-Edition filed a lawsuit against « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » (the publisher of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe ») for the similarities in their « original versions » (unpublished manuscript scores) . Universal-Edition had continued to publish the first printed editions of all the Bruckner Symphonies. They were initially tolerant of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » project. As a result of an emendation to the copyright law in 1934, however, copyright protection for the Universal-Edition scores was extended from 30 years to 50 years after the author's death. Accordingly, the validity of the copyrights for Bruckner's Symphonies that Universal-Edition held was extended until 1946. When Universal-Edition realized that « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag's » profits from their new editions were superseding their own Universal-Edition scores, they resorted to legal action. They tried to dispute the legitimacy of copyright protection for Haas's « original versions » as independent musical texts. Universal-Edition's main concern was the overt textual similarities between the Universal-Edition scores, whose copyright was now re-protected, and the « original versions » from the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » of some Symphonies.

From a legal point-of-view, the number of discrepancies between the Universal-Edition scores and the corresponding « original versions » varies from work to work. However, some of the Universal-Edition scores were close enough to the « original versions » to create copyright issues for « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » .

Willy Hoffmann, who represented « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » as a specialist in copyright law, presented a counter-report to the Ministry of Culture seeking their support. Hoffmann argued that the preservation of the autograph manuscripts at the Austrian National Library could not be considered « publication » and, therefore, Haas's « original versions » were still under protection.

Wednesday, 2 January 1929 : Postcard from Oswald Kabasta to Universal-Edition :

Agreement on the purchase price for the material for the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) .

1929 : Franz Schalk is relieved as music-director of the Vienna State Opera.

(Photo) Musicologist Alfred Schlee (third from left) at work with colleagues in the iconic « Bruckner Room » where the Master taught and composed. The mezzanine level was, then, home to the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Konzervatorium » . This is presumably also where the young Gustav Mahler was given his (only !) 2 music lessons by Bruckner - which Mahler called with passion : « artistic father » and « protagonist » of new music.

Emil Hertzka's outer-office was separated from his magnificent room by an un-padded door - which meant that you could knock on it. This is where Miss Rothe sat at her own roll-top desk ; this must certainly have been an intentional ploy, and it gave her great prestige.

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.

The first issue of the « Bruckner-Blätter » is printed.

The Society hires Robert Haas as general-editor, and Alfred Orel as his assistant.

While Haas was recognized as the senior member of the duo, Orel was expressly given the task of preparing the Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**) . Such a division of responsibilities inevitably led to conflict. The ever-ambitious Haas could not tolerate compromising his power, nor could he accede to Orel's sometimes very different conception of the musical text.

At first, the musical community did not accept the less-than-scientific methods that Haas utilized in his new Edition. In particular, Orel condemned Haas's methods, leaving a bitter rivalry between the two. While Orel relied upon a strict analysis of Bruckner's scores to complete his research, Haas relied on a spiritual connection with the dead composer.

The « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») adopted 2 editorial principles :

Rejecting the first printed editions as inauthentic.

Basing their publication exclusively on Bruckner's manuscript sources.

The « Gesamt-Ausgabe » grounded their editorial policy on the stipulation of the posthumous publication in Bruckner's will. They construed Bruckner's will in favour of their doctrine so that their purpose appeared to fulfill the composer's intentions.

With time, the versions of the Schalk brothers and Ferdinand Löwe will fall into oblivion.

Monday, 15 April 1929 (8:00 pm) : Great hall of the « Konzerthaus » in Vienna. Major concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

Hector Berlioz : « Rákóczi March » (Hungarian March) from Act I (3b) of the dramatic legend « La Damnation de Faust » , Opus 24 (H. 111) .

Georg Friedrich Händel : « Concerto grosso » in D major, Opus 3, No. 6.

Intermission

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

Richard Wagner : Overture and « Bacchanale » (Venusberg Music) from the Opera « Tannhäuser » (WWV 70) .

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

Sunday, 16 June 1929 : Protestant Richard Eberstaller marries Anna Maria Moll, the biological daughter of the noted painter Carl Moll, leader of the Vienna « Secession » movement, and art-gallery director.

In the climate of increasing political radicalization, Alma's anti-Semitism became even more pronounced. She had made it a condition that Franz Werfel should leave the Jewish religious community before the wedding. Werfel had complied with her request, but, a few months later, on **5 November 1929**, he converted back to Judaism without Alma's knowledge. The later Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Elias Canetti, mentions in his autobiography « Das Augenspiel » (The Play of the Eyes) how Alma contemptuously described Gustav Mahler as a « little Jew » .

Saturday, 6 July 1929 : At the age of 50, Alma Mahler finally marries her « man-child » , Franz Werfel, in Vienna's City Hall. Her half-sister Anna Maria Moll and Richard Eberstaller are witnesses at the wedding ceremony. This is Alma's third marriage.

Werfel, the Jewish poet and author of novels and successful theatre plays, is at the time among the most read authors in the German language.

Together, the two commute with their daughter Manon Gropius between the « Casa Mahler » in Venice and their country-villa (« Haus Mahler ») on the Semmering mountain pass, at a remove but still within easy reach of Vienna.

Alma's feelings for her 31 year old half-sister Anna Maria are ambivalent. Richard and Maria may have served as witnesses at the wedding, but the sisters never entered into close contact. While Alma maintained what can be described as a cordial relationship with her brother-in-law Richard (the 43 year old attorney increasingly advised her in legal matters) , she frequently treated Anna Maria condescendingly and patronizingly.

Thursday, 15 August 1929 : Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter (« Erzabtei Sankt Peter ») . Salzburg Festival.

The concert is under the protectorate of Countess von Hartenau (Johanna Maria Louise Loisinger) and Archabbot Petrus Karl Klotz.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Boys' Choir, the Choir of the State Opera and the Vienna Philharmonic 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 : Soprano and alto unknown ; Hermann Gallos, tenor ; Franz Markhoff, bass ; Emil von Sauer, organ. (The 12 year old Georg Tintner sings in the boys' choir) .

Monday, 19 August 1929 : Salzburg Festival, « Großes Festspielhaus » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Opus 67.

Intermission

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

Saturday, 19 October 1929 (noon time) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Workers' symphonic concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Programme

Johann Sebastian Bach : Orchestral Suite arranged by Gustav Mahler.

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

Intermission

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

End of the 1920's : The music historian and critic Paul Stefan makes a considerable number of radio appearances.

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

Sunday, 19 January 1930 : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Extraordinary charity concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Johann Sebastian Bach : Orchestral Suite arranged by Gustav Mahler.

Intermission

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

Sunday, 30 March 1930 : Letter from Professor Max Auer, President of the « International Bruckner Society » , to Franz Schalk :

Professor Auer is already very excited about Franz Schalk's report on the Ninth Symphony (WAB 109) .

Wednesday, 9 April 1930 (8:00 pm) : Great hall of the « Musikverein » in Vienna. Major concert.

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Hector Berlioz : Ball-music from the dramatic Symphony « Roméo et Juliette » , Opus 17.

Franz Liszt : « Mazeppa » , Symphonic-poem No. 6 (S. 100) .

Richard Wagner : « Siegfried's Death and Funeral Music » from the Opera « Götterdämmerung » (Twilight of the Gods) (WWV 86d) .

Richard Wagner : « Brünnhilde's Immolation Scene » from the Opera « Götterdämmerung » (Twilight of the Gods) (WWV 86d) . Soloist : Helene Wildbrunn, soprano.

Intermission

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

1930 : The Austrian government elevates Franz Schalk, one of his leading conductors, to the unprecedented position of « general music-director » , meaning for all Austria : a title created especially for him.

He writes about Bruckner's Symphonies :

« Many of the changes would not be necessary today. (...) The Master himself had minimal understanding of the little comforts of music-making. He seldom if ever considered it necessary in his notation and method of writing to distinguish thematically or harmonically significant notes from their neighbours. As a result, the first attempts at performance often featured masses of sound and confused intonation. This is where his students - with the deepest

belief in the eternal greatness of his music - intervened and tried to create remedies. Their extremely careful work was limited (...) almost without exception to technical simplifications which would make the inner-meaning of this symphonic colossus easier for the listener to comprehend. »

The remedies were often more far reaching than Schalk leads us to believe and were infused with Wagnerian ideology and practice. The Schalk brothers brought Bruckner personally closer to the young Wagnerian faction in Vienna, and their musical interventions were based on their understanding of Wagnerian orchestral sound.

The first modern « Complete Critical Edition » (« Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke : Kritische Gesamt-Ausgabe ») , supervised by the « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » in Vienna, begins under the direction of chief-editor Robert Haas.

The Haas Edition is driven in part by a strong desire to claim the copyright of the Bruckner Symphonies away from Universal-Edition, a firm long despised by the Nazi movement, and whose Bruckner publications had received direct financial support from Gustav Mahler.

The « Gesamt-Ausgabe » managed to publish 8 out of the 9 numbered Symphonies by 1944. Haas edited all of them except for the Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**) , which was edited by Alfred Orel. Although the project was never fully-completed, the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » revolutionized the reception of Bruckner's music, and dramatically reshaped the canon of Bruckner's works.

Alfred Orel returns the material of the Ninth Symphony to Franz Schalk.

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 » .

Saturday, 23 August 1930 : Salzburg Festival, « Großes Festspielhaus » .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, « Eroica » , Opus 55.

Intermission

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

Late-August 1930 :

Alma Mahler grumbles :

« (Carl) Moll has written a book about my father. Apart from the fact that I consider it completely tactless that the adulterer is triumphing even 40 years later and stripping poor Schindler naked, praising my mother - his mistress at the time - to the skies, apart from that, the book contains a dedication to his “ daughters ”, Alma and Gretl. »

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) .

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.

The Zsolnays encourage Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel to move from their city apartment at Number 22 « Elisabeth-Straße » into a prestigious house that befits her social standing.

January 1931 : Despite her initial resistance, Alma finds a splendid villa to her taste which is located at « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 2 - « Woller-Gasse » Number 12, in the upscale Vienna neighbourhood of « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) - only a short walk from the end of the street-car line Number 37.

She is thrilled with the house and its sand-coloured façade.

The « Villa Ast » was built from 1909 to 1911 by Alma's old « Secession » friend, the architect Josef Hoffmann, for Eduard Ast, a wealthy businessman who owned one of the top construction companies in Austria which pioneered the use of re-inforced concrete. As money was no object, only the most precious materials were used, and the entire house was outfitted with products from of the « Wiener Werkstätte » (Viennese Workshop) , which Ast was a major funder. When his firm suffered severe losses after the « krach » of 1929, he found himself forced, with a heavy heart, to give up his architectural jewel.

The house is strikingly different from the architect's earlier buildings, and represents the splendour of his work in Vienna.

Built of re-inforced concrete, the 2 storey « Jugendstil » house, with over 20 rooms and furniture by the Vienna « Werkstätte » , is encrusted with decorations and sculptures. It is strongly vertical, sited atop a stone pedestal that contains the basement, and features a modern interpretation of a classical type façade. The yellowish marble paneling of the entrance hall runs all the way up to the ceiling. A black wooden staircase leads to the « bel étage » above. The grand hall is lined floor to ceiling with fine veined marble panels of a different colours with large built-in glass display cabinets. The study, the dining room, as well as the oval-shaped ladies' « salon » can also be seen on this floor. Colours are harmonized between the individual rooms : dark green marble for the study ; gray-green Cipolino marble for the ladies' « salon » ; bright Lasa marble paneling for the grand hall. A glass double door leads into the large dining room, which, with parquet flooring made from different types of wood, pleasantly harmonized with the brown and orange hues of Portovenere marble and the champagne-coloured masonry. Moving on from either the hall

or the dining room, one comes to the large veranda with windows on one side, looking out at an ample garden (which connects with a gallery giving access to the garden) decorated with winding water basins made of concrete. The upper-floor of the villa contains the bath and dressing rooms, 2 children's rooms, a room for the governess, a further living room, as well as a bedroom paneled in palisander.

Saturday, 31 January 1931 : Lawyer Richard Eberstaller becomes a member of the Austrian N.S.D.A.P (membership card-number : 440.371) . The Party will be banned in Austria in 1933.

Tuesday, 17 February 1931 : Eduard Ast and Alma Mahler-Werfel sign the deed of sale. The purchase price of the villa is largely financed from Werfel's royalties. Rudolf Werfel also subsidizes his son with a contribution of 40,000 Shillings.

Saturday, 28 March 1931 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the manager of the Vienna Office of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Furreg agrees with Auer that Doctor Benno Filser's dismissal as treasurer of the « International Bruckner Society » and head of the Augsburg Office would only be possible - if necessary - with the consent of the entire board-of-directors.

Alma writes :

*« On **March 29, 1931**, I was alone at Number 22 “ Elisabeth-Straße ”, for the last time going to bed in my dear old apartment. Werfel was working in Santa Margherita ; to spare him all everyday cares, I had picked a moving date on which I knew he was going to be far from Vienna. I was too excited to sleep. What would the new house bring me ? It would take strength to fight the deaths there had been in it : 2 young people, children of the previous owners, had died there not long ago, many tears had been shed there. Could I be cheerful enough to dry those tear-soaked walls ?*

I wrote :

“ It is no accident that I'm so dreadfully lonely today. Is it the end of the past, or the beginning of the future ? ” »

While Franz Werfel is away in Santa Margherita Ligure, Alma refurbishes the villa with a new music room and a large study for Werfel at the top of the house. She puts on full-display - alongside Mahler's own autograph scores - the famous manuscript of Anton Bruckner's first 3 movements of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , which suddenly becomes an important player in the theatricalities of her life and a symbolic artefact in the international drama to come ...

Alma writes :

*« On the morning of **March 30**, I moved out to the “Hohe Warte”. The big house seemed to welcome me warmly, with open arms, and when I went to sleep there in my own bed, it was as if I had never slept anywhere else. I had brought Manon home from boarding school, and we felt so far from each other, so lost in all that space, that we both crawled into my huge bed and stayed together all night.*

In breathless haste, I furnished, decorated, and arranged our mansion. The hall was marble-paneled, with large, built-in wall cabinets which I filled with manuscripts and autographs. The “pièce de résistance” was the manuscript score of the Third Symphony by Anton Bruckner, which had a strange history. Bruckner had given the first 3 movements to Gustav Mahler, to make a piano arrangement ; Ferdinand Löwe was to arrange the fourth. Mahler, then in Hamburg and over-burdened with work, gave the manuscript to his brother Otto. Otto committed suicide, and, for 13 years, Gustav Mahler did not have the heart to open the black trunk that contained Otto’s possessions, to see whether the manuscript was still there. After Mahler’s death, I sent for the trunk. It had been looted thoroughly ; all of the dead man’s clothes, underclothes, and so on, were missing - for which I was grateful. But among his school books and mediocre music, I found, just as Mahler had expected, the first 3 movements of Bruckner’s Third.

The strain of fixing-up the house was indescribable - especially after I had dislocated a shoulder in the process - but, with elation, I saw it grow more and more homelike. »

Alma entertained visitors almost daily at the Villa ASt.

One guest noted :

« Tall, always in ankle length dresses, her hair glowing, her jewellery glittering prominently, Alma knew exactly how to make a beautiful and pleasant evening for her guests. »

Her daughter Anna recalled her powerful allure :

« When she entered a room, or just stopped in the doorway, you could immediately feel an electric charge. (...) She was an incredibly passionate woman. (...) And she really paid attention to everyone she spoke to. And encouraged them. (...) She was able to enchant people in a matter of seconds. »

Her « salon » soon became the legendary spiritual and cultural centre of Vienna. Old friends Arnold Schönberg, Alban and Helene Berg, Bruno Walter, Ödön von Horváth, Hermann Broch, Franz Theodor Csokor, Egon Friedell, Gerhart Hauptmann, Gustav Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka, Thomas Mann, Hans Pfitzner, Arthur Schnitzler and Ernst Bloch mingled with artists, industrialists, scholars, and politicians.

Karl Mann recalled :

« In one corner of the boudoir, people discussed in a whisper about some appointment to a high government position, while another group of people were making up their minds whom to cast in a new comedy at the “ Burgtheater ”. »

The villa had been increasingly frequented by new guests who shared Alma's political views which were characteristics of Austrian clerical conservatism. Besides the active Chancellor of Austria, Kurt von Schuschnigg, there were the former Chancellor Rudolf Ramek, the fascist putschist Education Minister Anton Rintelen (1), the military officer, historian and journalist Edmund Glaise-Horstenau (2), St. Stephen's Cathedral organist Karl Josef Walter, the music historian, sacred music composer and church bell specialist Franz Andreas Weißenböck (3).

(1) The teenage Manon Gropius was used by her aging mother Alma to attract the kind of sensual male attention that she had readily enjoyed for herself in her youth. However, now she found that joy vicariously in matching her daughter up with an older man, the Austro-Fascist politician Anton Rintelen, who would later be arrested for his role in the failed Nazi « July Putsch » of 1935. Alma also encouraged a younger visitor, the Austro-Fascist bureaucrat named Erich Cyhlar, to court Manon, in the hopes that pending nuptials would compel her to walk again (Manon was left paralyzed by contracting poliomyelitis).

(2) In the 1930's, the economic depression and the advent of National-Socialism re-awakened the latent all-German forces in the Austrian Republic. A former general staff-officer of the old Imperial army, a noted military writer and journalist, Edmund Glaise-Horstenau shared with some of his Catholic-National friends the Greater German dream.

The son of an officer, Edmund Glaise-Horstenau attended the Theresian Military Academy and served in World War I on the Austro-Hungarian General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army, where he, from 1915, headed the press-department of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces. After the War, he studied history at the University of Vienna, beside his employment at the Austrian War Archives (as director from 1925 to 1938). Originally a monarchist, Glaise-Horstenau became the Number 2 in the hierarchy of the banned Austrian Nazi Party in the middle- and late-1930's behind its leader Josef Leopold. He achieved the rank of a colonel at the Austrian Army Intelligence Office (« Heeres-Nachrichten-Amt ») in 1934. To improve relations with Nazi Germany, he was appointed a member of the « Staats-Rat » of the Federal State of Austria from 1934 in the rank of a Minister « without portfolio ». Enjoying the confidence of both Adolf Hitler and Kurt von Schuschnigg, Glaise-Horstenau was appointed to the Austrian cabinet in July 1936 in order to effect the rapprochement between the Nazis and the corporate regime. He rallied to the Nazi cause not because he shared Nazi beliefs but because Nazism advanced his all-German objectives.

(3) Franz Andreas Weißenböck belonged to the Augustinian Order ; campanologist and « Kapellmeister » at the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna ; Academy professor in Vienna ; founder and music-director of the Vienna Chamber Choir ; publisher in 1937 of the Dictionary of Catholic Church Music (« Lexikon der katholischen Kirchen-Musik ») ; he conducted at Klosterneuburg on December 9, 1933, the premiere of the Oratorio « St. Leopold » by Mathilde Kralik (Mathilde Aloisia Kralik von Meyrswalden) who was a former student of Anton Bruckner, Franz Krenn and Julius Epstein at the Vienna Conservatory - and classmate of Gustav Mahler.

Franz Werfel did not feel at home in the ostentatious Villa Ast. On top of all this, differing political opinions also contributed to the widening gulf between them. Alma had a positive view of the Nazis.

Her behaviour is such a mass of contradictions. She never lost the taint of anti-Semitism prevalent from her youth in the last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and spent a lifetime making startlingly offensive remarks about Jews, fuelled in old age by her daily bottle of « Bénédictine » liqueur (cognac) .

Monday, 27 April 1931 : Concert broadcast by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktien-Gesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) .

Franz Schalk conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Programme

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

Intermission

Anton Bruckner : Symphony No. 4 in E-flat major, « Romantic » , 1888 version (WAB 104) .

Alma writes :

« May 18, 1931, was the 20th anniversary of Mahler's death. I gave his portrait bust by Rodin to the Vienna State Opera, demanding only that it be unveiled on the date - and thus, in a way, compelling the authorities to have a commemoration they had, by no means, intended. I asked for the Adagietto from the Fifth Symphony, which Clemens Krauß conducted after the new director, (Wolfgang) Schneiderhan, had paid an impressive tribute to Mahler's work at the Opera.

I noted :

“ Only the bust is too small for the large room. My mistake ! ”

Plans were afoot to erect a monument to Gustav Mahler. I had to think of Felix Salten's Mahler essay, with its comment on the Viennese :

“ Now, of course, they are singing Mahler's praises. But only because he is dead. (...) Over the dead, they become enthusiastic ; for the dead, they stand up ardently, as if they needed protection. The dead enchant them. But, by the living, they are ' not taken in ' . (...) ”

Gustav Mahler had been dead 20 years, long enough to rate a monument in Vienna.

The idea came from Guido Adler, who had written the first critical appreciation of Mahler's work, a committee was formed and joined by all sorts of notables ; the necessary money was raised in short order. A fitting site was chosen, and a block of marble cut. Yet, for each obstacle that was

surmounted, 2 new ones rose in the path of the project. My diary contains a note on a committee meeting - the hundredth, perhaps - in the City Hall office of Welfare Minister Julius Tandler ; the former federal president, Hainisch, was in the chair and announced that the reigning Prince Schwarzenberg had withdrawn his previously granted permission to erect the monument on the ramp of his park - and that after the city had already approved the plan and appropriated funds for the pedestal !

I wrote :

“ Dejection was general. But Tandler, that magnificently frank fighter, conquered them all, and we, the inner committee, will now battle to the end ! ” »

July 1931 : Franz Schalk conducts for the last time.

1931 : The musicologist Robert Haas points out the differences between Ferdinand Löwe's edition and Bruckner's original manuscripts of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) .

Thursday, 3 September 1931 : Franz Schalk dies as the result of an influenza-related lung infection, at the age of 68, in the town of Edlach, located in the Lower-Austrian region of Reichenau-an-der-Rax.

Son : Gabriel ; nephew : Fritz.

Franz Schalk was considered in the early-20th Century, along with Ferdinand Löwe, the Bruckner conductor « par excellence » , and enjoyed the reputation of an inviolable authority.

The musician, musicologist, author and teacher, Doctor Josef Braunstein, who had many times played as a violist in orchestras under Franz Schalk's direction, remembered him clearly.

When asked what he thought of Schalk as a conductor and as a person, he said with great earnestness :

« I had the highest regard for him. I had the highest regard for Schalk. »

Then, after a pause, he said :

« I still remember with greatest pleasure when there was a memorial concert for Schalk and when music-critic Robert Konta said that Schalk was not a musician, was not a conductor, but was an Austrian institution ! And it was true ! »

Schalk's death meant that he was not able to benefit from the electric era of recording. Interestingly enough, the sessions planned by « HMV » for 1932 included 2 Bruckner Symphonies : the Third in D minor (**WAB 103**) and the

Fourth in E-flat major (**WAB 104**) .

Over the course of his life, Schalk revised his views concerning the printed editions. Although he was reluctant to accept the idea of a « Complete Critical Edition » , he did not reject its basic principle.

Schalk's brilliant wife, the singer « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen (1873-1967) , a staunch feminist, is now the sole owner of many of Anton Bruckner's manuscripts, including the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) . Although there is a contractual agreement with the « International Bruckner Society » to make the manuscripts available, at least for inspection, problems will constantly erupt with the administrators of the « Gesamt-Ausgabe » (« Complete Edition ») .

Alfred Orel comes into possession of the material for the Ninth Symphony via negotiations with « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen following which the early version of the « Entwürfe und Skizzen zur IX. Symphonie » , which does not contain the Schalk material, is revised and expanded.

A few years after Schalk's death, musicologist Robert Haas will come to an extremely negative assessment of the function and importance of Bruckner's circle of pupils on the first edited scores (sometimes markedly altered) . Today, Schalk's relationship to Bruckner, like that of his brother Josef, appears ambivalent. Schalk's personal view of Bruckner is documented in his extensive correspondence with his brother.

Wednesday, 14 October 1931 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« Frau » Lili provides the manuscripts of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies (**WAB 105, 106**) , which were modified by her late-husband, and compared with the manuscripts, from which she will have copies made, ready for the « Complete Edition » (« Gesamt-Ausgabe ») .

Tuesday, 27 October 1931 : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Bruno Walter is regarded by Judaism as a leader - as a successor to Gustav Mahler. The « International Bruckner Society » is threatened with the danger that the Jewish spirit will be brought into this Association dedicated to a purely German Master (Bruckner) .

Hausegger had made his position clear in relation to a Bruckner performance conducted by Bruno Walter :

« Walter's name has programmatic significance. He is seen by the Jews as their leader, as the successor, as it were, to Gustav Mahler. Our Society (i.e. , the International Bruckner Society in Vienna) , like all cultural institutions in Germany, runs the risk of being taken over by power-hungry Jews who would attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to alter the

nature of an association dedicated to a pure German master. »

Monday, 9 November 1931 : Concert given in Vienna honouring the late-conductor Franz Schalk.

The Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) is performed by the Vienna Music Academy (« Wiener Musik Akademie ») under Franz Schmidt.

Wednesday, 11 November 1931 : Letter from Universal-Edition to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Universal requests that the orchestral manuscripts of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) loaned by Franz Schalk be returned.

Friday, 13 November 1931 : The article by Professor Max Auer published in the « Bruckner-Blätter » Number 3, entitled « Bruckner and Mahler », is received differently.

Friday, 4 December 1931 : Letter from Universal-Edition to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Because it belongs to them, Universal renews its request that the orchestral manuscripts of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) , loaned by Franz Schalk, must be returned.

Tuesday, 8 December 1931 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to Universal-Edition :

« Frau » Lili gave to the Austrian National Library the orchestral manuscripts of the Sixth Symphony (**WAB 106**) , with the corrections written by Franz Schalk.

In the future, Robert Haas will represent her in this matter.

Saturday, 23 January 1932 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the manager of the Vienna Office of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Doctor Benno Filser can no longer be completely trusted. Caution should be exercised.

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.

Monday, 9 May 1932 : Death of music-publisher Emil Hertzka in Vienna, marking the end of an era. He is buried on May 11th at the Döbling Cemetery (« Döblinger Friedhof ») . Grave : group 14 ; row 3 ; grave 1A.

To honour further its late-director, Universal-Edition establishes a memorial foundation in his name - the « Emil Hertzka Gedächtnis-Stiftung » - which is to award prizes annually to promising young composers.

In his commemorative address, which incidentally is held at the « Brahms-Saal » of the « Musikverein » , Alban Berg recalls the difficult early-years :

« Looking back 20 to 30 years will be enough ; it is sufficient to look at the [musical] programme of this very commemorative celebration, with its 3 composers : Bruckner, Mahler, and Schönberg. Bringing them together in a single concert seems as fitting to us today as it was daring back then to perform even one of them. Think back, ladies and gentlemen, to what happened in the halls of this building when such music was played. Even Bruckner, then 10 years dead, was far from what is called “ generally recognized ” and “ accepted ”. To bring his works nearer to the world's understanding, societies had to be founded to give introductory lectures and 4 hands performances of his symphonies (I heard them here myself ...) , to make what is now called propaganda, something then still necessary for Bruckner. Even his students and others who were his closest friends still thought it appropriate to edit his works, to introduce extensive “ cuts ” in them, mutilating them to make them generally palatable to the musical world.

If the nurture of this music was then a problem and largely an internal matter for societies (which carried Bruckner's name, or Wagner's or Hugo Wolf's ...) , what was the effect on the music of Mahler and Schönberg ? What happened in the halls of this house when such music was played need not be repeated. Even if Mahler had a large “ following ”, the enthusiasm of this following for this “ secessionistic ” music, this “ conductor's music ”, was entirely incomprehensible to the larger musical world of that day. Just as incomprehensible as the general rejection of the “ cacophonies ” of the “ fraud ” Schönberg was comprehensible and normal in that world.

They were not opposed to the strivings of a “ society ” or the enthusiasm of a “ following ”, but only against the views of a very small partisan group, for which the only name to be found was “ Schönberg clique ”. »

Tuesday, 31 May 1932 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the manager of the Vienna Office of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

The « International Bruckner Society » absolutely needs a prominent personality like the late Franz Schalk in order to succeed in achieving its mission.

Monday, 20 June 1932 : In its first public act, the « Emil Hertzka Gedächtnis-Stiftung » presents a concert during the 10th Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

The noon-time program of works by Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Schœnberg (all composers under contract with Universal) calls upon the best talents available. The Kolisch Quartet, augmented by an unnamed violist, opens the concert with the first movement of Bruckner's String Quintet in F major (**WAB 112**) . The contralto Enid Szánthó, a soloist with the Vienna State Opera, performs 3 Mahler songs : « Nicht wiedersehen ! » , « Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen » , and « Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen » . The Kolisch Quartet closes the program with the Adagio from Schœnberg's First String Quartet in D minor, Opus 7.

Listeners in the « Kleiner-Musikverein-Saal » that afternoon are also presented a work of a different sort by another composer in the Universal list. Between the performance of the Quintet and the songs, Alban Berg delivers a brief address in Emil Hertzka's memory. Barely 5 pages of typescript, his « Gedenk-Rede » touches upon a variety of topics, among them the relation of composer and publisher, of art and commerce, and the course of recent music history. In so doing, Berg offers us a glimpse of his own thoughts during his last years.

Berg's commemorative address is one of his most skillful public statements. He avoids the typical eulogy of Hertzka as an individual and focuses instead on the more complex issue of Hertzka's achievement in a world in which commerce inter-mingled with art. He stresses that idealism can successfully exist in the real world of business. Berg also returns to a theme that he addressed in other essays and lectures : that there exists in the world of modern music only a single movement, and that owing in part to Hertzka's nurturing it had grown from an early phase of interest groups and cliques to world-wide dominance.

Berg recalls the difficult early years :

« Looking back 20 to 30 years will be enough ; it is sufficient to look at the (musical) programme of this very commemorative celebration, with its 3 composers : Bruckner, Mahler, and Schœnberg. Bringing them together in a single concert seems as fitting to us today as it was daring back then to perform even one of them.

Think back, ladies and gentlemen, to what happened in the halls of this building when such music was played. Even Bruckner, then 10 years dead, was far from what is called “ generally recognized ” and “ accepted ”. To bring his works nearer to the world's understanding, (music) societies had to be founded to give introductory lectures and 4 hands performances of his Symphonies (I heard them here myself) , to make what is now called propaganda, something then still necessary for Bruckner. Even his students and others who were his closest friends still thought it appropriate to edit his works, to introduce extensive “ cuts ” in them, mutilating them to make them generally palatable to the musical world. (...) »

Friday, 15 July 1932 : Letter from Siegmund von Hausegger to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Siegmund von Hausegger talks about the publishing-house of Doctor Benno Filser printing the score of the original version of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) .

Alma writes :

*« As for me, I had returned to Catholicism the **past summer**, after years of feeling expelled from the communion of the saints. Confession came hard, after so long a time ; I almost fainted with the excitement of it. My dear friend Father Engelbert Müller of St. Stephen's was surely baffled by my violent tears. »*

Sunday, 16 October 1932 : Theodor Innitzer is consecrated Catholic Bishop of Vienna (replacing Friedrich Gustav Piffl) by Cardinal Enrico Siboldi, 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 meal for several ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the good-looking (although short, balding and bespectacled) 37 year old Theology professor at the University of Vienna, Father Johannes Hollnsteiner, who has taught at the monastery of St. Florian.

Men had composed for Alma and painted for her, but never had a man said mass for her. Father Hollnsteiner has taught at the monastery of St. Florian.

Alma writes :

« I returned to Vienna and to my close companionship with Catholic leaders.

At last, I felt that I had found my natural place. I attended Cardinal Innitzer's enthronement as prince-archbishop ; the unique ceremony disappointed me only in one respect, and that was the choice of music. It occurred to me that Mahler's music could be - in fact, had to be - played on such occasions : the last movement of the Second Symphony, for instance, and the first of the Eighth. Through a friend, I invited some important men to lunch, among them Father Müller, Professor Weissenböck, the cathedral organist, and Father Johannes Hollnsteiner, Professor of Theology. »

November 1932 : During a lecture tour of Germany, Alma Mahler has secretly arranged front-row seats at a Nazi rally.

She was herself long an admirer of Benito Mussolini but was disappointed by the « Führer » :

« Then, I saw the face I had been waiting for : clutching eyes - young, frightened features - no Duce ! An adolescent, rather, who would never mature, would never achieve wisdom. »

Alma agreed with the National-Socialists in Germany. She did not perceive the political disputes as a struggle between ideologies, but as religious clashes between Jews and Christians. Even during the Austrian Civil War, following the elimination of the parliamentary government with an authoritarian system by Engelbert Dollfuß in 1934, she was clearly on the side of the Austro-Fascists. The Spanish Civil War was another point of contention between the spouses : Alma sided with the Franquists, while Werfel sided with the Republicans. Werfel emerged at the time when his books were burnt on the order of the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Doctor Josef Goebbels, against the « un-German spirit » .

Monday, 26 December 1932 : Letter from Norbert Furrer (?) to Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Professor Auer is informed about the collapse of the publishing-house of Doctor Benno Filser.

Alma Mahler had found in Father Johannes Hollnsteiner a guide and a mentor :

« I want to benefit from Hollnsteiner. He has profound knowledge and intellect - and a noble, unintrusive way to offer his knowledge as a gift. »

He enlightened her on the Mass and other biblical issues.

She enthused :

« Every word from him to me is like a song. The ever-lasting happens in His memory ! »

The two discussed indulgences but also Martin Luther's « Reformation » .

Alma was in love. She was also certain that « we are both bound. He to the Church, I to Werfel who I love so much ... who is so close to my spirit » .

But temptation was strong.

She wondered in her diary on **March 5, 1933** :

« He is so free (...) . Never yet has he uttered the word SIN. He doesn't feel it as that (...) . And I (...) must I be more Catholic than the Pope ? Johannes Hollnsteiner is 38 years old and has not known a woman until now. He wants to be and IS only a priest. He sees me differently and I bless myself for this. »

« He said :

“ I was never close to a woman. You are the first and you will be the last. ”

I respect this human being to the point that I fall on my knees in front of him. Everything within me is yearning for submission but I always had to dominate against my will. Here is the first man who has conquered me. »

...

« Hollnsteiner called on me at once, and I felt almost as quickly familiar with him. After his third visit, all others around seemed like gray phantoms.

I wrote in my diary :

“ Johannes Hollnsteiner is 38 years old, and thus, far has not met Woman. He is the essence of a priest. I wished to profit from him, from his intellect, his solid knowledge, his noble, unostentatious way of communicating his knowledge. He explained the Mass to me as the perpetual commemoration of Christ in the world : at every hour of the day or night, Mass is being read somewhere around the globe. He explained the indulgence - Luther's point of departure - as the old Germanic custom of wergild. He cited the Council of Constance to show how Luther had intensified and exploited the conflicts between individualism and the communal idea. To Hollnsteiner, Hitler seemed a kind of Luther, though a very minor one.” »

Away, working in Santa Margherita Ligure, Franz Werfel wrote to her reassuringly :

« I am pleased that Hollnsteiner is with you. Please pass my heart-felt greetings on to him. He is a magnificent human being. I have a lot of love for real and serious priests. »

But his tolerance was soon stretched.

Although Alma did have leftish clerics and civic socialists in her circle of friends, they were curiosities rather than characteristic in a world dominated by the Right. As the 1930's progressed, that Right looked with increasing favour on the Nazis. Many of Alma's immediate family were sympathizers, and at least one brother-in-law (lawyer Richard Eberstaller) and his son were longstanding Party members. They were moving with the tide ; the exclusive « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling, in Vienna's 19th District, was showing more and more brown as the « Anschluß » approached. More and more, the « swastika » was openly displayed.

The disgust that Nazism evoked in Alma was similar to that evoked in her by Communism. She saw both as substitute religions for the poor and uneducated. It was in this sense that she criticized the policies of the Socialists in Austria. In their efforts to undermine the influence of the village clergy, they had paved the way for the « ersatz religion » of Nazism.

In a passage of her memoirs, Alma wrote of this with characteristic bluntness :

« Free of the church, and with nothing else in their god-damned peasant skulls, the village yokels were easily captivated by the poisonous ideology of Nazism. »

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

Following the self-elimination of Parliament (dissolution of democracy) in the wake of a government crisis in **March 1933**, the Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß took control of the Austrian State. Adopting a dictatorial style of his own, he instituted the Right-wing « Fatherland Front » (« Vaterländische Front ») , banned both the Communist and the Nazi parties, and tried to steer a course that could hold its own between his unruly neighbours to the north and south : Adolf Hitler's Germany and Benito Mussolini's Italy. It was a cause doomed to failure.

Sunday, 12 March 1933 : Anna Maria Eberstaller joins the Austrian N.S.D.A.P.

The Eberstallers easily converted Carl Moll after Adolf Hitler's take-over of power.

In a letter to Alma, Moll praised Hitler as the « great organizer » . He will never become a Party member.

As Antony Beaumont rightly points out in his biography of Alexander Zemlinsky :

« Carl Moll was a rabid anti-Semite. »

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

Thursday, 29 April 1933 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , to President Max Auer :

The letter concerns the legal opinion obtained in April 1933 (printing and copyrights, protection period for the « Complete Critical Edition ») for the newly-created publishing-house.

(The « Musicological Publishers » will be registered with the Ministry of Commerce and the Vienna City Administration in July 1933.)

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 rename the « International Bruckner Society » the « Anton Bruckner Society » . He tries to keep the initiative in his hands.

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

Yesterday, Furreg met one of 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.

1933 : Amalie Löwe, the widow of conductor Ferdinand Löwe (who died on 6 January 1925) , sells other manuscript pages of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) - but this time to the Prussian State Library in Berlin.

Robert Haas becomes a member of the N.S.D.A.P. - something highly-controversial in Austria (before the « Anschluß ») during the Fascist regime of Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg. Haas does not hesitate to use the language of Nazism to garner approval for his work. He portrays Bruckner as being a pure and simple country soul who had been corrupted by the Viennese « cosmopolitan » and the Jewish forces.

The « International Bruckner Society » solves the problem of conflicting versions by founding its own publishing-house, the « Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag » (« Musicological Publishers ») .

Adolf 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.

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 ! »

A few days ago, Robert Haas inquired whether the music-publisher Gustav Bosse from Regensburg was still in the possession of the sketches of the « Scherzo » of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) which are owned by Professor Max Auer since, according to Auer, Alfred Orel had not taken into account all the known material.

Before Gustav Mahler's music was banned as « degenerate » during the Nazi era, the Symphonies and Songs were played in the concert-halls of Germany and Austria, often conducted by Bruno Walter or Mahler's younger assistant Otto Klemperer, and also by Willem Mengelberg. In Austria, Mahler's work experienced a brief renaissance between 1934 and 1938, a period known today as « Austro-Fascism » , when the authoritarian regime with the help of Alma Mahler and Bruno Walter, who were both on friendly terms with the new Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, sought to make Mahler into a national icon (with a status comparable to that of Wagner in Germany) . Mahler's music was performed during the Nazi era in Berlin in early-1941 and in Amsterdam during the German occupation of the Netherlands by Jewish orchestras and for Jewish audiences alone ; works performed included the Second Symphony in Berlin, and the First and Fourth Symphonies and the « Songs of a Wayfarer » in Amsterdam.

Schuschnigg impressed Bruno Walter with his idealism and belief in Austria. Walter was introduced to him by Alma, and Schuschnigg apparently was equally impressed by the conductor. « He may have been lacking in the political instinct that would have scented the terrible dangers of the international situation and possibly averted them » , Walter admitted, but « he was given strength and inspiration by his firm belief in Austria's political and cultural mission » . Walter clearly identified with Schuschnigg's idealism and felt that, as long as such a man remained Chancellor, Austria would be safe for him. But although Walter greatly underrated the danger from the Nazi menace, he and his family were hardly unaware of it.

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 Goebbels, as President.

The Chamber is established by law in the course of the process of coordination (« Gleichschaltung ») at the instigation of Doctor Goebbels, 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.

Friday, 13 October 1933 : The police department of Vienna dissolves the local branch of the Fighting League for

German Culture (« Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur », or KfdK) .

Wednesday, 25 October 1933 : Article by the Viennese music historian and critic Paul Stefan entitled « Bruckner's Heaven of Rest in St. Florian » published in the « Musical America » Number 53, page 7.

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. »

Monday, 20 November 1933 : When asked by « Frau » Alma Mahler-Werfel, Wilhelm Furtwängler replied :

« Contrary to all the misconceptions that prevail abroad about German musical life, everything is free and it is less a question of power than of mood, if this freedom cannot yet really be carried out in art life. »

If you read it correctly, this message states that there is no freedom in art life.

Source : University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Van-Pelt Dietrich Library Centre, Department of Special Collections, Mahler-Werfel Collection, Box 5.

(« Auf Anfrage von Alma Mahler-Werfel antwortet Wilhelm Furtwängler, es sei “ entgegen allen falschen Auffassungen, die im Ausland über das deutsche Musik-Leben herrschen, alles frei und es ist weniger eine Frage der Macht, als der Stimmung, wenn diese Freiheit sich im Kunst-Leben noch nicht wirklich durchführen läßt ”. »)

The small fishing village of Sanary-sur-Mer on the southern coast of France was discovered as a holiday resort and place of residence by European intellectuals and artists after the end of the First World War. After the Nazis seized power in 1933, the small town between Marseilles and Toulon became a major attraction for German artists. The author Ludwig Marcuse described the town as « the capital of German literature » . For many exiles, the coastal town was the first stop on their route out of Germany. « We lived in Paradise - out of necessity. », was how Ludwig Marcuse summed up the experience of the exiles in his memoirs. They settled in Sanary to continue their work and to meet friends and acquaintances. They met in « cafés », at the harbour or in each others' houses. One such meeting point was the house of Marta and Lion Feuchtwanger, where Arnold Zweig, Bertolt Brecht and Thomas Mann were all

frequent visitors. For the authors, Sanary was also a place where they could work in peace : Joseph Roth, Feuchtwanger and Zweig all wrote there and it was there that Klaus Mann founded his literary magazine for exiles : « Die Sammlung » .

After the German invasion of France in 1940, the exiles had to move on. The Vichy government collaborated with the German occupying forces to imprison many Germans in camps. Jewish prisoners were later delivered directly into the hands of the Nazis. In 1987, a memorial plaque was erected to the famous residents of Sanary-sur-Mer in the 1930's, honouring, among others : Eva Hermann, Egon Erwin Kisch, Erika Mann, Golo Mann, Heinrich Mann, Erwin Piscator, Franz Werfel and Stefan Zweig.

1934 : The « Reich » Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin 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-Presse-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 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 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.

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.

...

As a result of an emendation to the copyright law, copyright protection for the Universal-Edition scores is extended from 30 years to 50 years after the author's death.

A formal agreement is reached between the « International Bruckner Society » and the Austrian National Library, setting out the terms of cooperation between the 2 institutions and agreeing that publication matters should be handled by the society's own newly-founded publishing-house, the Oskar Brandstätter Company, official printer and editor of the subsidiary « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag ») . Subsequent volumes of the « Complete Critical Edition » will appear in the space of only 4 years.

For the first time, Anton Bruckner's passed down drafts and sketches of the Ninth Symphony are sequenced by Alfred Orel. He assumes, however, that there are still different versions. Parts of the fragments, in the piano version, are edited by Else Krüger and performed in Munich by her and Kurt Bohnen.

January 1934 : The « Aryanization » of music-publishers is a slow process. Nevertheless, the voluntary organisation of publishers and music-sellers (« Deutsche Musikalien Verleger Verein ») is incorporated into the « Reich » Chamber of Music.

Membership of the « Deutsche Musikalien Verleger Verein » becomes compulsory for all music-dealers and publishers.

Between 1933 and 1938, about 40 publishers were run by Jewish owners or employed Jews in key executive positions. This amounted to a mere 10 % of music-publishers, but had a severe impact on publishers of serious music. Peters, Benjamin, Bote & Bock, Eulenburg, Fürstner and Alrobi were the leading German publishers most severely affected, and with the annexation of Austria, a further 24 publishers were added including such prestigious houses as Universal-Edition, Ludwig Döblinger and Josef Weinberger. Though there were no direct anti-Semitic attacks aimed specifically against Jews in the various trade magazines that served music-publishers, there were clear instructions coming from above that « Aryanization » should proceed apace and that, under no circumstances, should German publishers collaborate with non-Aryan publishers newly-relocated abroad.

The first important job of the Austrian-German musicologist and theatre scholar Alfred Schlee was as Universal-Edition's

representative in Berlin, where the Nazis' cultural policies were putting large sections of the Universal catalogue out of bounds : Arnold Schönberg and Alban Berg were both Jewish ; so, too, were Gustav Mahler and many others ; and Anton von Webern, though an enthusiastic National-Socialist, also wrote « degenerate » music. For the Nazis, indeed, Universal was a « Jewish publisher » . Schlee watched the exodus of his friends with a heavy heart, bolstered by his conviction that Adolf Hitler's regime couldn't last.

Monday, 8 January 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Furreg talks about the problems of bringing together Alfred Orel and Robert Haas to work on the « Complete Critical Edition » . Haas do not want Orel to be his co-editor because the latter could influenced the head of the Austrian National Library, Doctor Josef Bick. Orel makes the completion of the revision report for the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) dependent on his remaining.

Wednesday, 17 January 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Furreg talks about the difficulties for Alfred Orel and Robert Haas to work together on the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Thursday, 1 February 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

The negotiations with the Austrian National Library come to a halt because of the deep disagreement between Robert Haas and Alfred Orel. Haas rightly claims that Orel has worked unreliably on the publication of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) and is revising the entire material.

Early-1934 : The domestic political scene in Austria comes to a head : after Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß disempowered the Parliament in **March 1933**, relations between the ruling Christian-Social Party and the Social-Democratic opposition (Dollfuß already had the Communist Party of Austria and the Nazi Party prohibited in **May and June of 1933**) became extremely tense. For quite a while, the smoldering odour of rebellion is hanging in the air ...

February 1934 : In order to improve the overall quality of radio programming, Doctor Josef Gœbbels 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.

Alma writes :

*« In **February 1934**, the Austrian Social-Democrats paid the price of their scupendous blunders. Julius Tandler, for instance, had ordered every crucifix removed from the hospital rooms of Vienna and priests admitted during visiting hours only ; if any patients presumed to die at other times, they had to do without the comforts of religion. The crowning folly of this power-mad crew was to undermine the influence of the village clergy, and thus, to pave the way for the “ ersatz religion ” of Nazism. »*

Alma Mahler was an old friend of Kurt von Schuschnigg. During the Austrian civil war, when Schuschnigg was Minister of Justice in the Dollfuß government, he invited Alma and her daughter Manon (Gropius) to stay in his own residence.

Alma declined the invitation with thanks :

« I could not desert my servants and Manon’s French governess. »

Following the suspension of Parliament, Alma was on the side of the Austro-Fascists.

The Spanish Civil War was a further bone of contention between the pair since Alma sided with Franco, while Werfel supported the Republican side.

« People are starving in jail, but the Werfels are living a life of ease and currying favours. The embodiment of human filth » , commented the « Brünner Arbeiter-Zeitung » on Werfel’s woolly political attitude - which was characterized by political naivety and the influence of Alma - when, in 1935, he went on excursions with Kurt von Schuschnigg and his wife in a limousine provided by Benito Mussolini.

Many of Alma’s immediate family were Nazi sympathizers. They were moving with the tide. The exclusive « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) was showing more and more brown as the « Anschluß » approached. More and more, the « swastika » was openly displayed.

It was really out of social rather than religious concern that Alma found Nazism and Communism distasteful, for she naively acknowledged that, although Catholicism aimed to divert the concern of the poor from the realities in which they lived, it at least held out the ultimate reward of heaven. Whether intentional or not, the implication of her comment is that political radicalism, which directs attention back to earthly conditions, cannot defer its reward to the hereafter if it is to maintain its adherents’ support, and that reward cannot be delivered without radical alteration in the social order. In such passages, Alma clearly revealed her insight into the function of ideologies, whether of politics or of religion. But more, in her condescending scorn for the « village yokels » there is a clear remnant of high-born disgust with country folk and peasants as a distinct and inferior breed of humanity, for whom a quite separate social order and rules apply. Communism and Nazism posed the same threat : both would bring the masses into new roles and situations for which they were unfit. Put another way, both threatened the social and economic position of Alma’s

class. And she appreciated instinctively just how much the life she prized depended on secure social foundations.

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.

...

In Vienna, the government crackdown didn't even shrink from the use of heavy artillery. One stronghold of the proletarian resistance, the « Karl-Marx-Hof » , was located near the Villa Ast. The otherwise peaceful « Hohe Warte » suddenly became the scene of pitched battles.

Alma writes :

« The sharp shooting, we were in the danger zone, got me all worked up both horribly and almost joyfully. »

Alma was on the side of Chancellor Dollfuß and the « home guard » . As far as she was concerned, the rebels were nothing but « riff-raff » , who deserved no better.

After the rebellion was put down, Alma travelled for 3 days to Venice. Some small repairs on the « Casa Mahler » were necessary, and she wanted to supervise the work.

Wednesday, 28 February 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Universal-Edition must strive for a peaceful cooperation with the « International Bruckner Society » since a contract was signed in 1903 with the heirs of Anton Bruckner : the Huebers from Vöcklabruck. Universal also holds the rights to previously unprinted and undiscovered works.

Spring of 1934 : Following the prohibition of the Austrian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Central Office for Public Education in the Ministry of Education sees to the closure of numerous Social-Democratic working-class libraries, publishing-houses, and book-stores, and to a purge of Social-Democratic literature from public libraries.

The Austrian National Library, led by director-general Josef Bick, a high-political functionary of the authoritarian State,

serves as a collecting point for books confiscated for political reasons.

Although book transports from the provinces to the National Library in Vienna are far from proceeding smoothly at first, it can be assumed that, eventually, several thousands of books from Socialist libraries arrived. Due to a lack of resources, these holdings were simply stored away, and then, allocated to Vienna's municipal libraries after the War. Norbert Fureg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , received a request from Emil Theodor Anton Armbruster, a doctor and Bruckner enthusiast, who wanted to open a branch of the Society in Leipzig. In many ways, the proposal was, like dozens of others that had come over the years from local enthusiasts, set on organizing a club and formalizing their ties to the « International Bruckner Society » .

During these same months, Fureg took up contact with yet another important person in Leipzig, namely Justus Brandstätter, co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter Printing Company and Publishing-House.

Doctor Armbruster claims that the Leipzig Bruckner Society was never formally accepted into the « International Bruckner Society » due to Councillor F. A. Hauptmann's refusal to cooperate. This is all the more surprising since Justus Brandstätter and especially Hilde Wendler of the Brandstätter Publishing-House were active members of the local society. The firm of Brandstätter had already for years been the engraver of the scores of the « Critical Edition » .

Monday, 9 April 1934 : Letter from Norbert Fureg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Chief-editor Robert Haas has accepted Alfred Orel as his co-editor. Norbert Fureg has curtailed the wishes of Doctor Josef Bick, the head of the Austrian National Library. The redaction of the contracts for the « Musicological Publishers » will be finalized as soon as this week (18 April) .

April 1934 : Negotiations laid the ground-work for a cooperative venture in which the « Musicological Publishers » could carry out its activities in Germany under its own name with the active participation of the Leipzig firm. Brandstätter was appointed to the board of the « Bruckner Gesellschaft » ; Fureg was delighted at the growing importance and involvements of the society. The tragic irony of Fureg's ambitious plans was that it was, in fact, this Leipzig clique - which included Justus Brandstätter and an iron-willed woman named Hilde Wendler - that would come to dominate the « International Bruckner Society » behind the scenes after the « Anschluß » . Closely connected to figures in Josef Gëbbels's Propaganda Ministry, these individuals threatened to dissolve the Vienna organization and move its operations to Germany. It was also their political power that removed the general-secretary from important decision making, for it would come to light that Fureg was « jüdisch versippt » , tainted by Jewish relations, and thus, unacceptable to the Party.

Wednesday, 18 April 1934 : Contracts are signed between the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , the Austrian National Library and Robert Haas.

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.

Saturday, 12 May 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furrer, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

Justus Brandstätter and Norbert Furrer have worked together in Vienna. The publishing-House of the « Musicological Publishers » is founded in Leipzig, taking over the distribution of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Monday, 14 May 1934 : Contract signature between the House of the « Musicological Publishers » and the co-editor Alfred Orel, who will be obliged to work occasionally on the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Thursday, 7 June 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furrer, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

The main goal behind the signature of the contract which ties the Jewish publisher Universal-Edition and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » is to limit the boycott movement to the Third « Reich » , so that it does not spread to non-German countries.

Wednesday, 20 June 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furrer, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , to President Max Auer :

With regard to the « original versions » , one has to ask whether Anton Bruckner's heirs (the Huebers from Vöcklabruck) must receive royalties.

Sunday, 29 July 1934 : Kurt von Schuschnigg is appointed as new Chancellor of Austria.

Saturday, 27 October 1934 : Letter from Norbert Furrer, 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.)

1934-1935 : Leopold Nowak must have re-borrowed from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen the manuscripts of the Ninth Symphony (owned by his deceased husband) for the proof-reading of the Orel edition. At this stage, « Frau » Lili was still cooperative ; a situation which appears to have changed radically the following year.

1935 : The « Franz-Schalk-Platz » in Vienna is named after the celebrate conductor and Bruckner's disciple.

Publication of « Franz Schalk - Letters and reflections » (« Briefe und betrachtungen ») , edited by singer « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen, « International Bruckner Society » (« Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») , « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag ») , Vienna and Leipzig (91 pages) .

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.

Tuesday, 26 March 1935 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to chief-editor Robert Haas :

Lili Schalk can make available the original manuscripts in her possession for the « Complete Critical Edition » . She criticizes the fact that Robert Haas publicly expresses suspicions about Ferdinand Löwe and Franz Schalk only after their deaths.

Friday, 5 April 1935 : The legal proceedings initiated by the « International Bruckner Society » against the publishing-house of Doctor Benno Filser end with a settlement : almost all of Filser's rights go back to the Austrian National

Library in Vienna, which, in turn, waive claims arising from the publishing contracts, etc.

Since Alma and Franz Werfel can no longer be happy in Venice, they decide to sell the « Casa Mahler » .

Wednesday, 31 July 1935 : Alma, her daughter Anna, and Agnes Ida Gebauer travel to Venice.

Alma writes :

« In a single day, we had packed everything and emptied the house. But how painful it was for us. »

After returning from Italy, Alma retires to her country-villa in Breitenstein-am-Semmering.

Saturday, 14 December 1935 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to « Frau » Gertrud Staub-Schläpfer :

The hustle and bustle around the world-premieres of the « original versions » , especially the Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) , makes « Frau » Lili uncomfortable. Apart from the absence of Franz Schalk's off-stage brass band composed of 11 extra players in the Finale of the Fifth Symphony (which Schalk already prophesied as « a great shout ») , can the differences be considered as minimal and insignificant as in the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 109**) ? Referring to his friendship with chief-editor Robert Haas, the Germanist, dance scholar and composer Victor Junk dodged the wish of Lili to have her late-husband's engraving researched.

Monday, 27 January 1936 : Universal-Edition and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » reach an agreement, which includes various restrictions on the « Complete Critical Edition » project plus an obligation for the « Publishers » to pay royalties to Universal.

Participation agreement between the House of the « Musicological Publishers » (Doctor Friedrich Werner and Norbert Furreg) and Universal-Edition (Yella Hertzka and Hugo Winter) on the rights to use the « original versions » of the « Complete Edition » .

Wednesday, 19 February 1936 : Date on copies of the contract concluded on January 27, 1936 (with procurator Hilde Wendler's stamp on Justus Brandstätter's paper) , between the House of the « Musicological Publishers » and Universal-Edition.

Thursday, 5 March 1936 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to Professor Franz Moißl, one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » :

« Frau » Lili criticizes chief-editor Robert Haas and the publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Thursday, 12 March 1936 : « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen comments on tomorrow's performance of the Fifth Symphony (WAB 105) in several newspapers. The first printed score, dating from 1896 and edited by Franz Schalk, is based on an original correction made by Anton Bruckner himself.

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 the medieval town of Regensburg near Munich in 1937, and again, that same year, at the closing of the Nazi Party convention.

Tuesday, 17 March 1936 : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Max Morold invites « Frau » Lili Schalk to a reunion of friends of Anton Bruckner and Franz Schalk. The musicological standpoint of the chief-editor Robert Haas is expected to be rejected soon.

Thursday, 19 March 1936 : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to pianist and Nazi sympathizer « Frau » Gisela Göllerich :

Max Millenkovich-Morold is having trouble dealing with the newly-discovered « authentic » Anton Bruckner, as promoted by the chief-editor Robert Haas and the Nazi regime.

March 1936 : As the result of a particularly vehement critique of Franz Schalk's version of the Fifth Symphony (WAB 105) , chief-editor Robert Haas lost the good-will of the conductor's widow, « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen, who refused to hand-over her late-husband's significant stock of Bruckner's manuscripts.

Thursday, 2 April 1936 : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to Professor Franz Moißl, one the secretaries of the « International Bruckner Society » :

Max Morold criticizes the « Bruckner-Blätter » for refusing to publish views that cast doubt on the new « Complete Edition » . The statement by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen as also been suppressed. Chief-editor Robert Haas probably did not expect this kind of opposition following his recent lecture given on March 13.

Tuesday, 7 April 1936 : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Max Morold quotes the reply made by Franz Moißl after April 2, in which reservations are expressed about the lecture given by the chief-editor Robert Haas on March 13.

Wednesday, 15 April 1936 : « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen creates a circle called « Friends of Bruckner, Schalk, Löwe » .

Friday, 17 April 1936 : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

People in Germany laugh at the polemics coming from Vienna on the battle between the House of the « Musicological Publishers » and Universal-Edition, since the future belongs to the « original versions » of the « Complete Critical

Edition » .

The cause of the uproar is an outrageous advertisement promoting the « original versions » , which reads as follows :

« Such people, like that “ strong head ” of Millenkovich, are only doing us a favour when they express their differences of opinion. »

Monday, 27 April 1936 : Letter from Wilhelm Furtwängler to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Wilhelm Furtwängler declares his solidarity with Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe, 2 highly spiritual conductors with true artistry.

Thursday, 7 May 1936 : Letter from dramatist, theatre- and music-critic Max Millenkovich-Morold to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

In the May issue of the « Zeitschrift für Musik » , the Germanist, dance scholar and composer Victor Junk did not speak out against the chief-editor Robert Haas as clearly as he had wished. Professor Max Auer, like Haas, also wanted to indirectly accuse Ferdinand Löwe in his article. But Auer's supposedly scientific explanations are actually only conjectures and suspicions.

In his March 13 lecture, Haas refers to the fact that he did not mention the names of Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe. Other people, including perhaps Josef Schalk, are directly to blame for Bruckner's reworking mania and the aftermath of his breakdown.

...

The 25th anniversary of Gustav Mahler's death takes place under the honorary protection of the Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, a close friend both of Alma Mahler and Bruno Walter. The performance of the Second and Eighth Symphonies by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra can plausibly be construed as part of an attempt to make the composer acceptable to a « deeply Catholic, autocratic, anti-parliamentarian Austro-Fascist regime that envisioned a state modeled after Benito Mussolini's Italy » .

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) .

Friday, 12 June 1936 : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » .

The subject on the agenda is the process imposed by Universal-Edition. The Austrian National Library had called for direct negotiations with Universal (refer to January 27, 1936) , in order to clear-up the problem of the rights to use the « original versions » of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

1936 : Personal animosities over the issue of the first editions of Bruckner's works versus the autograph manuscripts started to develop.

Morten Solvik (born in 1962) , who was among the first to examine the archives of the « International Bruckner Society » (Fonds F60 BRGA of the Austrian National Library) , pointed out that a rift between singer « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen and chief-editor Robert Haas emerged over Haas' critique of the first edition of the Fifth Symphony (**WAB 105**) , and that, as a result, « Frau » Lili « obstinately refused to hand these scores over to Haas » .

Evidence appears to show that the editors of the « Complete Edition » (« Gesamt-Ausgabe ») and their associates use every possible means of persuasion to attempt to get « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to relinquish her material, the inaccessibility of which was, by 1938, seriously delaying progress on publication of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) . In fact, it remained in her possession until late-1939, as shown by a letter dated November 12 of that year from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » , to Justus Brandstätter of the « Musicological Publishers » in Leipzig.

...

Scholarly differences led to heated tension as early as 1936, with Alfred Orel's publication of a lengthy article on the problems associated with editing Bruckner's works entitled : « Original und Bearbeitung bei Anton Bruckner » (« Deutsche Musik-Kultur ») . Orel provides a careful chronology of works and revisions, points to the multiplicity of texts associated with many of the Symphonies, and questions the means by which one can arrive at a score reflecting the composer's « true » intentions. Most problematic is an evaluation of the changes suggested and sometimes carried out by such Bruckner disciples as Ferdinand Löwe and the Schalk brothers. Orel clearly believed that though recovering Bruckner's « original » intention was a worthy goal, accomplishing this was neither always philologically sound nor fully representative of the composer's intentions. After all, he argued, Bruckner frequently agreed to revisions in his scores.

As Orel pointedly sums it up :

« If one succumbed earlier to the temptation to go beyond Bruckner, there is now the danger of being left behind by him. »

This detailed and sensibly argued article served as a rather direct critique of the « Critical Edition » and its chief-editor, Robert Haas.

As Orel points out, Haas expressed a very different attitude about the status of Bruckner's manuscripts in a lecture given earlier in 1936. It was Haas's belief that Bruckner's artistic intentions had been stifled by external influences and, until now, willfully suppressed.

(As is evident from numerous passages in the papers of the « International Bruckner Society », it was primarily this lecture, with its criticism of Bruckner's « assistants », that caused the rift between Robert Haas and Franz Schalk's widow, the singer and feminist « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen. This would prove a costly mistake, since she possessed an appreciable number of original Bruckner manuscripts - including materials to the Fourth, Eighth, and Ninth Symphonies (WAB 104, 108, 109) - that she obstinately refused to hand over to Haas.)

It was the mission of the « Complete Edition » (« Gesamt-Ausgabe ») to return to Bruckner's original texts and provide a « liberation of the true symphonic will of the Master ». In couching this argument, Haas even identified the supposed perpetrators of a plot against Bruckner.

In so leaving the realm of philology and digressing into an irrational diatribe, he revealed a disturbing tendency in his critical faculties, namely a suspicion bordering on paranoia :

« The main blame lies with the senseless whip of the intelligentsia (“ sinnlose Intelligenz-Peitsche ”) in the contemporary press. The capitulation of a genius like Bruckner faced with these stormy surroundings - a fact that, until now, had not even been recognized - signifies the completion of a tragedy brought on by a fundamental confusion in the history of thought of such magnitude that its effects have necessarily prevailed until today. »

This was musicology with a grudge to bear, an approach that turned to the epic struggles and « confusion » of the present and recent past to explain the editorial policies applied to a musical text. This peculiar intrusion of conspiracy theory into scholarly exegesis had personal and political dimensions.

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.

Sunday, 21 June 1936 : Day two of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to the Austrian music historian and music-critic Elsa (Elza) Bienenfeld :

Max Morold asks « Frau » Lili to provide material for the planned reply against the arguments of chief-editor Robert Haas and Max Auer.

In a letter (the same ?) to Lili, Morold reports on a conversation with Wilhelm Furtwängler, who was « just disgusted » by the « stubborn conceit » of Haas and Auer.

Elsa Bienenfeld was interested in the works of Gustav Mahler. She took private lessons with Arnold Schönberg (harmony, counterpoint, composition, music theory) and Alexander von Zemlinsky (musical forms and instrumentation) . She repeatedly took up the cudgels as a publicist for the Second Viennese School. Between around 1906 and the 1930's, she wrote music-reviews for the « Neues Wiener Journal » . After the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany in March 1938, she was persecuted because of her Jewish origins. In January 1939, she was charged with foreign exchange offense, and put on arrest. A request for release, dated April 6, was not granted. On the grounds that she had acted intentionally, the court condemned Elsa on June 9 to 4 months of imprisonment and to pay a fine of 6,500 « Reich » Marks (if unpaid, an extra 30 days behind bars would be implemented) . Her small savings were confiscated ; she was now completely penniless. In August, she applied for the return of various documents « for the purpose of preparing my emigration » , but never received them. In September, she asked the court to issue a copy of the judgment so that she could send it to the administrators of the pension fund « which had blocked my pension payments during the criminal proceedings » . In return, Elsa received an invoice from the regional court totalizing 904 « Reich » Marks, of which 704 « Reich » Marks represent « costs for custody and pre-trial detention for a total of 5 months » (7 « Reich » Marks per day) . On September 29, the « Gestapo » confiscated her extensive specialized library of books and music (an inquiry about the reason for this measure remained unanswered) . She was only allowed to keep her piano. 4 days later, on October 3, the authorities concluded in a « limited incapacity » due to « mental weakness » (her father, the lawyer Doctor Heinrich Bienenfeld, committed suicide, and Elsa's sister accidentally died) . With the help of Doctor Rudolf Ungar, she was transferred to the prison's hospital (room 125) . On August 15, 1940, she was forced to leave her apartment at Number 31 on « Mariahilfer-Straße » . On November 13, 1941, she had to move again, this time in the apartment of her aunt, Ida Selldorff, located at Number 22 on the « Dominican Bastion » in the inner-city (First District) . The Secessionist style residential building, designed by Ely Wasserstrom, became a ghetto, where masses of people were crammed together (their property already taken away from them) . Aunt Ida died on February 15, 1942. Elsa Bienenfeld, identified as prisoner Number 727, was put into the convoy Number 22 and deported to the concentration-camp Klein Trostinez (Maly Trostinec) near Minsk, on May 20. The long journey took her past her father's hometown, Warsaw. The train arrived in the camp on May 26. She was executed the same day in the « Reich » Commissariat.

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.

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 : The Swiss music-critic and author, Doctor Willi Schuh, gives a lecture entitled « Bruckner, the Symphonist » , which is broadcast on a local radio station.

Thursday, 25 June 1936 : Day six of the Bruckner festival in Zürich.

Evening : Professor Franz Moßl, 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.

Tuesday, 30 June 1936 : Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas to the House of the « Musicological Publishers » :

Haas requests that Alfred Orel be relieved of his duties as co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Thursday, 2 July 1936 : Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Robert Haas insists that he did not make any discrediting rumours against conductor Franz Schalk in his March 13 lecture.

July 1936 : Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg accepts the July Agreement with Germany. Imprisoned Nazis are released and some Nazi newspapers, which has been banned, are allowed into Austria. The Nazi Party remains banned.

Schuschnigg undertakes further to allow 2 people whom the Nazis trusted into the Government. Edmund Glaise-Horstenau is appointed Minister for National Affairs and Guido Schmidt is appointed Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry. Arthur Seyß-Inquart is taken into the legislative Council of State.

Autumn 1936 : Having assigned conductor Heinz Drewes, then general music-director of Altenburg, the task of « bringing the people to music », Doctor Josef Gœbbels 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.

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 " » .

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 » .

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.

Saturday, 10 October 1936 : Day four of the Bruckner festival in Vienna.

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.

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 Schubert Society) , music-director Hermann Ritter von Schmeidel (from Graz) , Franz Burkhart (Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra) , chief-editor Robert Haas, secretary Professor Franz Moißl (« International Bruckner Society ») , (...)

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.

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 » .

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 » .

Saturday, 17 October 1936 : Letter from Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , (to co-editor Alfred Orel ?) :

Furreg has informed the chief-editor Robert Haas that an essay written by Alfred Orel will be published before the holidays. Haas is not particularly interested.

Friday, 23 October 1936 : Co-editor Alfred Orel and (probably) Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, talk about the accusations regarding the publication of the sketches of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) . The meeting is adjourned. They have to discuss the matter with the chief-editor Robert Haas.

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.

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.

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 » .

December 1936 : Doctor Josef Goebbels 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.

Goebbels is appointing Doctor Heinz Drewes as director of the new Music Examination Office (a post he will keep until 1944) . Consequently, the conductor and musicologist Professor Peter 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 Goebbels 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-inforcing 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.

1936-1938 : Edmund Glaise-Horstenau serves as Federal Minister of the Interior in the cabinet of Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, after being appointed under pressure from Adolf Hitler.

Saturday, 30 January 1937 : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » attended by Norbert Furrer, 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.

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.

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.

Speech of Richard Eberstaller, the President of the Austrian Football Association, at the funeral service of Hugo Meisl.

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.

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.

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.

Saturday, 1 May 1937 : Co-editor Alfred Orel, his lawyer (Leonhardt Groß ?) , Norbert Furreg, the general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society » , Justus Brandstätter, co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter 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.

Saturday, 15 May 1937 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to co-editor Alfred Orel :

Lili Schalk-Hopfen fixes of the conditions under which she will make Bruckner's manuscripts available.

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.

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.

More than ever, Alma Mahler feels that the Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling is a house of misfortune.

She notes in mid-June :

« I have decided to rent out the house where “Mutzi ” (Manon Gropius) died. »

Saturday, 12 June 1937 : Alma Mahler gives a farewell party at the Villa Ast at which all Vienna is present, including Bruno Walter, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Ida Roland, Carl Zuckmayer, Egon Wellesz, Ödön von Horváth, Siegfried Trebitsch, Arnold Rosé, Karl Schönherr, Franz Theodor Csokor and many more.

The « Neue Wiener Journal » reports :

« The hosts, supported by their daughter Anna Mahler, did the honours in the most charming way as they received their guests. »

A « schrammel » music-band plays melancholic Viennese « Volks-Lieder » . For many, the mood in the air evokes the ending of an era.

The party begins at 8:00 pm and lasts until 2:00 pm, the next day. Franz Werfel ends up falling drunk into the garden pond, and Carl Zuckmayer spends the night in the dog kennel.

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.

July 1937 : Franz Werfel and Alma Mahler goes to Paris at the invitation of the « Organization de Coopération Intellectuelle de la Société des Nations » .

Werfel speaks on a panel discussing « The Future of Literature » :

« Today, it is different. The steady war of propaganda avalanches loosed by press, radio and film makes it impossible

for the thought to hear itself. It wavers, weakens and ends up in resignation. And the worst of it is that the evil is not confined to the “ totalitarian ” parts of Europe, but that it is spreading and infecting the intellectual life of all nations with a strange anarchy mixed of doubt, discontent and confusion. »

Monday, 2 August 1937 : Alma Mahler-Werfel loans the Austrian Gallery on the Belvedere in Vienna 5 paintings for a 2 year period : 3 works by Emil Jakob Schindler, one by Edvard Munch (« Eine Sommernacht am Strand ») and a portrait of herself by Oskar Kokoschka. This is done for the safe-keeping of some of her works of art.

On behalf of Franz Martin Haberditzl (the museum's director since 1915) , a senior staff-member, Doctor Heinrich Schwarz (an art-historian born in Prague in 1894) , signs a receipt for the 5 works and presents Mahler-Werfel with a letter requesting that she « accept on this occasion the obliging thanks of the “ Österreichische Galerie ” » .

August 1937 : Alma Mahler rents the Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling.

She has her hands full : packing and securing 10,000 books, 5,000 sheets of music, pianos, works-of-art, etc.

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.

It was under the directorship of Doctor Josef Bick, the acting head of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library, that Robert Haas re-issued the works of Anton Bruckner. Between 1930 and 1938, 6 Symphonies and 2 score reprints of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies (**WAB 107, 108**) were published in their original versions with revision reports.

September 1937 : Letter from co-editor Alfred Orel to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

Following Lili Schalk-Hopfen's letter dated May 15, Alfred Orel spoke to Doctor Josef Bick, the acting head of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library, who explained that the legal actions initiated by Doctor Rudolf Löw, the Court Councillor of the Austrian National Library, were taken against Bick's will, and were therefore irrelevant - and that Bick himself guaranteed the proper manner to return Bruckner's original manuscripts. According to the conditions set out in « Frau » Lili's letter, Orel himself had initiated the draft loan agreement. Guarantee statements from the Austrian National Library and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » had already been submitted to him.

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 Brandstätter Printing Company and Publishing-House.

Friday, 24 September 1937 : During a visit to the « Reich » Chamber of Music in Berlin, Justus Brandstätter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter 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 » .

Tuesday, 28 September 1937 : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « International Bruckner Society » to President Max Auer :

On September 24 (last Friday) , Justus Brandstätter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter 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.

October 1937 : Alfred Orel and « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen draw-up a contract initially agreed to by Doctor Josef Bick, the director-general of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library.

If approved, « Frau » Lili will permit loan of the Bruckner manuscripts in return for the assurance that Orel has sole rights over their musicological evaluation. However, as these include manuscripts required for the edition of both volumes of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) , such a contract will clearly be in breach of Robert Haas' role as chief-editor.

The « deal » , which would have given Orel sole rights over their publication, was vetoed by Haas, who took the

opportunity to assume, in effect, complete control of the « Complete Critical Edition » from that point on. Such machinations aside, it must not be forgotten that, in 1935 alone, Haas had published 3 further volumes of the Symphonies (both versions of the First, the Sixth and the Fifth, together with their critical reports - whatever one makes of his Nazi affiliations and personal and editorial philosophies, a remarkable display of painstaking philological perseverance and unmitigated hard work.

Leopold Nowak undertook his revision of the Orel edition in 1935, becoming Haas' assistant, and writing for him damning reports on the short-comings of Orel's work. Orel may not have possessed the text-critical ardour of Haas or Nowak, but his conception of the text-critical problem was more circumspect and more differentiated.

November 1937 : Alfred Orel resigns as co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works.

Saturday, 13 November 1937 : Article entitled « Donation of Bruckner manuscripts to the (Austrian) National Library » published in the « Neue Wiener Abendblatt » :

Anton Bruckner's manuscripts of the Third and Eighth Symphonies (**WAB 103, 108**) and the Masses in E minor and F minor (**WAB 27, 28**) , owned by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen, have been transferred to the House of the « Musicological Publishers » for the project of the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Tuesday, 16 November 1937 : Letter from « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen to co-editor Alfred Orel :

« Frau » Lili Schalk criticizes chief-editor Robert Haas and the project of the « Complete Critical Edition » . Her concerns has been strengthened by the recent false reports. She mentions the possibility of withdrawing from the proposed loan agreement.

Friday, 19 November 1937 : Letter from co-editor Alfred Orel to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

The sensitive issue is still the « Complete Critical Edition » . Alfred Orel shares « Frau » Lili Schalk's point-of-view. He was originally mandated to work on the publication the Third and Eighth Symphonies (**WAB 103, 108**) but he had informed the House of the « Musicological Publishers » that he considered his collaboration as terminated.

Saturday, 27 November 1937 : Letter from Professor Max Auer, the President of the « International Bruckner Society » , to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

The « International Bruckner Society » also regrets the sad consequences of the lecture given by chief-editor Robert

Haas on March 13, 1936. But Haas considers the whole affair only as a private matter.

Tuesday, 30 November 1937 : Letter from to co-editor Alfred Orel to Doctor Josef Bick, the director-general of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library :

Alfred Orel announces to Doctor Bick that he will terminate his participation in the project of the « Complete Critical Edition » supervised by the House of the « Musicological Publishers » .

Thursday, 23 December 1937 : Letter from Justus Brandstätter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter 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.

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)

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.

Early-1938 : During an idyllic trip to Italy lasting several weeks, Alma and Franz Werfel take an apartment on the Isle of Capri, where Franz loves to work.

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.

Saturday, 5 February 1938 : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » . The subject on the agenda : the dispute between chief-editor Robert Haas and co-editor Alfred Orel.

February 1938 : Matters between Robert Haas and Alfred Orel finally came to a head.

The minutes of the board meetings from these months and the protocols prepared for them demonstrate not only the vehemence of the confrontation but also the explicitly political terms in which this music-editorial debate was carried out. Haas's sense of betrayal touched off a diatribe that quickly exceeded the bounds of the discussion. At issue was nothing less than the policy of carefully evaluating documentary evidence, a scholarly principle that Haas dismissed with appalling disregard.

He writes :

« The spirit of this “ Critical Edition ” as I have planned it is so different from the hitherto liberalistic habits of musical philology that it, of course, had to set-off the strongest Jewish objections and resistance. In 12 long years of battle, I have found it necessary to defend my views against the Jewish music-publisher, against the Jewish press, and, unfortunately also, against certain Aryan cohorts to these forces. Today, I can proudly point to the fact that I have not only succeeded through the deepest personal involvement in preserving this work from repression, destruction, and mutilation, but that, on the contrary, I have proven its worth to the whole world, especially the world of German music. »

Robert Haas's anti-Semitism surfaces time and time again, yet, including such vitriol in an attack on Alfred Orel seems an odd tactic, if for nothing but the simple reason that Orel was not Jewish.

Saturday, 12 February 1938 : Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg signs at Adolf Hitler's « Berghof » the « Berchtesgaden Agreement » with Nazi Germany, which paves the way for the end of Austria as an independent state.

Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel are still on the Isle of Capri in Italy. The political development takes them completely by surprise.

Alma writes :

« The bomb exploded, and Werfel came hurtling into my room with the newspaper : Schuschnigg had gone to Berchtesgaden. »

...

« Free of the church, and with nothing else in their god-damned peasant skulls, the village yokels were easily captivated by the poisonous ideology of Nazism. »

Alma instantly grasps the implications : Austria's independence will end, and Werfel's life becomes in danger.

At first, she wants to head straight back to Vienna to get a personal impression of the situation on site, but then, decides rather to spend another couple of weeks or so with her husband in Naples. Both of them are torn in both directions, undecided and full of fear over what the future might bring.

Alma writes :

« I got up and started to pack looking at my Vienna, which stared back at me with utterly strange eyes. »

...

« Werfel could not possibly come along to Vienna. He was in danger ! »

Outbreaks of Nazi violence scar several provincial towns as Schuschnigg receives what is, in effect, an ultimatum from Adolf Hitler : under threat of invasion, the government must immediately release all Nazi prisoners, appoint the Austrian Nazi Arthur Seyß-Inquart as Minister of the Interior, in charge of the police and public order, and align Austria's policies more closely with Germany. The ban on the Nazi Party is to be lifted, the Nazi salute legalized, and the display of « swastika » flags permitted.

The Molls are jubilant : Carl Moll, his daughter Anna Maria, and son-in-law, lawyer Richard Eberstaller, are already committed members of the Nazi Party.

The « Führer » also requests that General Glaise von Horstenau be appointed Minister of War in a new, pro-Nazi government, and that he would, thereafter, establish close operational relations between the German and Austrian Armies, leading ultimately to the assimilation of the Austrian into the German system.

Glaise-Horstenau was one of Alma's frequent guest at the Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill. He had the opportunity to see the autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements of the second version of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , which was put on full-display in a large built-in glass display cabinet in the grand hall decorated with fine veined marble panels. Glaise-Horstenau presses Eberstaller to get in touch with Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna. Adolf Hitler is ready to buy the manuscript for a sum equivalent to \$ 7,500.

Alma Mahler books passage for Vienna in order to tend to their affairs, wisely insisting that Franz Werfel remains safely in Capri.

The « Berchtesgaden Agreement »

On this chilly winter morning, Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg's car was met at the German-Austrian border by Franz von Papen, who joined him for the ride up to Adolf Hitler's spectacular mountain-top retreat. Papen informed Schuschnigg that Hitler was in a very good mood this morning. But, Papen added, Hitler hoped that Schuschnigg wouldn't mind if 3 of Germany's top-generals were also present during the day's discussion.

Schuschnigg was somewhat taken aback by this, but it was too late to change anything now. He arrived at the steps of Hitler's villa and was greeted by the « Führer » himself.

Standing behind Hitler were the 3 generals :

Wilhelm Keitel (Chief of the High Command) , Walter von Reichenau (Commander of Army troops along the German-Austrian border) , and Hugo Sperrle (Field Marshal General in the « Luftwaffe ») .

Hitler led Schuschnigg into his villa and up to the great hall on the second floor, a big room featuring a huge plate glass window with sweeping views of the Alps, and, in the far distance, Austria itself. Schuschnigg, taking it all in, broke the ice with a little small talk about the view.

But Hitler cut him right off :

« We did not gather here to speak of the fine view or the weather ! »

Thus began 2 hours of hell in which the quiet-spoken Austrian Chancellor was lambasted without mercy by the « Führer » .

Hitler yelled :

« You have done everything to avoid a friendly policy ! The whole history of Austria is just one uninterrupted act of high-treason (...) And I can tell you right now, “ Herr ” Schuschnigg, that I am absolutely determined to make an end of this. The German “ Reich ” is one of the great powers, and nobody will raise his voice if it settles its border problems. »

After regaining his composure, Schuschnigg tried to settle down Hitler, telling him :

« We will do everything to remove obstacles to a better understanding, as far as it is possible. »

But Hitler didn't let up :

« That is what you say ! (...) But I am telling you that I am going to solve the so-called Austrian problem one way or the other (...) I have a historic mission, and this mission I will fulfill because Providence has destined me to do so (...) I have only to give an order and all your ridiculous defense mechanisms will be blown to bits. You don't seriously believe you can stop me or even delay me for half an hour. Do you ? »

Hitler pointed out that Austria was isolated diplomatically and could not halt a Nazi invasion :

« Don't think for one moment that anybody on earth is going to thwart my decisions. Italy ? I see eye-to-eye with Mussolini (...) England ? England will not move one finger for Austria (...) And France ? »

Hitler said France had the power to stop him during the Rhineland occupation but did nothing and that « now, it is too late for France » .

An exasperated Schuschnigg finally asked Hitler what his terms were. But Hitler cut him off again, rudely dismissing him now :

« We can discuss that this afternoon. »

By the afternoon, the 41 year old Schuschnigg had aged about 10 years. He was then introduced to Germany's new Foreign Minister, an amoral character named Joachim Ribbentrop who presented him with a 2 page document containing Hitler's demands. All Nazis presently jailed in Austria were to be freed. The ban against the Austrian Nazi Party was to be lifted. Austrian lawyer, Doctor Arthur Seyß-Inquart, a staunch Nazi supporter, was to become the new Minister of the Interior with full-control of the police. In addition, Nazis were to be appointed as Minister of War and Minister of Finance with preparations made for the assimilation of Austria's entire economy into the German « Reich » . This was, Schuschnigg was told, the « Führer's » final demands and there could be no discussion. He was to sign immediately, ... or else.

Under such pressure, the Austrian Chancellor wobbled and said he would consider signing, but first sought assurances that there would be no further interference in Austria's internal affairs by Hitler. Ribbentrop, joined by Franz von Papen, gave friendly assurances that Hitler would indeed respect Austria's sovereignty if all his demands were met.

At this point, Schuschnigg was ushered back in to see Hitler.

Hitler told him :

« You will either sign it as it is and fulfill my demands within 3 days, or I will order the march into Austria. »

Schuschnigg gave in and agreed to sign, but informed Hitler that, under Austrian law, only the country's President could ratify such a document and carry out the terms. And, he added, there was no guarantee the agreement would be accepted by the Austrian President, the stubborn-minded Wilhelm Miklas.

Hitler exploded :

« You have to guarantee it !! »

But Schuschnigg said he simply could not. Hitler then rushed to the doorway and hollered out for General Keitel. Then, he turned to Schuschnigg and abruptly dismissed him. Schuschnigg was taken to a waiting room, left to ponder what Hitler was saying to Keitel.

Schuschnigg didn't know he had just been the victim of an outright bluff.

When Keitel arrived to ask for orders, a grinning Hitler told him :

« There are no orders. I just wanted to have you here. »

A half-hour later, Schuschnigg was ushered back in to see Hitler. He was given 3 days to take the agreement back to Austria and get it signed by the President, ... or else.

Schuschnigg departed Berchtesgaden, accompanied during the ride back to the border by a somewhat embarrassed Papen.

Papen consoled him :

« You have seen what the “ Führer ” can be like at times. But, the next time, I am sure it will be different. You know, the “ Führer ” can be absolutely charming. »

Thursday, 17 February 1938 : « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen agrees, by contract, to lend the manuscript of the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (WAB 108) to Doctor Josef Bick, the director-general of the Music collection of the Austrian National Library, and to Alfred Orel, the co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » representing the House of the « Musicological Publishers » .

Saturday, 19 February 1938 : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » at the Austrian National Library in the presence of Robert Haas (chief-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition ») , Norbert Furreg (general-secretary of the « International Bruckner Society ») , Doctor Friedrich Werner (financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society ») , Councillor Rudolf Holzer (board-member of the « International Bruckner Society ») , Leopold Nowak (assistant at the Music Department of the University of Vienna) , Alfred Orel (co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition ») and Leonhardt Groß (lawyer) .

Haas is unable to pressure Orel to follow the guide-lines he originally put in place.

Doctor Josef Bick renounces further collaboration of Alfred Orel to the « Complete Critical Edition » .

Monday, 28 February 1938 : Alma Mahler packs 2 suitcases, and is ready to leave Italy for Vienna travelling alone.

She writes :

« We knew - Austria is lost. »

After an arduous rail journey, she finally reaches her hometown where she spends the next 2 days incognito. Neither Father Johannes Hollnsteiner nor the Molls know anything about her arrival - only her house-keeper, Agnes Ida Gebauer, has been informed.

Shortly after her return, in wise foresight, Alma clears up her financial affairs including the mortgage on the Villa Ast, closes all her accounts at the State Bank, withdraws the balance of her account in 50 Shilling notes. Then, she and « Sister Ida » sew the cash into Ida's girdle, which the faithful long-time confidante smuggles across the border to Zürich, Switzerland.

Alma observes the recent events in Vienna with bafflement. In the space of just a few weeks, Austria has completely changed ; the « Heil Hitler ! » greeting, which, in Germany, has already replaced such straightforward salutations as « Guten Morgen » , is no longer banned, and the « swastika » flag is no longer regarded as subversive.

Alma hears the news that Nazi Germany is expelling its Jewish artists and intellectuals. Hoping to fetch a sizable sum, she toys with the thought of selling her valuable artworks, primarily Edvard Munch's famous painting entitled « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) , which has been on loan to the Belvedere's Austrian

Gallery since August 1937.

Alma asks her step-father Carl Moll to explore the possibility of re-establishing contact with the museum. The management is very much interested, but can unfortunately not raise enough money to meet Alma's demand for 10,000 Shillings. Consequently, she leaves the Munch painting in Moll's care, along with her country-villa in Breitenstein-am-Semmering and the Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill - both of which are soon festooned with « swastika » flags.

Alma makes farewells, which, in many cases, are final. Anna Moll is already ill at that time.

She writes :

*« I left Naples on **February 28, 1938**, the day of Schuschnigg's report to the Austrian parliament. It was a restless journey, dragging on and on as if it would never end.*

I had asked no one to meet me at the station - not Hollnsteiner, not the Molls, not anyone. For 2 days, I remained incognito, looking at my Vienna, which stared back at me with utterly strange eyes. I met "Frau" Pernter, the wife of the Minister of Education, in the street, looking distraught and disheveled. She promptly told me that her husband was appalled by the government troops' inability to cope with the Nazis ; fighting had broken out in Innsbruck and Graz ; there had been casualties ; no one abroad knew the facts. She ran off, this usually so calm, composed woman, and left me in consternation.

I called up Hollnsteiner, who refused to believe a word of what I was saying. He radiated optimism. In his opinion - shared by my daughter Anna - I had been "over-excited by the foreign press". Then, I saw my so-called family. They knew the truth. Flushed with victory, they laughed at the capers that Schuschnigg cut in desperation : release of all the Nazis he had locked up before Berchtesgaden, legalization of the Nazi salute, repeal of the ban on the "swastika" flag as hostile to the State, and so forth.

I went to the State Bank, cleared the mortgage on my house, and withdrew the balance of my account. I had to take it in hundred Shilling bills, since the banks had orders to withhold larger denominations. We spent a day sewing that pile of bank notes into the girdle of our good Sister Ida, who had offered to smuggle it to Zürich.

Anna and Hollnsteiner chided me for my unpatriotic conduct. To me, all my Viennese friends seemed like a bleating flock of sheep, unable or unwilling to see what was in store. I found Carl Zuckmayer and his wife celebrating their newly-acquired Austrian citizenship. "What now that Austria is lost ?" I asked them, and was laughed at. »

Robert Haas and Alfred Orel finally come to a parting of the ways over their differing text-critical approaches.

Thursday, 3 March 1938 : In a lengthy letter to Franz Schalk's wife, Alfred Orel explains his decision to resign.

Letter from co-editor Alfred Orel to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

At the February 19 meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » , which took place at the Austrian National Library, Doctor Josef Bick, the director-general of the Music collection, renounced further collaboration of Alfred Orel to the « Complete Critical Edition » because of the irreconcilable musicological divergence between Orel and his chief-editor Robert Haas.

Leopold Nowak is appointed as new co-editor of the « International Bruckner Society » of Vienna. He undertakes everything honest and dishonest to justify his existence on a par with the pioneer Robert Haas.

Nowak laid himself open to attack because of his frequent glowing references to Ferdinand Löwe and the Schalk brothers. He may have wished to avoid the demonization of Anton Bruckner's former pupils that had come to figure so largely in Bruckner commentary, but he may also have needed to maintain good relations with the Schalk family, who continued to hold a substantial amount of Bruckner material, including important manuscripts of the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) ; his preface to the Eighth records his thanks to « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen for permitting access to the manuscript of the 1890 Adagio. The most regrettable feature of Nowak's editorship is the slowness with which his editorial reports appeared. As access to the manuscripts was at best limited, the scholarly support performers and commentators needed was lacking.

As a result of the extensive campaign by the « International Bruckner Society » and the support of the Nazi Party at the time, the notion that the Universal-Edition scores were inauthentic had prevailed. In addition, given the political climate of the Nazi era, open scholarly discussion on this issue was not possible.

Saturday, 5 March 1938 : Meeting of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » . The subject on the agenda : the dispute between chief-editor Robert Haas and co-editor Alfred Orel.

1938 : The « International Bruckner Society » registers over 3,200 members.

At the time, Norbert Furrer 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 Goebbels. Raabe will continue to serve until the end of the War.

Off and on, Goebbels 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.

Friday, 11 March 1938 : By morning, Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg becomes aware of the pending German invasion.

2:00 pm : Schuschnigg informs Doctor Arthur Seyß-Inquart in Vienna that the plebiscite will indeed be canceled to avoid any bloodshed.

A telephone call is then placed by Seyß-Inquart to the « Reichs-Luftfahrt-Minister » Hermann Göring in Berlin informing him of Schuschnigg's decision. The Chancellor's position is hopelessly weakened, and Göring immediately pounces on him like a tiger.

A series of telephone calls, amounting to diplomatic extortion, now ensues.

First, Göring successfully badgers Schuschnigg into resigning, then he demands that President Wilhelm Miklas appoints Seyß-Inquart as the new Chancellor of Austria. But Miklas refuses. Göring then issues an ultimatum that Seyß-Inquart must be appointed as Chancellor, or German troops will invade Austria that very night. But Miklas stubbornly holds out.

By now, Hitler has enough of Austria's defiance.

8:45 pm : The « Führer » orders his Generals to commence the invasion, beginning at dawn the next day. Then comes the news that Adolf Hitler is waiting to hear from Benito Mussolini. Hitler is informed by telephone that Austria is considered « immaterial » to the « Duce » . There will be no interference with the Nazi invasion.

Hitler tells his envoy on the telephone :

« Tell Mussolini I will never forget him for this ! Never, never, never, no matter what happens (...) I shall stick to him whatever may happen, even if the whole world gangs up on him ! »

Kurt von Schuschnigg officially announces on radio his resignation as Federal Chancellor of Austria :

« This day has placed us in a tragic and decisive situation. I have to give my Austrian fellow countrymen the details of the events of today.

The German Government today handed to President Miklas, an ultimatum, with a time limit, ordering him to nominate as Chancellor a person designated by the German Government and to appoint members of a cabinet on the orders of the German Government ; otherwise, German troops would invade Austria.

I declare before the world that the reports launched in Germany concerning disorders by the workers, the shedding of streams of blood, and the creation of a situation beyond the control of the Austrian Government are lies from A to Z. President Miklas has asked me to tell the people of Austria that we have yielded to force since we are not prepared even in this terrible situation to shed blood. We have decided to order the troops to offer no resistance.

So, I take leave of the Austrian people with the German word of farewell uttered from the depth of my heart : God protect Austria. »

Around midnight : President Wilhelm Miklas, realizing his own position is hopeless, appoints Doctor Arthur Seyß-Inquart as the new Chancellor of Austria. Edmund Glaise-Horstenau serves as vice-Chancellor.

Saturday, 12 March 1938 : « Anschluß »

The German « Wehrmacht » marches into Austria and is greeted by jubilant crowds.

In Capri, Franz Werfel despairs :

« My heart is almost breaking with pain, even though Austria is not my country. »

Anna does not want to hear of a departure. She prefers to stay with a group of left-wing guys, which includes her then boy friend. She offers all her money and convinces them to get on the train that night.

Alma writes :

« Daily, driving to my mother's house on the "Hohe Warte", I passed the German Tourist Office on "Kärntnerstraße". Daily, I saw the banks of flowers grow before the window with Hitler's huge picture. The sidewalk was impassable, the flowers began to overflow into the street. Kneeling, the women laid down their floral burdens before the "Führer's" image.

A new paper, the "Wiener Beobachter", came out and outdid Germany's "Völkischer Beobachter" in ruffianism. The anti-Jewish caricatures and gibes exceeded all bounds. I called up Minister Pernter : could he do something ? He told me that he was powerless. At Berchtesgaden, Schuschnigg had been obliged to give up his 4 year resistance.

*Schuschnigg called a national plebiscite for **Sunday, March 13**. Anna plunged into frantic agitation for it, running from one Socialist and Christian-Socialist politician to another. It was not until years*

later that I heard the full story and perceived the enormity of the risk she ran and what would have happened if the Nazis had caught her. »

...

« Once more, I drove to the “Hohe Warte”. On the way, I saw complete strangers blissfully embracing one another, each of them already decked out in “swastika” badges and armlets. It was a sickening spectacle. Fists were shaken at me ; but nothing could have induced me to fly that flag from my car.

I said goodbye to my mother, whom I knew I was not going to see again. I let her think that I would return in a week. Her Nazi environment nurtured her illusions : that Hitler himself desired no brutality, that this was just a transition on the road to Paradise, that, in no case, would anything happen to me. But my Nazi brother-in-law, seeing that I had no “swastika” on my car, was worried enough to have my nephew, a long-time Nazi Party member, escort me back into town.

Anna and I kept Hollnsteiner in the hotel with us, talking all night. The sky was filled with the drone of planes heralding Hitler’s arrival. Early Sunday morning, we drove to the station while Hollnsteiner calmly stayed at the hotel - a bit of folly that was to cost him a year in Dachau. At the station, we ordered breakfast and acted innocent. An old Austrian policeman came to our table, and whispered to Sister Ida that I’d better take no valuables along ; everyone was being searched at the border. I got out my money and left it with the nurse, except for the allowable trifle.

My luggage consisted of 2 suitcases. I had not wanted to be seen near my house, which was rented, so I could take nothing with me. All I had in the world now was what I had had on Capri.

Moll appeared at the station, gazing dolefully at us with his sad hound’s eyes. Having never believed a word of his, I could not believe in his sorrow. He had always been my enemy, and, in showing me this man now, as my train rolled out, Vienna bade me a fitting farewell.

The disgust that Nazism evoked in Alma was similar to that evoked in her by Communism. She saw both as substitute religions for the poor and uneducated. It was in this sense that she criticized the policies of the Socialists in Austria. In their efforts to undermine the influence of the village clergy, they had paved the way for the “ersatz religion” of Nazism. »

Sunday, 13 March 1938 : In the morning, Alma Mahler begs her daughter to come to Prague the next day.

Seeing that she is now completely alone, Anna arrives at the hotel at noon with a miniature suitcase. Alma sends her back to the Villa to get her jewelry and some clothes. It is already dangerous to drive a car in Vienna without a « swastika » flag. Again, she brings only the bare necessities - having set her mind on being back in Vienna in just 2 days. Alma spends the whole night in her hotel room talking with Father Johannes Hollnsteiner and her daughter.

Outside, « the sky was filled with the drone of planes heralding Hitler’s arrival » .

Monday, 14 March 1938 : Adolf Hitler makes a triumphal entry into Vienna. He is met by cheering crowds.

Tuesday, 15 March 1938 : Alma and Anna took a circuitous route to avoid « Hitler's newly-extended domain » , traveling via Prague and Budapest to Milan, where Franz Werfel was already waiting for them. At the border, they were searched, stripped naked to their stockings, and required to show baptismal certificates. All Jews were turned back. In Prague, they met up with Werfel's sister, before proceeding on an over-crowded train to Budapest, where the Austrian consul booked a room for them. Franz had filled it with roses but would not be seen with them, as « the streets were filled with white-stockinged youths (Nazis) » .

She writes :

« At the border, we first had to show our baptismal certificates. All Jews were sent back. Then, one by one, we were taken behind the drawn blinds of a compartment and stripped naked, down to our stockings. Hours passed before the train was allowed to continue to Prague.

In Prague, Werfel's sister awaited us, helpful, sympathetic, shedding honest tears at our fate, but unwilling to believe my warnings.

She kept telling me :

“ I always wanted you to move to Prague ! Here, you would have been safe. ”

A year later she, too, had to flee from Prague.

Anna and I traveled on. Werfel was in Milan, normally a one-day trip from Prague, but to get there without touching Hitler's newly-extended domain we had to go half-way round the Balkans. On Monday, we arrived in Budapest, and had to rest a few hours, having sat up all night in a crowded railway compartment. The Austrian Consul found hotel rooms for us and sent roses but did not dare to show himself in our company. He was entirely right ; the streets of Budapest were full of the white stockings that were the insignia of Hitler's Austrian rabble. »

The relationship between Alma and Werfel had not yet been re-cemented. In her diary, Alma wrote of « 2 people who, after 20 years together, speak 2 different languages » , and whose « racial difference » could not be overcome.

Alma was considering divorce, and put out feelers through the « Reich » Propaganda Office to ascertain whether she would be welcome in Austria. The reason why she, however, decided to follow her Jewish husband into exile may lie in the fear which Alma had, aged now almost 60, of being alone.

Because of his Jewish origin and strong articles and comments against Nazism, Alma's close friend, the Viennese music historian and critic Paul Stefan, is also forced to emigrate. He is accompanied by his lover the Austrian opera and concert contralto Jella Braun-Fernwald. They first spend 6 months in Switzerland, near Winterthur.

Now that Alma is gone, Richard Eberstaller asks his wife Anna Maria to keep an eye on the manuscript of the first 3 movements of Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , which is put on full-display (alongside Mahler's own autograph

scores) in the grand hall of the Villa Ast since April 1931. But Alma's long-time confidante and house-keeper, Agnes Ida Gebauer, who now works for the Eberstallers, removes the score from its large built-in glass display cabinet, wraps it in a brown paper covering and entrusts it to Stefan's girl friend, Jella. In order not to make them unduly nervous, « Sister » Ida gives no indication of what the parcel contains.

The Nazi regime becomes extremely interested in the Bruckner autograph manuscripts situated in private ownership. The « Führer » is very fond of Bruckner and regards 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 is coordinated within Doctor Josef Goebbels's « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. The procurement of the autograph scores are considered as a top-priority.

The Nazi Party assumes control of all cultural bodies in Austria. The Society of Friends of Music in Vienna is 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, is 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.

March 1938 : Lawyer Richard Eberstaller follows orders from Berlin to discontinue the Austrian Football Federation - of which he was President since 1926. His career blossoms quickly under the Nazi regime. As President of the Senate, and, from 1938 to 1945, as vice-President of the Nazi regional Law Court for criminal matters (« Landesgerichts-Vize-Präsident ») in Vienna, he will be involved in several death sentences.

5 days after « Frau » Mahler-Werfel's sudden departure from Vienna - and within the 2 year loan term - her step-father Carl Moll goes to the Austrian Gallery on the Belvedere and removes Edvard Munch's 1902 painting « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) from the gallery, stating that he came with permission of Alma - which is certainly not the case. Without any questions asked, he brings the work to his Villa at « Woller-Gasse » Number 10 on the « Hohe Warte » hill. Alma has no knowledge of this and, obviously, would not have approved. At the same time, Professor Moll negotiates with the museum director about the sale of the Munch painting - again without knowledge or approval of Alma.

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 Doctor 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 mainly active in Vienna, 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, Furrer 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 Brandstätter, 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) .

Assistant Alfred Orel would quickly find himself at the top of the musical-cultural power structure in Vienna as head of the « Musik-Hochschule » (or « Staats-Akademie », as it was known) proving to be assiduous in eradicating « Jewish influences » .

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.

Returning to Vienna, musicologist Alfred Schlee decided he would have to act if Universal-Edition was to survive. From 1938 to 1945, he was working under the supervision of the « aryanized » share-holder John Petschull. With the support of Robert Kraus, Schlee was put in charge of the cultural department of the city of Vienna. The relocation of the publishing-house at the « Alt-Reich » (« Old Reich » : i.e. , Germany without Austria and the Sudetenland) helped to secure an invaluable amount of material.

With the help of some of the more humane officials in charge of Vienna, Schlee set about preserving the Universal catalogue. Hanns Blaschke (1943-1945) , the first Deputy Mayor at the time, responsible for cultural affairs, was of course a Nazi, but he was also a Austrian nationalist, and Schlee saw that he would be useful in preventing the

wholesale loss of Universal to Germany.

Schlee was a personal friend of Blaschke who was a member of the Nazi Party but also an Austrian nationalist. As mayor, he made sure with highly-placed helpers that the « Gestapo » was kept at arm's length while Schlee did what he had to do. Schlee immediately began removing scores and instrumental parts (printings, engravings, templates and manuscripts of works by Jewish « degenerate » composers, including the archives of Gustav Mahler) to safe havens inland or abroad, often in semi-official transport, on the grounds that the material had to be protected from bombing but, more essentially, from Nazi destruction. Apparently, the organs of village churches around Austria were filled with the manuscripts, as was Schlee's own house on the Semmering mountain pass !

A report by Doctor Friedrich Werner, the acting head of the « International Bruckner Society » , to Robert Haas' superior, Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » in Berlin, in which Werner testified to his repeated attempts to get Haas and Alfred Orel to cooperate, reported on the continuing possession of Bruckner manuscripts by « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen and others, and requested that official steps be undertaken to secure these manuscripts as « Kulturgut des Staates » (cultural property of the State) . If Werner's explanation that he prevented the Schalk material from leaving Austria is taken at face-value, it appears that he was equally convinced that they be reclaimed from Schalk's estate by official means. It is difficult today to be sure as to precisely « whose side » Werner was on - an unbridgeable chasm often seems to lie between the apparent motivations pre- and post-1945 of those involved in the Third « Reich » . Pace his letter of 1947, however, Werner's report to Drewes makes it more than likely that « Frau » Lili, given her obstinate refusal to hand-over the manuscripts earlier, was « won over » in 1939 by some sort of action - or threat thereof.

Monday, 28 March 1938 : Letter from chief-editor Robert Haas to Doctor Josef Gæbbels :

Robert Haas expresses his unfailing loyalty to Doctor Gæbbels as patron of the « Complete Critical Edition » and « original versions » of Anton Bruckner's works.

Tuesday, 29 March 1938 : Meeting at the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » in Berlin (in the presence of Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the Music Examination Office ?) .

The subject on the agenda : the procurement of « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen's treasured Bruckner manuscripts.

Wednesday, 30 March 1938 : Justus Brandstätter, who co-heads the Oskar Brandstätter Printing Company in Leipzig and the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna, contacts Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, regarding the procurement of the Bruckner autograph manuscripts which are still privately owned - including those of

« Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen and « Frau » Alma Mahler-Werfel.

Thursday, 31 March 1938 : The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » in Berlin receives a list written by Doctor Friedrich Werner, attorney and financial administrator of the « German Bruckner Society » in Vienna, with the names of the present owners of Bruckner manuscripts. Besides the Bishop of Linz, Johannes Maria Gföllner, and the widow of conductor Franz Schalk, « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen, the name of Alma Mahler-Werfel is mentioned.

Letter from the House of the « Musicological Publishers » to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (on « Wilhelmstraße ») in Berlin :

The letter mentions the Bruckner manuscripts that should be seized from the estate of « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen.

(The same letter as the previous one ?) Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, to Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office :

The procurement of Bruckner's autograph scores must be treated as a top-priority :

« Because we fear what might happen to this valuable treasure. » (Doctor Werner)

This fear was, in the case of the Third Symphony, entirely justified, because Alma, with the help of her house-keeper and long-time confidante Agnes Ida Gebauer, had her husband's valuable property shipped to Paris just 2 weeks ago.

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 :

Doctor 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.

Monday, 25 April 1938 : Extensive report by Robert Haas :

« As editor of this “ Complete Edition ”, it is my full-responsibility to see to the well-being and completion of this monumental task which I have dedicated to the German people and to our “ Führer ” Adolf Hitler. »

Robert Haas complains about Alfred Orel's unreliability and insufficient editorial skills.

The planned publication after 1926 of the « Complete Edition » by Breitkopf & Härtel and Universal-Edition would only have included the first printed versions.

When Haas signed a contract with the publishing-house of Doctor Benno Filser on April 4, 1928, he consulted Orel, despite the fact that the latter was not employed by the Austrian National Library. Then, Haas expressly gave his co-editor the most formidable task : preparing the Ninth Symphony in D minor (**WAB 109**) for publication. Orel did not work fast enough (instead of April 2, 1932, the score was published only at the end of 1934) but also not carefully enough. After a family drama, which occurred on May 20, 1933, Orel's commitment to the symphony noticeably diminished.

According to the contracts signed on April 18 and May 14, 1934, the name of Alfred Orel must appear on the title-page of the « Complete Critical Edition » , regardless of the extent of his cooperation.

Robert Haas accomplished an enormous amount of work during the last years :

1935 : Publication of Symphonies Nos. 1, 5 and 6 (**WAB 101, 105, 106**) .

1936 : Publication of Symphony No. 1 (**WAB 101**) , and currently working on Symphony No. 2 (**WAB 102**) .

For its part, Orel did not meet the fixed deadline (December 15, 1934) for the publication of the sketches of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) , although Fritz Öser had withdrawn from his prerogative to the « Berlin » sketches coming from the Prussian State Library.

On June 30, 1936, Haas requested that Orel be relieved of his duties as co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » . Orel then began to express his indignation through the Jewish press.

In October 1936, Orel wrote an article published in the bi-monthly music magazine « Deutsche Musik-Kultur » (which is controlled by the Nazi Party) criticizing Haas' editorial standpoint.

End of April 1938 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel travel, via Paris and Amsterdam, to London, where they see Anna Mahler.

Tuesday, 24 May 1938 : Letter from Anton Hassbauer, the Cultural Affairs Officer in Vienna, to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, about the tough negotiations with Lili Schalk-Hopfen :

« Frau » Schalk-Hopfen should be offered professional security for her son, Gabriel, in return for her late-husband's significant stock of Bruckner's manuscripts.

June 1938 : Deciding not to settle in England, Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel arrive back in Paris.

While staying in St. Germain, outside of the capital, Werfel suffers a mild heart-attack. Anna Moll is dying and already beyond being reached by Alma's phone call.

As a final tribute to her mother, Alma denied that Anna Moll was ever a Nazi and attributed her « worship of this monster, Hitler » to Carl's persistent influence.

Alma writes :

« After 3 weeks, we returned to Paris. Summer had begun in the meantime, with a heat wave. I lodged Werfel in the most beautiful hotel in the vicinity of Paris, the "Henri IV" at Saint-Germain. He had a room as large as a riding school to himself, while I stayed a while in our poor little "Royal Madeleine" and spent most of my time at the Louvre. Apart from its beauty, it was the only cool spot in town. »

...

« My mother was dying, and I could not see her again. I tried to call her from Paris and heard, "She's still breathing." I heard that Moll had to be watched all the time, lest he kill himself. I thought : Why don't they let him ? He's right.

I had lost my mother a long time before this, to Hitler, who had robbed me of everything but Werfel and Anna. My mother was never a Nazi, but having the worship of this monster drummed into her day and night was bound to sap her resistance once I was no longer present as a counterpoise. At the news of her death, in November, I felt for the first time that I was flesh of her flesh - that the heart that was congealing in Vienna made me freeze in Paris.

I wrote :

"Blood means so little to me, and yet, it speaks now in a loud voice ! " »

Saturday, 11 June 1938 : A decree issued by the « Reich » Propaganda Minister Doctor Josef Goebbels 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.

Wednesday, 15 June 1938 : General assembly of the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Vienna, which is attended by Doctor Friedrich Werner, lawyer and financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » , Professor Max Auer, Norbert Furrer, 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.

Mid-June 1938 : Franz Werfel moves from Paris to the nearby suburb of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. He takes a spacious room in the most beautiful hotel in town, the « Pavillon Henri IV » , so he can start working again after several months of agonizing unproductivity. The castle park and the adjoining woodlands invite him to take extended walks. Having feeling ill and weak for a long time, he hopes to find the necessary rest and rehabilitation in the solitude of Saint-Germain.

Alma remains another couple of days in Paris before heading to Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille.

With the help of a friend - Anne-Marie Meier-Graefe - who was living for some time in the South of France, Alma Mahler purchases appropriate accommodations high above the local bay in the fishing town of Sanary-sur-Mer on the Côte d'Azur near Marseille, which turns out to be a dreamy spot of earth for a German community of artists in exile - including Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Bertolt Brecht, Ludwig Marcuse and Ernst Bloch.

The Werfels will live until May 1940 in the old but renovated Saracen watch-tower called « Le Moulin Gris » (The Gray Mill) . On the second floor, there is a round room which serves as study for Franz. One can look through the 12 large windows at the open sea : a breathtaking view.

Yet, the fashionable Alma is bored to death there ; apart from the beautiful weather, the town has little to offer, so she yearns for their sparse trips to Paris.

Friday, 1 July 1938 : While Alma Mahler and Anne-Marie Meier-Graefe are still discussing the organizational details of the move to Sanary-sur-Mer, she receives a call from Paris :

Franz Werfel is severely ill. Alma goes to him immediately. In the suburb of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, she finds her husband in a miserable state, having suffered a mild heart attack. She arranges for her husband to be transported to Paris. It takes a long time for his condition to improve. After a good 4 weeks, the Werfels finally settle in their watch-tower in Sanary.

Alma writes :

*« At the **end of June**, I went to the Riviera in search of a summer home for us. In Sanary-sur-Mer, a fishing village between Toulon and Marseille, I found an old watch-tower which a painter had remodeled with good taste and few conveniences. I rented it and was just chatting with a friend, the widow of the art historian Julius Meier-Graefe, when the phone rang (**July 1**) . Paris was calling : I should come back at once. Franz Werfel was seriously ill.*

I took the next train to Paris and on to Saint-Germain. Werfel had had a heart attack. The local doctor, an Englishman, had told him that his condition was critical, and now, it took him a long time to get over the fear of death. We moved to Paris ; but the highly-recommended doctor I got there proved equally stupid. For weeks, I had to sleep in Werfel's room, on an uncomfortable wooden divan. Recovery was slow. He got daily injections to lower his blood pressure, which had risen to 250. His furious smoking had to be stopped. »

While listening to a Hitler broadcast on radio, Franz stands in silence as some of his friends try vainly to translate a few words of the screaming « Führer » for curious French by-standers.

Then, Werfel breaks his silence with 4 words :

« This is the Devil ! »

To Alma, Adolf Hitler is simply the direct spiritual descendant of Martin Luther, but to Werfel, Hitler is to be understood neither in terms of the political vicissitudes of the Weimar Republic nor of the more deep-seated problems of Germany's past.

Alma was then considering divorce, and put out feelers through the « Reich » Propaganda Office to ascertain whether she would be welcome in Austria.

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**) . Soloists : 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 ») .

Sunday, 3 July 1938 : Letter from Justus Brandstätter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter Printing Company and Publishing-House, to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (on « Wilhelmstraße ») in Berlin :

Robert Haas is currently working on the original version of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) based on transcripts. The completion planned for spring 1939 would only be possible if « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen could be persuaded to deliver all her manuscripts.

Wednesday, 13 July 1938 : Letter from Justus Brandstätter, the co-head of the Oskar Brandstätter Printing Company and Publishing-House, to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (on « Wilhelmstraße ») in Berlin :

The chief-editor Robert Haas is currently working on the original version of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) from past printed scores. Its completion, planned for spring 1939, would only be possible if « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen could be persuaded to deliver all the manuscripts owned by her late-husband, Franz Schalk.

Despite tightening travel restrictions, Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel choose to go to Paris.

With Werfel's Czech passport, they acquire the necessary papers and head by train for the border. There, Alma « drew my first happy breath since the flight from Vienna » .

Anna leaves for London while the couple settles into the modest « Hôtel Royal Madeleine » in Paris, before going on to Amsterdam where Willem Mengelberg is conducting Mahler's Eighth Symphony and Alma is celebrated as the guest-of-honour. She is delighted when the Amsterdam-based publishing-house Allert de Lange makes an offer for her memoir, « Gustav Mahler : Memories and Letters » , the book that she had abandoned in 1924.

Alma and Franz then join Anna for 3 weeks in London.

On their return to France after their stays in London and Switzerland, Alma and Franz Werfel decide to go to Paris for the winter months, because spending a winter in Sanary-sur-Mer seemed too lonely for them.

Alma complains :

« One can't do anything else but wait. Our life here in the tower, completely isolated, might just possibly be called beautiful, if this existence had not been forced on us. »

Over the following weeks, Alma pursued her social interests. She even regularly held a little « salon » in her suite at the « Hôtel Royal Madeleine » . Her regular visitors included the writers Guido Zernatto and Fritz von Unruh, the former French ambassador in Vienna Count Bertrand Clauzel, the director Erwin Piscator, the composer Franz Lehár, and Bruno Walter. When the last guests had departed and Alma remained behind alone with her thoughts, her depressive mood would instantly re-emerge.

She laments :

« Why sleep, why wake ? Whether we booze, gorge ourselves, screw, or force ourselves to create ascetic work values, nothing makes any difference. (...) I have become totally desolate and don't even want to die anymore. »

The laments are also an expression of sexual frustration ...

Alma's erotic relationship with Werfel had « long since become a turbid matrimonial creek. Why get up in the morning, why do our hair, for whom do we get dressed ? »

Franz Werfel, she said, was « totally washed out - yes, gone senile - and very hopeless » .

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.

Paul Stefan and Jella Braun-Fernwald - who are lovers - arrive in Paris. They have been friends of Alma and Franz in Vienna.

When opening the strange package wrapped in brown paper, which is addressed to Jella, Stefan - a Mahler specialist - exclaims :

« But this is the manuscript of Bruckner's Third ! »

(The score was rescued by Alma's house-keeper, Agnes Ida Gebauer.)

Stefan recognizes immediately the writing and the work. The title-page shows the composer's peculiar spelling : Bruckner wrote « Sinfonie » , and then, corrected it.

He brings the manuscript to Alma who is staying (for the fall and winter seasons) at the « Hôtel Royal Madeleine » « n° 29, rue de l'Arcade dans le 8e arrondissement » near the « Gare Saint-Lazare » and the « Opéra Garnier » .

During his stay in Paris, Stefan joins the League for Spiritual Austria and works primarily for radio broadcasting until the Occupation (1940) .

The Austrian contralto Jella Braun-Fernwald (full-name : Jella Braun von Fernwald ; also Yella Gabriele von Braun-Fernwald) appeared at the Vienna « Volksoper » starting in 1932. In addition to her public concert performances, she sang in many radio programs produced by the « Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft Wien » (RAVAG) . She advocates contemporary music, especially the work of Arnold Schönberg and Egon Wellesz.

When lawyer Richard Eberstaller discovers what happened to the Bruckner manuscript, he feels betrayed by Alma and her Jewish friends - so he decides to fire Ida.

Alma writes :

« Back in Paris, I had a joyous surprise : my score of Bruckner's Third Symphony came from Vienna ! The manuscript from my marble room on the "Hohe Warte" had had strange adventures. With Austrian politicians going in and out there, it had come to the attention of State Councillor Glaise-Horstenau, who was later given a cabinet post by Hitler and must have told him of my prize possession. Hitler was a Bruckner fanatic. He sent word to my brother-in-law that he desired to buy the score from me for \$ 7,500, and my brother-in-law, quite certain that it was still in Vienna, obediently transmitted the "Führer's" wish.

Meanwhile, however, our good Sister Ida had given a package for me to the wife of a Viennese music-critic who was about to emigrate. She had not told the lady what was in the package, in order not to make her nervous, and when the unwitting courier opened it in Paris, her husband cried out, " Why, that's Bruckner's Third ! " So, I got my treasure back, and, in Vienna, my perfectly innocent Nazi brother-in-law was stripped of his Party rank as a result of Hitler's disappointment. »

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.

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.

Autumn of 1938 : Anna Moll's health rapidly deteriorated. A severe case of bronchitis and acute heart problems forced her to remain in bed.

Friday, 30 September 1938 : An agreement is concluded at Munich by Nazi Germany, the United Kingdom, the French Third Republic, and the Kingdom of Italy. It provides « cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory » of Czechoslovakia, despite existence of the 1924 alliance agreement and the 1925 military pact between France and the Czechoslovak Republic.

While Franz Werfel roundly condemned the division of Czechoslovakia, Alma saw in it « a great event », which the world had awaited « with bated breath ». For her, Adolf Hitler was « a genius at the head of a great nation ». She may have been « inseparably bound to the fate of the others » - as she put it - but she had not lost what she believed to be her « just, objective view. I shall now have to wander with a nation alien to me all the way to the other end of the world - and, nevertheless, this is the only way I have of coping with the situation (despite the fact that I have lost my homeland, my intellectual and material properties, and will never see the people I love, my mother, again) [by] observing this heroic individual [Hitler] with the greatest admiration as he strides triumphantly above humanity ». She was living in French exile « with a Jewish-Communist mob », she wrote in her diary, « and I do not belong among them ».

During this period, Alma even considered a separation from Franz Werfel.

« As the “ Reich ” Ministry of Propaganda communicated in Berlin by telex, “ Frau ” Mahler-Werfel (widow of the late-composer, Gustav Mahler) wishes to be able to live undisturbed in her Vienna home. “ Frau ” Mahler herself is an Aryan. This is why I request immediate information on whether any public office might make problems concerning the stay of “ Frau ” Mahler-Werfel in Vienna. »

The matter was urgent, as the signatory of the letter, Doctor Wolfram from the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry in Vienna, stressed on **October 5, 1938**. The answer from the competent regional personnel commission, however, took 2 months in coming :

« The aforementioned individual was married in both marriages to Jews. She is currently in the process of suing her present husband for divorce. Her attitude toward the present State and Party can be described as loyal, and she enjoys the highest reputation with her former employees. In a political sense, nothing negative is known. »

A divorce suit, however, was never officially submitted. Nevertheless, it was no secret to the people in Vienna that the marriage had, for a long time, continued to exist only on paper. Alma's brother-in-law, Richard Eberstaller, could also report that she « had already had the intention of divorcing Werfel back in 1937 ; the marriage of the two named individuals was unhappy ».

Early-October 1938 : The German invasion of the southern Bohemian Forest begins.

Alma's brother-in-law and lawyer Richard Eberstaller starts acting as an intermediary when the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry attempts to buy the autograph manuscript of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) .

Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna, inquires about the score with Doctor Eberstaller, who can only report the loss.

Irked by this news, Werner presses for the re-acquisition of the score. Eberstaller says he is prepared to mediate in the matter. If he succeeds in getting it back - so he hopes - then, this « coup d'éclat » will be favourably registered inside the « Reich » capital, because the ambitious man feels that he still has a long way to go. Eberstaller's career in Vienna will blossom under the Nazi regime.

During her stay in France and the United States, Alma will keep in touch with Eberstaller. The main issue in their correspondence will be the Bruckner manuscript.

Friday, 21 October 1938 : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, lawyer and financial administrator of the « International Bruckner Society » , to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin :

Doctor Werner reports to Berlin that lawyer Richard Eberstaller spoke with his sister-in-law Alma. « Frau » Mahler-Werfel brought with her to the United States (New York) the manuscript of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) . There, she received an offer to sell it for \$ 5,000 U.S. But, at Werner's request, she rejected the offer and sent the precious document back to her current address in Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille (southern France) .

Alma will not return to her residence on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling. However, she offered the « Reich » government 2 options : purchasing the manuscript for a price of approximately 15,000 « Reich » Marks, or buy the Villa Ast at a value of some 160,000 « Reich » Marks.

It is unclear how Alma planned to carry out this deal.

Doctor Werner also wondered about this odd suggestion :

« In my humble opinion, only the first offer could even be considered. »

At the « Reich » Propaganda Ministry, Alma's first offer moved up the chain of command until Doctor Eberstaller finally told his sister-in-law 6 months later to deliver the Bruckner manuscript to the German Embassy in Paris.

The diplomats there would, he promised her, pay the amount Alma had requested ; meanwhile, she was asking a sum of £ 1,500 (Pounds Sterling) in cash.

Lawyer Richard Eberstaller is appointed President of the Senate and vice-President of the Nazi regional Law Court for criminal matters in Vienna. During his tenure as a court judge (1938-1945) , he will be involved in several death sentences.

Friday, 21 October 1938 : Doctor Friedrich Werner, the financial administrator of the « German Bruckner Society » in Vienna, reports to Berlin that judge Richard Eberstaller had meanwhile spoken with his sister-in-law, Alma Mahler.

She offered the Nazi government 2 options :

« Either they could purchase the manuscripts for a price of approximately 15,000 “ Reich Marks ” (about \$ 67,000 U.S. , or 52,000 €) or they could buy “ Frau ” Mahler-Werfel’s house or Villa (Ast) at a value of some 160,000 “ Reich Marks ”. »

It is unclear how Alma planned to carry out such a deal.

Doctor Friedrich Werner also wondered about this odd suggestion :

« In my humble opinion, only the first offer could even be considered. »

Monday, 28 November 1938 :

Alma writes about her mother :

« I telephoned her. I was told she was still breathing. »

Tuesday, 29 November 1938 : Death of a pulmonary edema of Alma Mahler’s mother, Anna Schindler-Moll, after Alma’s flight from Vienna.

Carl Moll could barely cope with his wife’s death. He had to be restrained several times.

Alma writes :

« He wants to kill himself. Why don’t they just let him do it ? He’s absolutely right. »

In this difficult period, Alma traveled from Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille to London.

After the loss of her mother, she had a need to see her daughter Anna :

« It was wet and cold, and we almost froze to death. »

Alma also ran into her former son-in-law Paul von Zsolnay, who had managed to get out of Vienna at the last minute and emigrate to England.

Alma writes :

« He was totally nazified. Zsolnay remained pro-Nazi for a long time afterward, this off-spring of a Jew. »

...

The successful history of the Oskar Brandstätter 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.

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.

December 1938 :

Alma writes :

*« In **December**, Werfel had to go to Zürich, and I joined Anna in London. It was so chilly and damp there that we almost froze to death ; whatever we touched stuck clammily to our fingers. »*

Singer « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen (1873-1967) does not give permission to Robert Haas to consult the engraver's copy of the Third Symphony in D minor (**WAB 103**) . Only Leopold Nowak is authorized to consult many of the manuscripts including the intermediate form of the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (**WAB 108**) .

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 Gœbbels 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 Gœbbels, Staats-Rat Doktor Wilhelm Furtwängler und zum Geschäfts-Führer der Gesellschaft den Wiener Rechts-Anwalt Doktor Werner bestellt. »)

It is not excluded that Furtwängler's appointment encouraged emigration.

Friday, 3 February 1939 : Alma Mahler, who lives with Franz Werfel in Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille (south of France) , makes a sale offer to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin on the manuscript of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) .

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.

Alma writes :

*« In **March**, Hitler swallowed Czechoslovakia. It happened on the 14th ; on the day before, hearing from a diplomat that the move was imminent, I made a long-distance call to Prague to tell Werfel's sister that " the uncle " would arrive next morning. She understood me, but the poor health of Werfel's father made it impossible for the family to leave at once. The next morning, they were turned back at the border, and had a good deal of trouble before they finally got out. Werfel and I spent an entire day at the station, worrying when they did not come on the expected train. »*

At the Berlin Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » , Alma's offer goes through the various levels of authority, until she asks to deposit the Bruckner manuscript at the German Embassy in Paris. Alma is promised that the diplomats will pay in cash the sum required - by now, she is asking for £ 1,500 (Pounds Sterling) .

More than a year after her escape from Vienna, Alma decides to put the country-villa (« Haus Mahler ») in Breitenstein-am-Semmering into the faithful hands of her Nazi half-sister Anna Maria Eberstaller (who is 20 years younger) in order to protect the estate from being confiscated by the « Gestapo » . It will be called from now on « Haus Eberstaller » .

1939 : Singer « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen sells manuscript pages of the last movement of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) to the Austrian National Library.

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.

Alma writes :

*« We returned to Sanary in **May**, to the myriads of mosquitoes which made the place hell for me. And the people ! Charming outside, brutal inside, and extremely pro-Hitler at the time. I sensed what was coming and wanted to leave that pest-ridden country, but Werfel, stubbornly clinging to the notion of a “last shred of Europe”, refused to leave. It was to cost us dearly, for, in **September**, the War broke out. »*

Wednesday, 3 May 1939 : Doctor Heinz Drewes, the Director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office, sends a telex to the German Embassy in Paris informing that « Frau » Alma Mahler-Werfel will bring with her the manuscript of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) . She demands in return a sum of £ 1,500 (Pounds Sterling) . The Embassy is authorized to complete the transaction. Then, the score must be sent to Berlin by special courier.

Unfortunately, the transaction will not take place because Doctor Drewes's telex arrived too late.

Alma appears at the German Embassy (former « Hôtel Beauharnais ») in Paris, located at Number 78 « rue de Lille » , with the autograph manuscript of the Third Symphony under her arm. She makes the unpleasant discovery that the officials in attendance know nothing of the arrangement made. Under such circumstances, she is on no account prepared to hand her precious possession over to the Germans.

The reason the sale fell through is quite straightforward :

The « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda on « Wilhelmstraße » in Berlin has omitted to inform the officials in Paris in time as to Alma's visit.

The « Hôtel Beauharnais » became the German Embassy following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. The building served as the Paris residence of Otto Abetz, who was appointed on November 1940, at the age of 37, German ambassador to Vichy France. The Embassy was theoretically responsible for all political questions in occupied France, which included SD operations, and for advising the German police and military.

Thursday, 4 May 1939 : The instructions from the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda about the

Bruckner manuscript of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) finally arrive at the German Embassy in Paris.

Judge Richard Eberstaller, vice-President of the Nazi regional Law Court for criminal matters, succeeds to persuade his sister-in-law to return to the German diplomatic mission. Now, there are no further obstacles to conclude the sale.

However, after several weeks, the authorities in Berlin will enquire impatiently whether Alma had contacted the Embassy.

Alma writes :

« We returned to Sanary, but life there was getting to be unbearable. I had a pistol in my possession, and, since this was prohibited, Susi Kertes and I got up at 4:00 am one day to bury it in the garden, behind a tree. We did not want to take the cook into our confidence, but we later told Werfel, who objected to the place we had picked. The roots of a tree, he said, were in constant motion and would bring all buried objects back to the surface ; the only proper burying place for a pistol was alongside a wall. So, Susi and I crawled out of bed again the following morning, dug up the gun, which we had a hard time finding, and reburied it elsewhere. We must have looked funny enough, doing all this in our nightgowns.

The house was blacked out, and every window taped over. In the big tower room, there was no way of doing this, so Werfel now had no place to work in the evenings. One night, he went up with a flashlight to look for a manuscript, and was reported to the police.

They shouted at him :

“ So you’re a spy ! You give light signals to the Germans ! ”

He was reprimanded and warned that a second offense would make him hable to heavy punishment. »

Wednesday, 17 May 1939 : 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.

Tuesday, 6 June 1939 : The German Embassy in Paris reports to the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin (?) that « Frau » Mahler-Werfel had not been seen again.

What the parties concerned didn’t know was that, as early as **mid-May**, Alma and Franz Werfel had returned to Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille (south of France) , « to the billions of mosquitoes and horseflies » .

As a result of Adolf Hitler's disappointment, judge Richard Eberstaller is stripped of his Party rank.

The story of the Bruckner manuscript will not end until the couple reaches America.

The Werfels spend the **summer** - interrupted by a visit from Anna Mahler - in deceptive tranquillity on the French Riviera.

On commission from the Allert de Lange publishing-house in Amsterdam, Alma revises her thus far unpublished memories of Gustav Mahler, which she largely completed back in mid-1924.

Saturday, 16 September 1939 : By signing a new contract with the Austrian National Library, copyright ownership of the « Complete Critical Edition » passes to the « German Bruckner Society » (« Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft ») of Leipzig, who transfers the manuscripts and material to the House of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag ») .

Sunday, 12 November 1939 : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » in Vienna, to Justus Brandstätter from the House of the « Musicological Publishers » in Leipzig :

« (...) I take the liberty to inform you that, yesterday, “ Frau ” Lilli Schalk handed me all the Bruckner material that she had in trust for the German State. (...) »

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.

1940 : Paul Stefan and Jella Braun-Fernwald get married in Montauban, southern France.

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) .

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.

March 1940 : Publication by Alma Mahler of « Gustav Mahler : Erinnerungen und Briefe » (Gustav Mahler : Memories and Letters) . The book receives jubilant reviews, even from « De Telegraaf » , that soon befriends the Nazis after Adolf Hitler invades the Netherlands early in the morning on May 10. The extensive correspondence between Alma Mahler and Walter Landauer begins in December 1938 and ends on 3 May 1940, one week before the invasion.

Mahler's widow proves to have quite some commercial instinct and a flair for public relations. « The cover must be attractive » , she advises Landauer, and she constantly stresses the importance of translations into French and English. Along the way, she provides tips as to which people to approach for promotion. At the last instant, she includes conductor Otto Klemperer in her preface, « so that, in America, we may have a great friend, or else a dangerous enemy » .

At other times, she displays an endearing modesty : when Mahler describes her as « an apparition of light » in one of his letters, she - unsuccessfully - asks Landauer to scrap this eulogy ; neither has she ever bothered to have her portrait taken.

Unfortunately, her business-like instinct is not matched by her understanding of logistics. Even after the final proofs have been meticulously corrected by Ernst Polak from London, she still asks for adjustments - even though the faulty postal service has already caused several instances of confusion.

What's more, Alma involves Franz Werfel and others in the editing process without consulting Landauer or Polak, which causes even more misunderstandings. One can't help feeling for Landauer, whose patience seems to know no bounds ; after her umpteenth demand for adjustments, one would like to personally shake Alma vicariously. Indeed, towards the end of the correspondence, even the ever accommodating Landauer can't hide a slight trace of despair.

Alma stated at the beginning of the foreword :

« I wrote this book many years ago for the sole reason that nobody knew Gustav Mahler as well as I did. »

The « Memories and Letters » (« Erinnerungen und Briefe ») were, however, not well received. In particular, the fact that, at the end of the book, Alma had Mahler's frenzied marginal notes to the Tenth Symphony printed, degrading them to a love-letter, went too far for many readers.

Thomas Mann wrote in his diary :

« Read some of G. Mahler's (embarrassing) letters to his wife. »

Here, he was referring to those letters that Mahler had sent Alma after her love-affair with Walter Gropius had leaked out. As Alma had refrained from making any comment or providing any context, it was of course impossible for Thomas Mann to take the reason for these letters into account while pronouncing his severe judgment. Alma, as author, didn't take veracity all that seriously. Of the 162 Mahler letters published in 1940, only 37 were word-for-word reproductions of the originals ; 125 documents were truncated or distorted, and, in 3 cases, Alma had combined 2 letters into one. The sections she expunged often contained Mahler's complaints about his young wife. His frequent requests for Alma to write more clearly, as he was unable to decipher her almost illegible hieroglyphs, were removed, as were his repeatedly expressed complaints about her problematic character and her permanent dissatisfaction.

Saturday, 23 March 1940 : Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Robert Haas, the chief-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition » :

Friedrich Werner will deal with the estate of Doctor Karl Muck.

Tuesday, 16 April 1940 : With the help of Carl Moll, Anna Maria Eberstaller sells in her own name Edvard Munch's « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) to the Belvedere Gallery (Austrian Gallery - « Österreichische Galerie ») at the unsuitably low-price of 7,000 « Reich » Marks. This is probably prompted by the good relationship between Alma's step-father Carl Moll and the Museum director, not to mention the fact that Munch's painting, by now, has reached the status of « degenerate work of art » (« Entartete Kunst ») . Alma knows nothing of this transaction (earlier, she even received a higher offer from Switzerland which she refused) . In fact, Alma asks the Hungarian ambassador in Vienna, who is to be relocated to Paris, to bring the painting with him but Moll simply refuses to deal with the man.

The money is used to pay for some urgently necessary repairs at the country-villa (« Haus Mahler ») in Breitenstein-am-Semmering. Around 1,900 of the 7,000 « Reich » Marks are spent on roofing and plumbing work. The proceeds

benefits Anna Maria and not Alma because, at the time of the sale of the painting, the house has been transferred to Alma's half-sister.

After the German « Wehrmacht » invaded smaller western European nations such as Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, it is clear to the Werfels that it is only a question of time until Adolf Hitler's forces also march into France.

May 1940 : With the German invasion of France, German-speaking emigrants come under suspicion. Franz Werfel is investigated by the local police. Franz and Alma no longer feel safe and are anxious to move on to America.

Wednesday, 15 May 1940 : Letter from procurator Hilde Wendler of the « German Bruckner Society » (who works for the Oskar Brandstätter 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.

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 Brandstätter 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 » .

Sunday, 2 June 1940 : In Sanary-sur-Mer near Marseille, Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel hastily pack up their household goods and leave their old Saracen tower home, « Le Moulin Gris » .

They spend the next 16 days in Marseille because their U.S. visa applications is expired. Their efforts to acquire new travel documents, however, prove fruitless.

Sunday, 9 June 1940 : The French government flees Paris.

When Alma and Franz Werfel left Sanary-sur-Mer, the German army had already occupied Paris. They did not have an

exit-visa for the United States and had to wait at the pilgrimage centre of Lourdes for 5 weeks in order to obtain permission to travel to Marseille.

Thursday, 13 June 1940 : The French government capitulates.

Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel stand with a group close to tears in their Marseille hotel as the French prime minister, Paul Reynaud, broadcast on radio his final speech.

Alma writes :

*« On **June 13**, Premier Paul Reynaud made his famous radio speech. People in our hotel listened to the broadcast standing, with tears in their eyes. He appealed to America, for “ clouds of airplanes (...) ”.*

He said :

“ The situation is grave, but not desperate (...) ”

It was desperate. Marseille, also, had daily alarms ; we spent our nights in the cellar and our days in consulates, seeking French exit visas and visas to enter the United States. We got neither.

A loudspeaker in the hotel room adjoining ours woke us in the middle of the night : Hitler had entered Paris ; the French army was in full flight to the south. Werfel, always the doubting optimist, discounted the report. He actually thought our next door neighbours were Nazis, blaring out this lie just to hurt our feelings ! »

Friday, 14 June 1940 : When the German « Wehrmacht » enters Paris, Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel decide to head toward the Spanish border even without all the necessary visas. When they learn that the Germans are already outside Avignon, they decide to go for a quick escape.

Alma writes :

« Now we are searching like a mouse in its trap for a way out of the hole. But none is open any more and we are hopelessly caught. »

Alma writes :

*« The French government was at Bordeaux. We thought that Maréchal Pétain, who took over on **June 16**, would not let the Germans get to Bordeaux, so we decided to go there, and then to Biarritz, and on to safety over the long bridge at Hendaye that separates France from Spain. How little we knew - we and the Frenchmen who advised us ! »*

Tuesday, 18 June 1940 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel hear the rumour that the Germans are already outside Avignon. They decide to go for a quick escape. Alma bribed a taxi-driver in Marseille to take them across the south of France to Bordeaux, the temporary seat of the French government, in hope of obtaining an exit-visa.

Alma writes :

*« We found a car to take us to Bordeaux, for 8,000 Francs. **On the 18th**, we departed. Our driver, an arrogant individual, insisted on detouring to Avignon, where he had friends. There were rumours that the Germans were heading for Avignon, but he did not mind that. We had to yield. After a hurried lunch at Avignon, we continued, Werfel sitting with the driver, where he was more comfortable. I sat in the rear with the luggage and had some narrow escapes from my large steamer trunk, which fell on me at every curve. The road was deserted, the country-side frozen with fear. »*

With difficulty, they made their way to Bordeaux, in western France, and then, to different localities in the vicinity of the Spanish border (Biarritz, Bayonne, Hendaye, and St. Jean-de-Luz) only to find that they were no closer to their goal.

From Bordeaux, they planned to force their way through to Spain. The trip turned into an odyssey : the route was supposed to take them via Perpignan ; however, the taxi-driver inadvertently headed toward Avignon, where the Germans were suspected to be. The man at the wheel finally completely lost his bearings and even began driving in circles, so that Alma and Franz actually arrived twice at the small town of Narbonne, where they had to pause because of approaching night-fall. As no hotel was willing to accept German-speaking refugees, they spent the night in a former hospital. Alma was appalled by the primitive hygienic conditions.

Alma writes :

« Turning westward, at last, we breathed easier. At a snail's pace, we headed for Toulouse, which we were supposed to reach that evening. No such luck ! A few motor defects, flat tires, road-blocks, and wrong turns brought us circling into Narbonne twice - the second time at 11:00 pm. We had to stay overnight. Turned down by hotel after hotel, we finally found 2 old women in the street who took pity on us and directed us to an infirmary whose former children's ward was now a refugee shelter. It was a long walk in inky blackness to the dilapidated building.

Musty stairs led to a small ante-room, where a nurse slept on a cot. Not having eaten since Avignon, we asked her for bread ; Werfel also ate some rancid garlic sausage. I saw a bottle of red wine and asked for that. The bread was too hard to dissolve in the wine.

The water closet was a fetid hole without water or anything but a pair of footrests somewhere on the floor. And this had been a children's hospital !

Werfel had to sleep in a room with men and boys, I with women and small children. We were asked not to make light. I was nauseated by the cot, without mattress or blankets, by the dirt and the impossible discomfort, but we were half dead and fell asleep. Soon, we were roused by the bone-chilling screams of a woman who thought she was back in a bombardment. Everyone came running - the men, too, in dubious pajamas - to calm the crazed one. A man kept telling Werfel that we should stay in the place, because we would at least have a roof over our heads. The children began to bawl in concert. »

The next morning, the aimless journey continued, but suddenly came to a halt in Carcassonne, where road-blocks prevented them from moving any farther. Only by dint of considerable effort was Werfel able to acquire 2 tickets on the last train to Bordeaux. Over 13 hours behind schedule, the couple finally arrived at the port city in south-western France. The situation there was complete chaos. Just the night before, the German « Luftwaffe » had massively bombarded the city. And to make matters worse, all their luggage had disappeared. The loss of the precious Mahler and Bruckner manuscript scores (« Das Lied von der Erde » and the Third Symphony, **WAB 103**) was a devastating blow for the Werfels - after all, they had planned to use them to finance their new beginning in America.

Alma writes :

« Aching all over, we awaited the dawn. For breakfast, I asked for another glass of wine, in which to try to thaw my stony bread ; Werfel was unable to gulp down what passed for coffee. Downstairs, our driver was knocking on the gate, but we were locked in and had to wait until the nurse came to open it. She had gone elsewhere to sleep, and I could not blame her.

Our obstacle race continued. Every 15 minutes, there was a road-block, as on the day before, with close inspection of our safe-conducts. How exacting the French are in trivia ! At Carcassonne, we were told we could go no farther. Our driver exulted. With his circling and zigzagging, he had run up considerable mileage - 6,000 Francs' worth.

We were stuck in Carcassonne, which looks pretty on postcards but, in reality, is a rat-hole. We had lost 2 days, and the word was that no trains were running. From the window of the miserable railroad hotel, however, where we had dumped our trunks for the time being, I could see people coming out of the station. Werfel went to inquire and found that a last train was due to leave for Bordeaux at 2:00 am. He was so happy that, over my objections, he checked all our luggage through to Bordeaux except for a few suitcases with essentials.

Dead tired, we went punctually to the station, only to hear that the train would be 2 hours late. We sat on our suitcases, waiting. The train arrived toward dawn, so crowded that no compartment door could open. The toilets were crammed with luggage from floor to ceiling. But we got on, and either stood like sardines or huddled on our suitcases, under the scats of some malodorous army pants. Often - and gladly - we gave up our places to a pregnant woman.

The soldiers were gay. The war was over ; they were rid of their guns and hurrying home, loudly berating the impossible regime that had left them without air defense, without supplies, and so on. France did not figure in their discussions.

Dawn grayed, tiring and terrible. There was nothing to eat, and no way to do the opposite.

Children howled constantly. Every 10 minutes, the train stopped in open fields. Instead of arriving at 5:00 am, we got to Bordeaux at 6:00 pm - and encountered half the populace at the station, trying to get away to Dax, to Biarritz, to Pau, or to the places we had come from. Had Bordeaux been bombed ? Were the Germans coming ? Everyone said something different. The mile-long station was a sea of people swirling around luggage castles. Nowhere was there a porter, or other help. The situation was out of hand. An old acquaintance of ours suddenly appeared, whispering, “ Get away from here ; Bordeaux is hell ! ”

I ran to redeem our checked luggage, but there were so many others trying to do the same that I could not even get near the windows ; nor, of course, could I get tickets to any place.

Werfel, meanwhile, found a simian creature with arms hanging almost to the ground, who understood no human language but took our suitcases. That is, he flung them over his shoulders, alternately dropping and picking them up and tossing one or the other to me or to Werfel. Through the milling, huddling, sprawling thousands we pushed our way out of the station. We gave the luggage to the doorman of the Hotel Terminus - all railway hotels in France are called Terminus - and were warned not to think of spending the night there ; they had guests sleeping in every bathroom and toilet. In vain, poor Werfel and his ape man moved from door to door.

I was waiting quietly by our hand luggage. A heavily made-up girl stood next to me, carrying a small bag, and I asked her whether she had no place to stay, either. She replied that she lived in Bordeaux and might be able to help us find a room, or even two. I offered 1,000 Francs a night. She thought a moment, then she gave me a card. When Werfel returned, we took a streetcar downtown, with our gorilla groaning under 2 overnight bags.

It had begun to rain when we found the address. It was a little whorehouse. “ We’re closed for the moment. ”, the “ Madame ” told us immediately, explaining that the staff had fled in fear of bombings. A sweetish smell pervaded the rooms. The girls had left their baggage behind ; wash-stands and dressers were still strewn with the essential utensils of their trade. We were each given a candle and asked to climb down into the cellar, to familiarize ourselves with it in case of need. Everyone was waiting for a bombardment, which did not come, thank God.

We went out to get something to eat - we had not had a bite in 24 hours - but the shops were bare, and the restaurants all had signs on the doors reading “ Occupée ” or “ Fermée ”. It was raining hard. At last, we came to a bistro that was open. The crowd inside regarded us with cold hatred, but we were sold some bread, a few eggs, and a small bottle of wine. On this, we dined at our merry abode, and then, slept well and undisturbed.

*In the morning, the question “ Where to ? ” came up again. Our goal was Biarritz, or any place near the border where some Consul might be merciful. We did not dare go back to the station. Eventually, Werfel found an old cab driver who lived near Biarritz and was willing to take us there for 6,000 Francs. Our checked luggage remained in Bordeaux ; clothes, books, everything had to be given up for lost. **Above all, I grieved for Gustav Mahler’s manuscripts and my score of Bruckner’s Third.** »*

After failing to find a hotel room, and being forced to take refuge in an erstwhile brothel, they decided to move on to Biarritz the following morning.

In Biarritz, they had met up with a friend of Franz Werfel from Prague, Vicky von Kahler, and his wife, Bettina, acquaintances from Prague, who were likewise on the run. Every day, Werfel and Viktor von Kahler would go from Biarritz to Bayonne to apply at various consulates for visas. Unsuccessfully, Alma had meanwhile received a promising hint : in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, people said, a Portuguese consul was generously issuing visas.

Alma writes :

« All hotels in Biarritz were closed or filled. Some Parisian fur-dealers I knew helped us find a room for the second night ; the first we spent in the bed of another acquaintance. In the morning, Werfel went early to Bayonne, looking for visas, while I moved into a room of sorts - with only one narrow bed, of course - at a dreadful hotel.

In Bayonne, Werfel spent hours standing in line before consulates, without success.

On the second day, I went to pick him up, and, on our return to Biarritz, a total stranger ran up to us :

“ Did you see the Germans in Bayonne ? ”

We had not seen them, but they were there all night. Some friends of ours from Prague, Vicky von Kahler and his lovely wife, came that evening and suggested that we go to Hendaye together ; Biarritz was apt to be occupied any minute, they told us. By then, it seemed routine to have the Germans on our heels.

Once more, we packed fast, slept little, listened to the surf roar and to the rain fall in buckets. In Hendaye, a shabby hotel gave us another single room with one narrow bed for two, but we did not mind any more. Werfel and Vicky Kahler went in search of consuls. We had heard that the Portuguese was a kind man who issued visas on the spot. He was not in Hendaye, however. He was in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, where the 2 men went at once - only to hear that the consul had lost his mind and thrown every passport entrusted to him into the sea ! »

When they arrived in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, their hopes were again dashed. A few days previously, the diplomat had gone insane and thrown all the passports and visas into the sea. The thought of landing in the « jaws of the enemy » was more than Franz Werfel could bear, and he suffered a nervous break-down.

Wednesday, 26 June 1940 : At Carcassonne, Franz and Alma were stopped by a road block ; it was 2:00 am.

Against Alma's urging, Werfel put all their luggage, including the manuscripts of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) and of several Mahler Symphonies, together with most of their clothes, on the train to Bordeaux, retaining only a couple of overnight bags.

On the following day, the railway station was so crowded with panic-stricken refugees that they were unable to get onto the train or retrieve their baggage ; Alma was certain they would never see either clothes or manuscripts again.

When German troops advanced as far as Hendaye, Vicky Kahler managed to obtain a taxi and some fuel, and the 2 couples made their way to Orthez, then to Pau.

Alma writes :

*« On the second of those desolate days - it was **June 26** - we were sitting with the Kahlers before a horrid dinner when a little Polish Jew who had attached himself to Werfel burst in, beside himself, shouting that the Germans had arrived at Hendaye station, and the word from the mayor was to take care of ourselves.*

(“ Faut se débrouiller ”, that worthy put it. No other word was heard so much in France.)

We really were in a predicament. Werfel threw himself on the bed, sobbing convulsively. Kahler ran around until he found a taxi with enough gas in the tank to make Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Shortly before midnight, we set out on our new flight, inland this time. I worried so much about Werfel that I could not take my eyes off him.

“ And the rain, it raineth every day (...) ” Clothes and shoes were soaked, but we had no changes of either. In Saint-Jean-de-Luz, the old cab driver who had brought us down from Bordeaux was less than overjoyed to see us again. He was asleep, we pleaded with his wife to wake him, and, after a while, he ambled up grouchy and agreed to take us to Pau. Because there were five of us now, the cab had no room for our remaining suitcases. We had to leave them with the chauffeur's wife, in the rain-swamped ditch by the road-side. A horde of old crones showed up all at once, shrilling demands for the removal of any written or printed matter from our things. They were deathly afraid of the Germans.

Over sleeping, back roads we sped on without lights, in total blackness. When I remonstrated with the driver, he said he had forgotten his head lamps in the hurry. Pressed tightly together, the five of us sat in the little taxi, unable to see where we were going - until we came to an abrupt stop.

An officer raised a flashlight. “ Now, they've got us. ”, I whispered. But it was a Frenchman - dressed, for once, in a well-fitting uniform - who let us pass after inspecting our papers.

He had thrown quite a scare into us, on that darkest of nights. In Orthez, we wanted to stop over. We knocked on every door, but none would open ; it was a ghost town.

A man stepped out of the dark, and said :

“ The Germans will be here before sunrise. Orthez is the border point of the occupation zone. ”

On we went, toward the first, faint gray of dawn. Another halt : a policeman demanded to know whether we had a permit to travel at night. We did not, of course, so he made us pull over and wait by the road side until 5:00 am. We coughed and shivered in the cold rain, but if the man at Orthez had known what he was talking about, we had shaken off the Germans. At last, fatigue over-powered us. Leaning against one another, the five of us fell asleep. »

Thursday, 27 June 1940 : They arrived absolutely dead-tired to Lourdes, which was said to be the only place where

lodgings might be available. They had little money and not much hope of recovering their possessions, but a friendly hotel proprietor wrote letter after letter to a friend in the railway station in Bordeaux, and eventually the missing luggage was located. At this point, their goal was to obtain safe-conducts in order to travel back to Marseille, which now, once again, seemed to hold their best hope for emigration. In Lourdes, they indeed found lodgings in the « Hôtel Vatican » .

Alma writes :

« The sun was rising when we got to Pau, so cramped after the night in the small car that we could hardly stand. Only a few people were up and around at that hour, and they were unfriendly. Everything had been requisitioned for the government, which was partly in town, partly due to arrive from Bordeaux. Our driver did not want to go farther, but he looked for and found a friend who gave us a letter to a hotel keeper in Lourdes. We ran into a painter we knew, who, with his wife and others, was in the same situation. Some of them promised the sky - to wit, gasoline - but failed to deliver. Hollow-cheeked, homeless people without a country, we sat around a table and gulped some animal fodder, vowed to aid each other, and scartered like adders that have burst their shells.

*On **June 27, 1940**, we arrived in Lourdes, exhausted.*

The letter from the chauffeur's friend availed us nothing. In vain, we tried hotel after hotel, and, at the last, rather ungentle rebuff, the tears ran down my cheeks. I must have looked quite miserable, for all of a sudden the innkeeper's wife came after us.

She said :

“ No, I won't let you go on. We'll put some young couple out of a room and give you that.” »

Saturday, 3 August 1940 : When the necessary papers finally arrived they could finally get started on their return trip to Marseille. 6 weeks after the Werfels had first hurriedly left Marseille, they returned to the starting-point of their odyssey. There, the couple took rooms in the luxurious « Hôtel du Louvre et de la Paix » .

Alma writes :

« After 2 weeks at our “ Hôtel Vatican ”, we were moved into a better room with - thank God ! - twin beds. 2 more weeks passed, and the post-office advised us of the arrival of our suitcases, which we had left in the ditch at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, with the chauffeur's wife. We felt enriched, though not much so. Meanwhile, the hotel manager, whom we had told of our lost trunks, remembered knowing a friend of the Bordeaux station-master. He wrote letter after letter, but got no reply as long as we were in Lourdes.

*On **August 3**, we finally got our safe-conducts back to Marseille. With troop trains shuttling incessantly between the occupied and unoccupied zones, there had been no civilian rail travel in 3 weeks, and we were more or less the first to venture it. Once again, God's staging was perfect, with the heat near the boiling point. Food parcels with white bread, ham, hard-boiled eggs, and pastry were tied with string and stowed in the horse-drawn cab with our few pieces of hand luggage. We*

rode out the “Avenue de la Grotte”, passing all the little bistros and the post-office on our way to the station, where we had to stand at the ticket gate for 2 hours before the train carried us off through the green mountain country.

It was dark by the time we reached Toulouse, where we were greeted by a stench of army boots and Armageddon. Senegalese soldiers lay sprawling on the tracks, fast asleep. We settled down in the grimy station restaurant and began to eat enormously, for no reason at all. There are no adjectives to describe the sanitary facilities at that railway station. The restaurant closed at 10:00. Ejected from its hospitable premises, the four of us, the Kahlers, Werfel, and I, sat on the platform on our suitcases, faithfully playing our parts in this super-colossal spectacular, “World’s End”, until a train left for Marseille at dawn.

The Cannebière was sun-baked early in the morning. We walked from the station, carrying our suitcases ourselves. In front of the “Hôtel du Louvre et de la Paix”, 6 brand-new cars stood gleaming in the sun ; a long time had passed since we had seen a polished, shiny automobile. In the lobby, we saw officers in held gray, with pistols and shaved heads. The Germans were in Marseille !

Our old friend the hotel manager told us under his breath that the German commission was going to leave in 2 hours ; in the meantime, we should use the rear elevator and stay in our rooms. Had we spent 7 weeks on this “Tour de France”, as Werfel termed our flight from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and back, only to run right here into the jaws of the Germans ? »

Alma writes :

« The next few weeks in Marseille were unbearable. Daily, there were new rumours, every week a new commission to plunder and ship stocks of supplies to Germany - rice, noodles, oil, sugar, and so forth. Hunger had come to Marseille in our absence. It was a poor city to which we returned : food was scarce and bad, soap and fat virtually unobtainable, butter a memory. And the daily pilgrimages to the consuls, where those gentlemen would let everyone feel their full power !

The city swarmed with refugees. They had been Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles ; now, most of them were stateless, many without passports, some without any papers, all wanting only to get out, to go far away. “Far from where ? ” was a joke of those days, when it seemed likely that Hitler would conquer the world.

Werfel was unnerved by the confusing rumours he brought home daily from the Czech Consulate. The armistice signed by the French obliged them to “surrender on demand” all Germans (which then meant also all former Austrians and Czechs) named by the German government. Werfel would hear from someone that he was “first on the list”, and would collapse in tears. I thanked God for letting me keep my head, at least, so I could calm him.

Despite our own fears, we saw many others in the same distress. They helped to distract us from our troubles.

Werfel’s name was not supposed to be mentioned, but some refugees kept shouting it over the telephone :

“Good morning, ‘Herr’ Werfel ! I can’t tell you my name (...)”

The telephone was in the lobby of our hotel, where everyone could hear it. For a while, the “ Gestapo ” occupied rooms on our floor ; when they came, we were warned by the manager to keep out of sight. He would not let them see the hotel register, either.

When we did not have to stand in line at some consulate, we would take a cab out to the beach. There, the sea gulls screamed, the salty smell of the haze over the water carried far, and good ideas came to mind. In those blessed hours, we forgot that there was evil in the world, lying in wait for us.

The French had promised us exit visas, but when time passed and we did not get them, any more than others did, we began to think of leaving without them. Crazy escape plans were hatched. One - to travel to a small border village, spend the night there, sneak up to a cemetery at 5:00 am and meet someone who would be waiting behind a shack and would smuggle us through the cemetery and across the border - was rejected as too vague. Another plan was to seize a ship, man it with Czech refugees, and dress it up as a Red Cross vessel, with me as head nurse.

*There was talk of a man being sent from America especially to help us all. We waited ; the man did not come. **But what came one day, out of the blue, alone, orphaned and tattered, was my little trunk with the scores of Gustav Mahler’s symphonies and Bruckner’s Third ! The efforts of our kindly host in Lourdes had not been completely in vain, and I did not mind losing the rest of our possessions as long as I had what was most important to me.***

A telegram came from New York, advising us that our American visas had been cabled to the American Consul in Marseille. The taxi ride to the consulate cost a small fortune. The waiting room was full of excited people ; once again, we sat around for hours, and when we got to see the Consul, he knew nothing of a cable. It was only at our vigorous insistence that he managed to locate it.

No ships were sailing from French ports, and, to embark for the United States in Lisbon, you needed Spanish and Portuguese transit visas. With the American visa in a Czech passport like ours, there was no trouble about getting them ; you just had to wait your turn. The refugees stood in line before the consulates from sunrise until closing time, if they did not faint in the glistening heat or leave, to keep from fainting. A man with Werfel’s heart could die on the spot. But all applicants had to appear in person.

At the Spanish Consulate, I bribed the doorman to take our card in, and we were promptly called up out of turn and issued visas. I tried this on the Portuguese doorman, too, but there it did not work ; the man returned the card to me as undeliverable. We went to the end of the line. It inched forward with maddening slowness. At high noon, the pavement seemed to melt under our feet. Werfel kept mopping his brow. His eyes burned in his dripping face ; he suddenly looked ashen. I was desperate and ready to give up when a young Austrian acquaintance of ours approached.

She said indignantly :

“ That’s impossible. Why should Franz Werfel stand in line like this ? ”

We knew Hertha Pauli from Vienna, where she had been one of Paul Zsolnay’s promising authors, and had met her again in Paris and recently in Lourdes. She had just happened to pass-by ; she could not hope for a visa herself, because she had no passport.

I explained to her that our card had failed to go through.

“Wait a minute.”, she said, and disappeared.

In 2 minutes, she was back, beaming, and said :

« Come. You'll have to sit down, first of all. The Consul expects you at 4:00. »

I really had to sit down. Werfel kept mopping his brow.

I asked :

“How did you manage that ? ”

She said simply :

“I called up. When I mentioned your name, the Consul came right to the phone. He is an old admirer of yours.”, she told Franz Werfel.

Then, she turned back to me :

“I hope you'll forgive me, but I had to call as ' Madame ' Werfel.”

We laughed aloud, for the first time in weeks, and headed for the nearest bistro.

I declared :

“That calls for champagne.”

Punctually, at 4:00 pm, we got the visas. In exchange, Werfel had only to autograph the Consul's Portuguese edition of “Musa Dagh ”.

(Subsequently, through the Czech Consul, an angel of a man, Werfel got Czech passports for a score of stateless refugees, including Hertha Pauli, who had aided us.)

Soon after we got our visas, the much-talked-about American came to Marseille. He was Varian Fry, the representative of the Emergency Rescue Committee, which had been formed in New York for the purpose of bringing the political and intellectual refugees out of unoccupied France before the Germans got them. “Herr ” Fry did the job, but his laconic manner and expressionless face made him appear to be doing it gruffly and grudgingly. He came to our hotel, had dinner with us, and then, dragged out our departure for 2 more weeks in a wild-goose chase after a ship. This, of course, fell through. »

Wednesday, 11 September 1940 : Heinrich and Nelly Mann were both ageing and infirm. Werfel and Alma herself were hardly agile, both being considerably overweight. But there was no time to lose.

Alma writes :

« On **September 11**, he (Varian Fry) finally told us to be ready to leave by rail the next morning at 5:00, together with Heinrich Mann and his wife and nephew, Thomas Mann's son Golo.

There was no time to lose. From "Herr" Fry's hotel, we rushed back to ours, where Werfel burned all his writings and drafts in a small ash tray while I was busy packing - for, as by a miracle, the rest of our lost luggage had also caught up with us. Our friend "Frau" Meier-Graefe stayed up with me all night until it was time to leave.

"Herr" Fry and another young American got on the train with us. In Perpignan, we waited several hours for another train, which took us to the border town of Cerbère by night fall. The 2 Americans hoped that our American visas would get us through on the train, even without French exit-visas. This gambit failed, unfortunately, so we took rooms at an otherwise deserted inn and waited for orders. »

Thursday, 12 September 1940 : Franz Werfel's Czech passport would not be recognized by the French border authorities. At 5:00 am, therefore, the Werfels, together with Heinrich, Nelly and Golo Mann, left Marseille and took the train to the Spanish frontier at Cerbère, at the extreme eastern end of the border, where they set out to cross the Pyrénées on foot.

Alma writes :

« In the morning, I rose early. Unable to stand it long at the eerie, empty inn, I went to the station, where we had arranged to meet. There was no breakfast to be had, just tea. We held a war council. The police, the Americans told us, had repeated their refusal to let us cross the border on the train, so we came to the decision to try on foot, although Heinrich Mann was 70 and Werfel had a heart ailment. "Herr" Fry, the only possessor of an exit-visa, would go on the train with the luggage and await us at the Spanish border town of Port-Bou, while his young colleague would guide us over the hills. We had to go soon - the Spanish sun was infernally hot at 6 o'clock already - but Golo, usually a most reliable young man, was nowhere to be found. 2 valuable hours passed before he came back, refreshed, from a swim in the Mediterranean and we could set out to climb the Pyrénées. »

Friday, 13 September 1940 : After briefly discussing the virtually hopeless situation, Golo and Heinrich Mann, along with Alma, decided to start climbing the mountain. Franz Werfel suddenly interjected that it was Friday, the 13th. He started to quiver and stammered something about this being an unlucky day, and they would be better off waiting until tomorrow.

Once they had made up their minds to cross the border, journalist Varian Fry, the emissary of the Emergency Rescue Committee, took over their luggage, which he, as an American citizen, would have no trouble bringing over the border by train. Before that, he supplied his charges with a dozen packs of cigarettes, with which they could bribe the border-guards.

The famous couple is part of over 15,000 German refugees who, in 1940-1941, waited hopefully in the south of

France for their exit papers. Fry expedited the emigration of many prominent intellectuals who were endangered refugees in Vichy, France.

Alma's baggage filled 12 trunks reportedly containing Mahler compositions like the manuscript score of « Das Lied von der Erde », a draft of Werfel's « The Song of Bernadette » and the original autograph score of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) .

Under the blazing sun, Dick Ball accompanied the group to the mountain-top.

Several times, Nelly had to support her husband, who, despite considerable effort, could barely cope with the physical exertions.

Franz Werfel suffered the most from his fear that they might be picked up along the way by the dreaded « gardes mobiles » .

At the peak of the 700 meter high mountain, Ball turned back. As Alma and Franz had a considerable head start, they decided to continue marching on without Heinrich and Nelly Mann. It made more sense, they believed, to cross the border in pairs.

In the distance, they could see the little hut marking the Spanish border. They laboriously crept down the mountain, finally reaching the border station.

After Alma had slipped the border patrol a few packs of cigarettes, the guard got more and more friendly and gave them a sign to follow him :

« And where did this moron take us ? Back to the French border-station. »

When the Werfels saw the dreaded « gardes mobiles » , Alma blurted out :

« Jesus, now they've got us ! »

Would all their struggles be doomed to failure ?

The commander of the border-station « was suddenly very kind and gave them a cordial hand signal to let us pass through » . The soldiers even showed them the right way to go.

The Werfels got back together with Golo, Heinrich, and Nelly Mann shortly before the Spanish border, which they could now effortlessly pass through.

Once they had finished their strenuous descent into Port-Bou, the refugees had to show the officials their travel

documents one more time :

« After a torturous wait, each of us finally got our papers back with the necessary stamps. »

At the railroad station in the little town, they met Varian Fry, who had been nervously awaiting the arrival of his charges.

Carl Zuckmayer wrote to a friend in October 1940, after he had found out the details of this adventurous escape :

« I have a feeling that without her, Franz would simply have stayed lying there, and that would have been the end of him. »

Alma writes :

*« In the village, it suddenly struck Nelly Mann that it was **Friday, the 13th**. She wanted to turn back. Werfel and I walked ahead, to put an end to the hysterical squabble ; we were supposed, after all, to be innocent excursionists. The village scarcely lay behind us when the young American turned off the road and uphill, on a steep, stony trail that soon vanished altogether. It was sheer slippery terrain that we crawled up, bounded by precipices. Mountain goats could hardly have kept their footing on the glassy, shimmering slate. If you skidded, there was nothing but thistles to hold on to.*

After a 2 hour climb, the youth bade us farewell and hurried back to show this « road » to the Manns. We stood alone on the mountain-top. In the distance, we saw a hut shining white on the white rock. This was the Spanish border post, where we were to present ourselves.

Laboriously, we crawled downhill, trembling, we knocked on the door, which was opened by a dull-faced Catalan soldier who knew Spanish only. His understanding was somewhat improved by the packs of cigarettes we slipped into his pocket. He grew friendlier and motioned to us to follow him. At last, we could walk on a passable road - but where was this idiot taking us ? Back to the French border post !

***We were brought before an officer. I was wearing old sandals and lugging a bag that contained the rest of our money, my jewels, and the score of Bruckner's Third (*) . We must have looked pretty decrepit, surely less picturesque than the stage smugglers in “ Carmen ”.** After the march in the broiling sun, we felt utterly wretched. In a sudden burst of kindness, the officer waved us through.*

Tired, perspiring, we unsteadily retraced our steps, clambered over the dramatic iron chains that separate France from Spain, and continued our descent after the soldier had telephoned down to the custom house. On the road, I found half a horse-shoe and picked it up ; we took it for a good omen and walked more cheerfully. It had grown late in the day. The heat was unimaginable. In Port-Bou, we did not see any officials ; they were probably taking their siesta. But the custom-house porters - whom we had approached with deference at first, mistaking them for government functionaries - were oddly amiable, promised us good luck, brought wine, and cursed Franco and Mussolini. Catalonia was apparently still anti-Fascist, and we took courage in spite of our great weariness.

At last, our travel companions arrived. We pretended to be mere casual acquaintances, though I hastily whispered to Golo to tip the porters, who had already been discussing the fact that there was a son of Thomas Mann in our group. When we had given them virtually all our French Francs, they could not do enough for us, telephoned for the best rooms in town, and fought over our bags when we were finally summoned to the custom-house.

Then came the dreaded moment : the passport control. And, as always, it turned out that the really dangerous situations have to be faced quite alone. There was no American in sight, no one to help.

Like poor sinners, we sat in a row on a narrow bench while our papers were checked against a card index. Heinrich Mann, greatly endangered because of his leftist tendencies, was traveling with false papers, under the name of Heinrich Ludwig ; Werfel, traveling under his own name, had heard in Marseille that Hitler himself had put a price on his head ; Golo Mann was in danger as his father's son. Yet, Golo sat quite calmly reading a book, as if the whole business did not concern him. Nelly Mann had half carried her aged husband over the thistly mountain-side, and her stockings hung in shreds from bleeding calves.

After an agonizing wait, we all got our papers back, properly stamped, and were free to continue through Spain. When I think how many killed themselves up there on the hill or landed in Spanish jails, I see how lucky we were to have our American scraps of paper honoured by the officials at Port-Bou.

Discharged, we found " Herr " Fry, who had our luggage, and, in the gathering dusk, we walked together to the hotel where the porters had reserved rooms for us. It had been almost completely bombed out in the civil war ; only a primitive dining room and 3 or 4 shabby bedrooms were still standing. The house looked like all of Spain, like one bleeding wound. Late that evening, the mayor of the town performed a marriage ceremony in the dining room of the hotel, because the court-house, also, had been pulverized.

We slept as if never to awaken. Then, with a shock, we were aroused at 4:00 am, for at 6:00, our train was to leave. I still do not know why all trains throughout our flight always left between 3:00 and 6:00 in the morning. »

() Although Alma claims that she herself carried the Bruckner score across the Pyrénées, it is far more likely to have been among the autograph manuscripts of Mahler's symphonies that Varian Fry transported with him by train across the Spanish frontier.*

After a short night in a simple hotel, the journey continued the following morning toward Barcelona. In a state of complete mental and physical exhaustion, the group reached the Catalonian port city 3 hours later. For the first time in months, they could finally heave a sigh of relief and recover from the stresses and strains behind them before setting out on a 15 hour train ride to Madrid.

There, Varian Fry had been able to organize plane tickets to Lisbon.

Alma writes :

« We rattled to Barcelona, a war-devastated, starved, impoverished city that must have been

beautiful once. In the afternoon, Werfel and I sat before a “café”, and poor children licked the melted ice cream off our plates. We paid with tattered old stamps. Everything was crumbling and desolate. But we began to breathe easier in the 2 days we spent in Barcelona, waiting for the first plane on which 2 seats to Lisbon were to be had. The seats went to the Heinrich Manns, as the most endangered, and we, with Golo Mann and “Herr” Fry, traveled 15 hours by rail to Madrid, once more jammed 8 in a compartment. »

Wednesday, 18 September 1940 : The aircraft landed in Lisbon. Alma and Franz had almost made it.

In Estoril, an up-scale suburb of the Portuguese capital, the Werfels checked into the « Grand Hotel d'Italia ». Alma signed the registration form as « Frau Werfel-Mahler », as if to demonstrate to the whole world that nothing could ever separate her and her husband.

Alma writes :

From Madrid, Werfel and I flew to Lisbon. It was evening when we landed there at a new, unfinished, unlighted airport ; as everywhere, we were kept standing around, senselessly, for hours. The passport examiner scrutinized a list of Werfel's works which had been added to a letter of recommendation by the Duke of Württemberg, a high-ranking cleric.

When he came to the title “Paul Among the Jews”, the official frowned :

“I see - you're of Jewish descent ? ”

Werfel did not say yes or no. In his confusion, he merely pointed at me, and the official sneered, as if to indicate that Werfel's descent was obvious to everyone. Then, he gave us the stamp that meant admission to Portugal. »

Friday, 4 October 1940 : In Lisbon, Alma and Franz, along with Heinrich and Golo Mann and other refugees including the family of Helena Hamburger helped by Aristides de Sousa Mendes, were able to catch the « Nea Hellas » (New Greece) , the last Greek steamship to cross the Atlantic to New York. The ship was badly over-crowded, and the crossing accordingly unpleasant. Despite the terrible food, which Alma mentioned in her diary, the joy of having made it out of the hell-hole of Europe prevailed.

Alma writes :

« I can never forget those first days of paradisiacal peace in a paradisiacal country, after the torment of the previous months ! 2 more weeks had to be spent waiting at a hotel near Lisbon, until we got passage on the “Nea Hellas”, the last ship to make a regular run to New York. On the day of embarkation, when I went to pay our hotel bill, the clerk seemed to sense that it would leave me short of cash.

He said :

“Never mind paying the bill. I’ll advance it for you, and you can send me the money from New York.”

I wrote in my diary :

“The kindness of a perfect stranger has reconciled me with mankind. (...)” »

Only Heinrich Mann never left his cabin.

Alma writes :

« He was mad at the whole world. When his nephew came to visit him, he was lying on his bed busily drawing pictures of women with big bosoms, and sometimes only the latter by themselves. »

...

« The sea was dull. It always is ; only the coasts are interesting, and those only if they are inhabited. We hardly went on deck. We spent most of the time in our cabins, reading and talking, took no part in the lifeboat drills, and wearily dragged ourselves to the shabby dining room. On this voyage, we were really “lost to the world”. Nothing from outside could touch us. We were overwhelmed by the pressure of past experiences and the anticipation of freedom.

At sea, we heard that the War had come to Greece. The report proved to be 3 weeks early, yet, we felt that, in all probability, our old Greek ship was making her last crossing.

Then, we began to get radiograms from New York. America was drawing near, and our strength returned. »

The historic passenger ship « Nea Hellas » brought tens of thousands of Greeks to America, enabling them to fulfill their dreams of a better life. Between the years 1939-1955, this steamship was the main escape route by which thousands fled poverty, Nazi Germany and the difficult post-War years in Europe.

Especially during the last years of her service, the ship helped re-unite Greeks with their loved ones who had already settled in the land of freedom.

The « Nea Hellas » was built in the years after WWI in Glasgow, Scotland. Christened as the Turbine Steam Ship (T.S.S.) « Tuscania », she went into service in 1921. At a weight of 16,991 tons, she was considered an example of « state of the art » marine engineering at the time.

She was sold to the General Steam Navigation Company of Greece, which was owned by a well-established Greek shipping family, the Goulandris brothers. They wanted to re-establish a trans-Atlantic service between Greece and the United States which had been interrupted in October 1935.

The 177 meter (531 feet) long ship was re-named « Nea Hellas » (New Greece) and arrived in the Athenian port of

Piraeus on the morning of March 8, 1939.

The journal « Naftika Chronika » (Nautical Chronicles) described how thousands of Greeks came to the King Constantine Pier in the port of Piraeus to get a glimpse of the « state of the art » vessel.

The journal wrote :

« People who descended to the great harbour, saw a massive and very elegant ship with 6 decks in front of them. »

She had first, second (then known as « tourist ») and third-class cabins, restaurants and halls. « Naftika Chronika » reported that in all 3 accommodations classes, the passengers found spacious halls with very good furnishings, and the interiors were nicely decorated.

According to the journal :

« The floors were completely refurbished in 1938, and given a rubber coating. The walls of the communal spaces were lined with luxurious woods, while the furniture in first-class was covered with silk fabrics. »

The « Nea Hellas » never attained the « glamour ship » status of some of her contemporaries, such the « Queen Mary » , the « Mauretania » , and the « Normandie » . However, the ship was tastefully furnished and more than comfortable.

Its maiden transatlantic voyage, from Piraeus to New York, began on May 19, 1939.

Capable of a speed of 16 knots, the « Nea Hellas » would take 2 weeks to transport the 800 passengers and 200 crew members to the other side of the Atlantic.

Within months of her maiden crossing, WWII broke out in Europe, and the « Nea Hellas » was placed under allied control, being put into service as a troop transport.

During the next 7 years, she was affectionately dubbed the « Nelly Wallace » by her many passengers in the armed services.

After the War, she resumed her service on the Piraeus - New York route, until 1955 when she was renamed the « New York » , when she went on to ply the northern Europe-America route.

By 1959, she had reached the grand age of 37 years.

Sunday, 13 October 1940 : The « Nea Hellas » arrives in New York harbour. Alma is relying on the precious Bruckner

and Mahler manuscripts to finance her new life in America.

She places the score of the Third Symphony (WAB 103) in a safety deposit box in a bank.

Alma writes :

« The “Nea Hellas ” had brought us safely to New York. Feeling young and courageous, we disembarked on October 13, 1940. (Yes, on the 13th !) At last, we set foot on soil that was really free. If I had not felt embarrassed before the others, I should have kissed the American earth.

The landing in New York Harbour was as grandiose an experience as ever. A mob of friends awaited us on the pier ; all of them were in tears, and so were we. We spent close to 10 weeks in New York - a time of rather too much commotion, but also of love, friendship, excitement, and blessed freedom. 2 days after Christmas, we left for the West Coast. »

Carl Zuckmayer, who had emigrated to the United States the previous year, remembered :

« Alma was the first one to appear on the gang-way as sprightly as ever with a white traveling veil wafting in the breeze and radiant with anti-Semitism. Alma had arranged with the captain that they would be allowed to disembark earlier. One of the first things she said after she had barely set foot on land was whispered in my ear :

“ Don’t come to my hotel room tomorrow afternoon any later than 6, there will be a couple of important people there, very valuable contacts, but don’t tell all the Jews. ”

It wasn’t the least bit different from the “ Grand Hotel ” or the “ Hohe Warte ”. She is superb. Unpredictable. »

Doctor Frank Kingdon, a member of the board of the Emergency Rescue Committee, welcomed the rescued individuals on the pier. Thomas and Katia Mann had also shown up to pick-up their family. And a number of reporters and journalists were eager to get the details of their adventurous escape.

While in New York, Alma and Franz stayed at the St. Moritz Hotel on Central Park South.

Old friends and acquaintances, such as the Zuckmayers and the Feuchtwangers, Alfred Döblin, and Otto von Habsburg, came to visit them.

Franz Werfel’s joy over the successful rescue was, however, beclouded by his profound worries over his parents. Albine and Rudolf Werfel had left Vichy in the summer and moved to Bergerac, a small town some 90 kilometers to the east of Bordeaux. They thus found themselves in as great a danger as they had been before. Immediately after their arrival in New York, Werfel and his sisters - Marianne Rieser, who meanwhile also lived in New York, and Hanna and her family, who had been able to make it out to London - tried to get their parents out of France, an undertaking that would only partially succeed.

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 » 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.

November 1940 : The « Reich » Commissioner for the Treatment of Enemy Property places the Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill under the administration of the newly-appointed member, judge Richard Eberstaller, the Nazi brother-in-law of Alma Mahler.

Tuesday, 5 November 1940 : Letter from conductor Eugen Jochum to musicologist Robert Haas :

Condolences on the death of the wife of Robert Haas.

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 of the Department of Culture :

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.

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.

Friday, 13 December 1940 : By-passing the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin, the management of music-publisher Schott of Mainz tries to take-over the former Jewish publishing-house Universal-Edition of Vienna. But Josef Gœbbels stops the profitable institution and offers Universal-Edition to the « aryanized » publishing-house Carl Friedrich Peters of Leipzig and its Nazi director, Doctor Johannes Petschull.

« We are absolutely right (!) when it comes to Schott. The company has no right to pretend to be “ aryanizing ”. I'm going to stab their star now. »

« In Sachen Schott haben wir absolut Recht (!) . Die Firma hat kein Recht, sich als arisierend aufzuspielen. Ich werde ihr jetzt den Star stechen. »

(Gœbbels Dairies, Volume 4, page 432 : entry of December 14, 1940.)

...

Letter from Doctor Friedrich Werner, the provisional director and general-secretary of the « German Bruckner Society » of Leipzig, to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office (Department 10) of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda :

« Frau » Alma Mahler-Werfel, who is now living in New York and can be reach by telegraph at her hotel suite (St. Moritz Hotel on Central Park South) , is still ready to sell the autograph manuscript of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) , and Doctor Werner is still ready to accept the financial terms.

Alma is expecting the transfer of the amount owed in Pounds Sterling or U.S. Dollars. Her brazen approach caused astonishment from Doctor Drewes, who wrote in a side-note :

« All well and good, but where are we supposed to get hold of those currencies ? Please clarify this question first, then submit your offer to us. »

(« Alles sehr schön, aber woher kommen die Devisen ? Bitte zunächst diese Frage klären, dann hier vorlegen. »)

Distrust and the fear of having to negotiate with the emigrant widow of a Jewish composer (Mahler) prevents the Bruckner manuscript from returning to the Third « Reich », and spares the regime the odium of putting oneself in a politically delicate situation.

The complete letter (free translation) :

« As you know from previous events, my efforts to recuperate or secure the remaining autograph manuscript of Anton Bruckner have been so far unsuccessful with “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel, who is in possession of an original version of the Third Symphony, because, despite the earlier offer by the aforementioned to sell the manuscript for the sum of £ 1,500, I had lost all contact due the beginning of the War.

In the meantime, of course, I continued to pursue the matter through my intermediaries and was able to obtain “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel’s address. “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel is currently in New York, at the Hotel St. Moriz, and can also be reached there via cable. She still maintains her offer, which was presented on February 3, 1939, to sell to us for the sum of £ 1,500 the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner’s Third Symphony, which are in her possession. As I learn from an intermediary, “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel is waiting to receive a telegram at the above address and is ready to deliver the manuscript against payment of the amount in English Pounds, or converted into U.S. dollars.

I take the liberty of making the request by official means, since it is not possible for me, in my capacity as managing director of the German Bruckner Society, to conduct the correspondence with “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel who is in America, to resume negotiations and to accept the offer in accordance with the terms of the past agreement.

Our Embassy in the United States of America should certainly also have the possibility to get its hands on the manuscript, whose authenticity cannot be doubted, at least for now, to secure it and, possibly also, to have it delivered to us in a safe and secure manner.

It might also be possible for an expert in New York to verify its authenticity before a payment is made to “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel.

I would like to remind you, “ Herr ” general director, that, when she was still in France, “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel was prepared to deposit the manuscript at our Embassy in France, but the official telex arrived so late that “ Frau ” Alma Mahler-Werfel made her trip to Paris in vain and therefore, unfortunately, the transaction was not finalized at the time.

In view of the fact that, as far as I know, this is the last Bruckner manuscript that is in foreign hands and that you, “ Herr ” general director, originally agreed to the purchase at the suggested price, may I ask for your special support in this matter. (...) »

(Der Geschäfts-Führer der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, Doktor Werner, informiert Leiter M, Doktor Drewes, Alma Mahler-Werfel halte sich in New York, Hotel St. Moritz, auf und sei immer noch bereit, ihr Bruckner-Manuskript auszuliefern.

« Meine Bemühungen restliche Original-Manuskripte Anton Bruckners zu sammeln beziehungsweise zu sichern, haben bisnun, wie Ihnen aus den bisherigen Vorgängen bekannt ist, bei Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel, die im Besitze einer früheren Fassung der 3. Symphonie ist, deshalb keinen Erfolg gehabt, weil trotz des seinerzeitigen Angebotes der Genannten, das Manuskript um den Betrag von £ 1.500 zu verkaufen, zufolge des Kriegs-Beginnes ich jedwede Verbindung verloren hatte.

Zwischenweilig habe ich selbst-verständlich durch meine Mittels-Männer die Angelegenheit weiter betrieben und bin in den Besitz der Adresse der Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel gelangt. Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel hält sich zur Zeit in New York, Hotel St. Moriz auf und ist auch dort telegrafisch zu erreichen. Die Genannte hält ihr Angebot vom 3. Februar 1939 aufrecht, wonach sie die in ihrem Besitze befindlichen 3 Sätze der 3. Symphonie Anton Bruckners um den Betrag von £ 1.500 an uns zu verkaufen bereit ist. Wie ich durch den Mittels-Mann erfahre, wartet Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel eine Verständigung nach der oben angegebenen Adresse ab und ist gegen Bezahlung des Betrages in englischen Pfund oder umgerechnet in Dollar bereit, das Manuskript auszuliefern.

Ich erlaube mir, den Antrag und die Bitte zu stellen, auf amtlichem Wege, da es mir in meiner Eigenschaft als Geschäfts-Führer der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft nicht möglich ist, die Korrespondenz mit Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel nach Amerika zu führen, die Verhandlungen neuerdings aufzunehmen und im Sinne der seinerzeitigen Entschliessungen das Angebot anzunehmen.

Unsere Gesandtschaft (= Botschaft) in den Nord-Amerikanischen Staaten dürfte gewiß auch die Möglichkeit haben, wenigstens zwischenweilig das Manuskript, an dessen Echtheit wohl nicht zu zweifeln ist, zu übernehmen, sicherzustellen und eventuell auch gesichert an uns gelangen zu lassen.

Eventuell wäre auch die Möglichkeit gegeben, in New York durch einen Sachverständigen die Überprüfung der Echtheit vorzunehmen, bevor eine Zahlung an Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel geleistet wird.

Ich darf Sie, sehr geehrter Herr General-Intendant, daran erinnern, daß seinerzeit Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel, als sie sich noch in Frankreich aufgehalten hat, bereit war, das Manuskript bei unserer Botschaft in Frankreich zu hinterlegen, daß aber die amtliche Verständigung unserer Botschaft über diese Hinterlegung so spät gekommen ist, daß Frau Alma Mahler-Werfel ihre Reise nach Paris umsonst gemacht hat und es daher damals auch zu einer Hinterlegung leider nicht gekommen ist.

In Anbetracht des Umstandes, daß es sich hier, soviel mir bekannt ist, um die letzten Bruckner-Manuskripte handelt, die in fremdem Besitz sind und Sie, sehr verehrter Herr General-Intendant, mit dem Ankauf und dem geforderten Preis ursprünglich einverstanden waren, darf ich um Ihre besondere Unterstützung in der Angelegenheit bitten. (...) »)

(Source : BAR 55/ 20583. Volume 2, page 545.)

Several weeks later, the Budget Department's appraisal arrived. The amount demanded by « Frau » Mahler-Werfel was however so high that it would « need to be transferred from the gold reserves of the “ Reich ” Bank » .

After the Second World War, Alma tended to depict her relations with her half-sister Anna Maria and her husband judge Richard Eberstaller as very bad. She claimed there had been no further contact between the families after March 1938. The opposite is correct.

The Werfels financial resources were sufficient to allow them to settle in an elegant residential area above Los Angeles, at 6900 Los Tilos Road in Hollywood Hills.

They were helped in the process by their friends Adolph Löwi and his wife - antiquities dealers whom they had known in Venice.

So, Alma and Franz travelled from New York to Los Angeles, California.

The success of Franz's 1941 novel « The Song of Bernadette » (« Das Lied von Bernadette ») meant that Alma was able to live in her old style again. As she had done in Vienna, Alma surrounded herself with well-known artists in her « salon » . Her guests included, among others, Thomas Mann, Arnold Schönberg, Otto Klemperer, Bruno Walter, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Igor Stravinsky, Lotte Lehmann, Bertolt Brecht, Max Reinhardt, Alfred Döblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Fritzi Massary, Bruno Frank, Friedrich Torberg and Soma Morgenstern.

Alma enjoyed being at the centre of all intrigues : a stir was caused by a dispute ignited by her between Arnold Schönberg and Thomas Mann over intellectual property rights to the novel « Doktor Faustus » .

Franz Werfel and Alma Mahler became American citizens.

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.

Monday, 30 December 1940 :

Alma writes :

*« We arrived in Los Angeles early on **December 30** and were met at the station by some old friends of ours, who drove us to a lovely little house they had found for us. They had taken care of everything. The kitchen was stocked with all necessary supplies, and they had hired a butler, who stayed with us for years. »*

After 1940 : Alma Mahler « had almost no contact with Carl Moll or her half-sister, Anna Maria, and her husband, judge Richard Eberstaller, who had all been early Nazi Party supporters » .

Alma on Moll's sincerity :

« He had always been an ardu enemy. »

1941 : Due to the pressing war situation, the archives of the Prussian State Library in Berlin are moved to Grussau in Silesia. Sketch material of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony (**WAB 143**) will be « rediscovered » in 1976 in the Jagiellonska Library in Kraków.

Conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler already foresees the serious impact Haas's biographical falsification would have on the subsequent reception of Bruckner's music. Furtwängler acutely criticizes Haas's fabrication as a « violation of Bruckner by scholars » .

Furtwängler explains :

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

Thursday, 16 January 1941 : Internal communication of the « Reich » Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin. An estimate from the budget division is submitted :

Doctor (Volkmar ?) Hopf, a lawyer from Department « H » (Budget Department) , informs Councillor Doctor Wilhelm Leinveber, from Department « M » , that the purchase of the manuscript of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) from « Frau » Alma Mahler-Werfel is not recommendable. The high purchase price means that the money « would have to be transferred from the gold reserves of the “ Reich ” Bank » .

In the situation at the time, as the competent official stressed, a measure of this kind would not be justified.

Doctor Hopf states :

« After all, in the case of “ Frau ” Mahler-Werfel, we are dealing with a more or less non-Aryan emigrant, for whom we have little cause to forward amounts like this in foreign cash. »

In official parlance, purchase of the original autograph score is rejected for reasons of exchange-rate policy.

Alma's deal with the « Führer » once and for all, failed to come about. She had over-stepped the mark.

It is questionable whether Franz Werfel found out anything about his wife's activities. He certainly would have regarded it as cynical that Alma wished to do business with the same regime that was threatening the very lives of himself and his family.

Tuesday, 11 February 1941 : Letter from 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 purchase of the autograph manuscript of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) which is owned by Alma Mahler-Werfel must be postponed for the time being for reasons of foreign exchange policy.

March 1941 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel travel into Mexico in order to re-enter the United States as immigrants, after the expiration of their visitors' visas. They then apply for U.S. citizenship. That same month, an interview with Werfel is featured on the NBC radio show, « I'm an American » , run by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Wednesday, 19 March 1941 : Josephus Calasactius 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) .

April 1941 : Paul Stefan emigrates to the United States. He continues to be successful as a music journalist and lecturer.

Thursday, 8 May 1941 : The Austrian music historian and critic Paul Stefan, a Jew, is deprived of his doctorate by the

Nazi regime with the racist argument that he is unworthy of an academic degree from a German university (« eines akademischen Grades einer deutschen Hochschule unwürdig ») .

Tuesday, 3 June 1941 : 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 Fließer as Auxiliary Bishop of Linz, and 3 days before his death, as Vicar General.

Thursday, 5 June 1941 : Doctor Josephus Calasanctius Fließer is elected as head of the Diocese of Linz.

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 » .

Saturday, 2 August 1941 : The House of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag ») in Leipzig complains about Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin :

« It is a misfortune with this Third Symphony that this woman (i.e. , Alma Mahler-Werfel) , of all people, ran away with the manuscript a few days before the outbreak of War. One should have taken completely different measures in Vienna at that time. (...) »

(« Es ist ein Unglück mit dieser 3. Symphonie, daß uns ausgerechnet diese Frau wenige Tage vor Kriegs-Ausbruch mit der Handschrift durchgegangen ist. Man hätte eben in Wien seinerzeit ganz andere Maß-Nahmen ergreifen müssen. (...) »)

(Source : BAR 55/ 20583. Volume 3, page 591.)

September 1941 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel leave Hollywood for New York.

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) .

Monday, 15 December 1941 : In a letter to Franz Werfel, Friedrich Torberg praised « the certain celluloid-packaged unworldliness » of Hollywood, in comparison to the « cauldron » that was New York.

1942 : The President of the Nazi regional Law Court in Vienna is Ernst Endlicher.

His First Deputy is Ferdinand Fuhrmann and his Second Deputy is Friedrich Müller.

President Endlicher is represented in District 1 by Leopold Winkler, Waldemar Schaub and Karl Fellner.

President Endlicher is represented in District 2 by Anton Stainingner.

President Endlicher is represented in District 3 by Ferdinand Fuhrmann.

President Endlicher is represented in District 4 by Richard Eberstaller.

February 1942 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel are back in Hollywood.

Wednesday, 11 February 1942 : The Auxiliary Bishop of Linz, Doctor Josephus Calas Sanctus 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.

Thursday, 12 February 1942 : Letter from Norbert Furrer, 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.

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.

Late-summer 1942 : Alma Mahler is preparing to move yet again. The improvement in the couple's financial circumstances resulting from Franz Werfel's success as a novelist enables them to acquire a more comfortable home. They decide to leave the Hollywood Hills and buy a place in the high-profile villa neighbourhood of Beverly Hills, where, not far from Santa Monica Boulevard, there is a handsome bungalow for sale, with an expansive lawn.

Alma writes :

« There was such a scramble to buy the place, people were over-bidding one another - finally, we outbid the others and got it. »

The house, which is located at 610 North Bedford Drive, was built for the Australian actress May Robson and embodied the standards of the « haute bourgeoisie » .

Albrecht Joseph writes :

« It was one of those typical upper-middle-class ticky-tacky houses, cute from the outside, dark inside and furnished in atrocious taste. »

The autograph manuscript of Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is put in a safe inside the villa.

Franz and Alma often meet up with the Korngolds and the Schœnbergs. Bruno Walter will later be their neighbour.

Author Erich Maria Remarque becomes Alma's drinking companion. After the first time they party through the night, he gives her a bottle of Russian vodka hidden in a huge bunch of flowers.

Alma continues :

*« I bought a house in Beverly Hills for us - the smallest I could find, knowing that servant trouble and high taxes made large houses impossible to keep. It was a dear house, built by a great actress, May Robson. We moved in on a **Friday in September 1942**. I had taken great pain to make it as homelike as possible, and it really turned out to be enchanting. Even Werfel, grumbling at first about insufficient dimensions, was finally content. I had to buy the house at an hour's notice, for many others wanted it, too, and we had to outbid them all.*

I had a new Steinway piano in this little house, and Franz Werfel a marvelous new radio. The whole place was attuned to us, to the two of us only - and, in his "travel story", Werfel gave the return address for dropping him on the way back from the thousand-and-twentieth Century A.D. as "corner of North Bedford Drive and April 1943". He even mentioned our landmark : the pretty Mexican church of the Good Shepherd, with the cactus garden, across the way.

At North Bedford Drive, we lived in a small, select circle.

There was Arnold Schœnberg in Brentwood, 70 and not very well at that time, with Trude, his dear, gifted, beautiful, overstrained, self-sacrificing second wife and their fine children, the youngest 3 years old. Schœnberg had been asked to compose for the movies, but the deal fell through when he demanded too high a fee.

He told me :

“ If I do commit suicide, I want at least to live well on it.” »

Friday, 4 December 1942 : The mentally retarded sister of Alma Mahler, Margarethe (« Grete ») Schindler, is murdered by the Nazis in the State mental institution located in the town of Großschweidnitz near Dresden. She was 62.

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.

Spring 1943 : Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel make a trip to New York.

Friday, 12 November 1943 : Paul Stefan dies in New York City.

1944 : 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 ».

Saturday, 11 March 1944 : During the funeral service of Paul Stefan, Paul Nettel, Erika Wagner and Hugo Jacobi give speeches while Rudolf Kolisch, Lona Friedman and Fritz Jahoda play music.

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.

May 1944 : 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.

Saturday, 17 June 1944 : Letter from Thomas Mann to Lion Feuchtwanger :

« I believe you were the first of the emigrants to find a beautiful home that was more than worthy of you, in “ Sanary-sur-Mer ”. It was there that we spent the first few months after our dismissal as German writers. I would have liked to have taken (Josef) Gœbbels on tour through the rooms and shown him the view. He would have choked on his own bile. »

(« Ich glaube, Sie waren der erste, der sich in der Emigration ein mehr als würdiges, ein glänzendes Heim zu schaffen wußte, in “ Sanary-sur-mer ”, wo wir zusammen die ersten Monate nach unserer Entlassung als deutsche Schriftsteller verbrachten. Ich hätte gern den Gœbbels durch Ihre Räume geführt und ihm die Aussicht gezeigt, damit er sich gifte. »)

Thursday, 21 September 1944 : Letter from Robert Haas to Doctor Heinz Drewes, the director of the « Reich » Music Examination Office at the Propaganda Ministry :

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.

Wednesday, 27 December 1944 : 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.

Early-1945 : An Allied bombing raid does extensive damage to the Villa (Eduard) Ast on « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 2 - « Woller-Gasse » Number 12, on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) . The music library on the top-floor, where Alma placed the better part of Gustav's papers and correspondence, is completely destroyed. A matter of endless regret for Mahler scholars ever since ...

The black trunk containing Otto's personal effects (letters, school books and surviving compositions dating from his academic years at the Vienna Conservatory) is also a total loss.

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.

Wednesday, 14 March 1945 : Josef Goebbels 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.

Tuesday, 10 April 1945 : Carl Moll writes a farewell letter :

« I fall asleep unrepentant. I have had all beautiful things, life had to offer. »

Wednesday, 11 April 1945 : Shortly before the Red Army marches into Vienna, judge Richard Eberstaller writes a will for himself and his wife, which he deposits at the competent Regional High Court in Döbling.

As legal owners of Alma Mahler's properties, they bequeath everything to their friends and to members of their own family. For example, paintings by Emil Jakob Schindler are bequeathed to Richard's heir, his brother Theodor.

The Eberstallers, long-standing members of the Nazi Party, are so ineluctably bound to the Nazi ideology that a life after Adolf Hitler seems meaningless.

Thursday, 12 April 1945 : Vienna, during the evening - At the Moll Villa on « Woller-Gasse » Number 10, Carl, who is feeling extremely depressed since he was recently injured by a splinter of a artillery « schrapnell » , and his daughter Anna Maria, who baked a modest chocolate cake (« torte » of Austrian origin) , celebrate Richard Eberstaller's birthday along with Karl and Rosa Sieber (the Eberstallers' sub-tenants) . Carl and Anna Maria are saying them farewell ... while Doctor Eberstaller, who is coming home from the Nazi regional Law Court, finds looters in his apartment.

Friday, 13 April 1945 : Richard Eberstaller commits suicide by poisoning, together with his wife Anna Maria and his step-father Carl Moll. The first Soviet soldiers to arrive on the scene smash the windows and force their way into the hall.

Saturday, 14 April 1945 :

Morning : Karl and Rosa Sieber (the Eberstallers' sub-tenants) walked into the kitchen the 2 families shared, they found a copy of the will on the table along with a little cash, as well as a letter.

Karl Sieber hastily scanned the letter, read something about death, burial, and attendant inconveniences, for which Eberstaller apologized.

Sieber wrote :

« When we went into the Eberstaller's bedroom that morning, Professor Moll was dead, " Frau " Eberstaller still breathing, Doctor Eberstaller's throat was rattling. »

Rosa Sieber said later that she and her husband had tried to resuscitate Richard Eberstaller, so « that he might have gone on living for a couple of hours » . But, since there were no doctors to be found in the aftermath of the hostilities, Richard Eberstaller died an agonizing death around noontime.

It is unclear when Alma Mahler found out about the suicide of her family and how she reacted to it.

Carl Moll and the Eberstallers were buried makeshiftly by the Soviet artillery in the garden of the Villa at « Woller-Gasse » Number 10 which was damaged by bombardment. The adjacent Villa at Number 8 had been previously destroyed by an Allied air-raid. The opposite Number 7 and Number 7a were also damaged.

The Russian Army requisitioned the Moll Villa located at « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 8 and « Woller-Gasse » Number 10.

Mid-April 1945 : A semi-secret room is found under the staircase of the Moll Villa at « Woller-Gasse » Number 10 on the « Hohe Warte » hill. It is full of cases containing books and scores from Gustav Mahler's library that survived the bombardment of the Villa Ast at « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 2 (« Woller-Gasse » Number 12) . Some of the boxes have been opened. Alma will later bring these contents to her New York residence located at Number 120 on 73rd Street East.

June 1945 : Alma Mahler's nephew, Wilhelm (« Willy ») Carl Emil Legler, was commissioned to examine the Villa of Carl Moll at « Woller-Gasse » Number 10, and record its contents. He wrote a lengthy report of his findings.

Letter from Gertrud Staub-Schlaepfer to the son of Karl Grunsky :

During the Third « Reich » , there was the motto that the « old Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works was « Israelite » while the original Bruckner manuscripts were « Aryan » .

Mid-June 1945 : Alma Mahler suffers from general exhaustion and bouts of fever. She begins to correspond with her nephew Willi Legler (her sister Grete's son) in Vienna, who attended to a variety of matters on her behalf, including the taking of inventory at her 2 houses, the ordering of repairs, and the mediation of legal matters. Her Villa on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (19th District) had been extensively damaged by allied bombing during the War.

At this time, it came to light that property rightfully belonging to Alma had been appropriated in various ways by her family.

Alma wrote to an American military chaplain stationed in Austria, asking for information about her relatives :

« You would be doing us a great favour if you could find out how my step-sister and my brother-in-law (...) are doing, and what condition my house in Vienna's 19th District at Number 2 " Steinfeld-Gasse " and my house in Breitenstein on the Semmering are in. »

Wednesday, 8 August 1945 : In order for painter Carl Moll to get a Catholic re-burial, he is entered as of today's date in the death register of the parish church of St. Martin in Heiligstadt (Döbling) in the 19th District of Vienna with the cause of death : « Granat injury and blood loss » .

Sunday, 12 August 1945 : Richard Eberstaller and his wife Anna Maria are exhumed from the garden of the Moll Villa at « Woller-Gasse » Number 10, and buried as Protestants at the Grinzing cemetery.

Sunday, 26 August 1945 : Franz Werfel dies of a heart-attack in Los Angeles at the age of 54.

Alma herself does not attend the funeral. Otto Preminger, Otto Klemperer and the Mann family participate in mourning ceremonies. Father Georg Moenius gives the eulogy. In his address, he goes into the baptism rites of the Catholic church in great detail, which leads to speculation that Alma has arranged for Werfel to have a last minute « emergency baptism » after his death.

Werfel is buried in Rosendale Cemetery in Beverly Hills. His body will be later exhumed and returned to Vienna for re-burial in a grave of honour (Group 32 C, Number 39) on 21 July 1975 at the Central Cemetery.

Before his death, Werfel completed the first draft of his last novel, « Star of the Unborn » (« Stern der Ungeborenen ») , which will be published in 1946. He left behind, on the one hand, an extensive body of work, which Alma now embarks on organizing, and, on the other hand, a « Grande Veuve » , who increasingly tries to overcome her loneliness with the help of her favourite cognac, « Bénédicte » .

Alma, widowed for the third time and, again, in need of funds, offers the manuscript of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 3 (**WAB 103**) to various dealers for the sum of \$ 5,000, but finds no takers.

In the last 19 years of her life, Thomas Mann described Alma Mahler as « la Grande Veuve » (the « Great Widow ») .

Claire Goll's assessment of the widow was more malicious. In Goll's view, after Werfel's death, Alma turned her eye to Bruno Walter. She compared Alma Mahler, whose predilection for champagne and « Bénédicte » (cognac) did not reflect positively in her figure, with a « bulging Germania » .

He wrote of her :

« In order to freshen up her fading charms, she wore gigantic hats with ostrich feathers ; nobody knew whether she wished to appear as a funeral horse pulling a hearse, or as a new d'Artagnan. On top of that, she was powdered, made up, perfumed and inebriated. This bloated Valkyrie drank like a fish. »

Wednesday, 10 October 1945 : The « Reich » Chamber of Culture is dissolved, and its assets confiscated by Law No. 2 of the Allied Control Council.

Friday, 12 October 1945 : Carl Moll, Richard and Anna Maria Eberstaller are re-buried at Grinzing Cemetery.

Thursday, 13 to Thursday, 20 December 1945 : Exchange period of « Reich » Marks for the new Austrian Shillings.

Friday, 21 December 1945 : Introduction of the new Austrian Shilling. Only old notes under 5 « Reich » Marks and old coins remain valid for the time being.

End of 1945 : Alma Mahler travels to New York City for a visit. She buys the building at Number 120 East 73rd Street,

which she rents out, eventually reserving 2 floors for herself.

She learns that her step-father, Carl Moll, and her half-sister and her brother-in-law, Anna Maria and Richard Eberstaller, who had all been supporters of Nazi ideology, had died on 13 April 1945 by their own initiative, in a murder-suicide pact, as Russian troops were entering Vienna.

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.

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.

Tuesday, 12 February 1946 : The Official Journal of the « Wiener Zeitung » reports the re-activation of the « International Bruckner Society » in Vienna.

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 » .

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.

Saturday, 20 July 1946 : Death of Edmund Glaise-Horstenau, the last vice-Chancellor of Austria before the « Anschluß » .

A « notable event » : The premiere of the original version of Bruckner's Third Symphony (WAB 103) in Dresden

The first version of the Third Symphony (1873) no longer existed in Anton Bruckner's hand-written manuscript, as he had himself sorted out, rejected and pasted over score sheets in favour of the 1877 version, whose autograph manuscript was still in the possession of Alma Mahler at the time. Only the dedication score to Richard Wagner is preserved in Bayreuth. Thoroughly revised by Robert Haas, the « Urtext » of the Third from 1873 was ready to go to print in 1944 - which proved impossible in the circumstances. The printing plates for a projected publication of the 1873 version had been prepared at the Oskar Brandstätter Company, the official printer and editor of the « Musicological Publishers » (« Musik-Wissenschaftlicher Verlag »), but were destroyed during extensive night air-strikes on Leipzig by the British Royal Air Force on December 4, 1943. The general headquarters of the « German Bruckner Society » was also severely damaged. However, an uncorrected set of proof copies of the score and parts had survived and has been preserved by the Beethoven scholar Willy Heß in Winterthur. From these sources, this first version was reconstructed and premiered on **Sunday, 1 December 1946** at the « Kurhaus & Gasthof Bühlau » located on the edge of the city (which was converted in a makeshift concert-hall and ballroom) by the young Joseph Keilberth (who had arrived in Dresden in 1945 from Prague, and stayed on as general music-director) and the « Staatskapelle » - known briefly at the time as the « Orchestra of the regional capital of Dresden ».

After the concert, Keilberth wrote :

« Very fine performance, some revelation. Orchestra played first-class, favourable reception. »

The performance did, indeed, go down in history - though this « original version » of the Third was to be consigned to oblivion for many years.

The delayed premiere (just 50 years after Bruckner's death) was in more ways than one a « notable event », as Keilberth observed in his conducting diary in respect of the public dress-rehearsal on Saturday, November 30.

Keilberth was able to include his premiere of the Third in his complete Dresden cycle of Bruckner's symphonies (which does not include « No. 0 »). It is most unlikely that the general music-director had planned such an event - it was a stroke of luck that the restored symphony could be performed from the surviving copies. He was possibly the first conductor who ventured to perform all Bruckner's symphonies in the « original versions » that had appeared only a few years before.

The success of the concert was noteworthy, even if the new version did not find favour with all the critics.

For instance, the reviewer of the « Sächsisches Tage-Blatt » judged it :

« (An) imperfect contribution by a composer still wrestling in his forties with the material and the practice of his craft (...) The monumental character of his music here seems elevated out of all proportion ; the work's contrapuntal

life is still lacking in elaboration and density (...) When Bruckner repeatedly quotes his great role model Richard Wagner in this version, for all the heart-warming naivety of his nature, it remains hard to digest. »

There was unanimity, however, on the achievements of Keilberth and his Orchestra.

We read in the same review from the « Sächsisches Tage-Blatt » :

« There was splendid musicianship from the “ Kapelle ” ; the greatness of the design and the music was matched throughout by its rendition. »

And the reviewer of « Die Union » came to the following conclusion :

« In any case, this was a performance which altogether corresponded to the honour, the privilege, of having won this premiere for Dresden (...) The “ Kapelle ” and its director were given the ovation they well-deserved at the close of the hour and a half's performance, which demanded the greatest concentration and dedication from its audience of a thousand. This premiere will go down in the history of the Bruckner movement. »

The first « Complete Critical Edition » of Anton Bruckner's works by the Austrian musicologist Robert Haas was published in the 1930's, and, as a result, many of the Symphonies' « original versions » (largely freed, that is to say, from extraneous material) came to the notice of the music-loving public for the first time. Performances of these now almost obligatory versions were largely subject to the whims of the Nazi authorities ; the « Dresden Staatskapelle » under Karl Böhm nevertheless made the first shellac recordings of the « original versions » of the Fourth and Fifth in 1936 and 1937.

The Third, in particular, had a tradition of its own in the « Staatskapelle » . It was the first Bruckner Symphony that the « Royal Court Orchestra » under general music-director Ernst von Schuch had performed (in the second version of 1877) in the « Semper-Oper » in 1885, laying the foundation for the orchestra's continuing tradition of performing Bruckner's works in its concerts. What is more, Bruckner had dedicated his original version of the Symphony - embellished as it was with numerous Wagner quotations, which he largely eliminated from later versions - to Bayreuth's « Master of all Masters » , who, in the 1840's, had himself stood at the head of the Dresden Orchestra as Royal « Kapellmeister » .

Not until 1977, as part of the critical new edition of the works of Bruckner by Leopold Nowak, did it finally appear in print, after which it was gradually discovered - as an alternative to the extensively shortened, well-established versions of 1877 and 1889.

The first revival of the « original version » in the concert repertoire of the « Staatskapelle » took place 10 years later, for the « Kapelle's » 460th birthday on 21 September 2008 under the baton of Yannick Nézet-Séguin. It has been captured for posterity on live-recording.

...

Bruckner : Symphony No. 3 in D minor (**WAB 103**, original version of 1873) , Yannick Nézet-Séguin, Staatskapelle Dresden, Semper-Oper :

1) Gemäßigt, misterioso - <https://youtu.be/9MwkE5ND84Q>

2) Adagio : Feierlich - https://youtu.be/v_TFUMIXsmg

3) Scherzo : Ziemlich schnell - <https://youtu.be/LprlhNcSj4E>

4) Finale : Allegro - <https://youtu.be/z2wVLkCcUD0>

...

There has been an up-surge of interest in recent years in the « Wagner Symphony » that Anton Bruckner originally wrote, as demonstrated by recordings under among others Eliahu Inbal (1983) , Roger Norrington (1995, 2007) , Kent Nagano (2003) , Jonathan Nott (2004) , Simone Young (2007) and, in particular, by Herbert Blomstedt (2013) , who had chosen the original version for his 1998 debut as head of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, and played it with his Leipzig ensemble not long afterwards in the « Semper-Oper » . With this guest-concert, one of the events held to celebrate the 450th anniversary of Saxony's « Staatskapelle » , the former head of the Dresden Orchestra paid tribute with his, then, newly-acquired Leipzig musicians to the achievement of the « premiere orchestra » .

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.

Monday, 21 July 1947 : Leopold Nowak is editing a 2 page inventory list of the « Complete Edition » (presumably from the possession of Robert Haas) , which contains 4 original letters from Anton Bruckner, and is signed by Haas and his superior, Doctor Josef Bick.

September 1947 : Alma Mahler arrives at the Tulln airport near Vienna (Brumowski Air Base) , accompanied by her house-keeper Agnes Ida Gebauer, to visit and take stock of her properties.

There is a film crew from the Austrian newsreel company waiting for her on the tarmac. The reporters ask her to get out of the plane several times. Over and over again, she climbs the gangway and plays the role of herself arriving. She enjoys all the media hype - she never had a reception like this before.

Alma Mahler's 5 paintings are back at the Austrian Gallery on the Belvedere, which now regards them as its own property. She asks that they be returned to her, but the museum hands over only a portrait of herself by Oskar Kokoschka, refusing to return the 3 Schindlers and the Munch.

Alma is suing the Second Republic of Austria for their return, saying that she owns the paintings, loaned them to the Austrian Gallery in 1937, and fled the Nazi regime in 1938. She claims that the museum should have contacted her in Paris (her home between 1938 and 1940) to make arrangements for the paintings ; that the transfer to Moll was illegal because he had no power of attorney over her affairs ; and that Moll refused to give the Munch painting to a courier Alma sent to Vienna to bring the painting to her in Paris.

Alma parlays the tall tale about the evil and greedy relatives who were out to cheat and rob her ...

« My mother's husband (was) a Nazi - he was an adviser to the (Nazi) Party. " Herr " Eberstaller, still a Pan-German, who, of course, immediately became a Nazi leader ; my step-sister a rabid Nazi - the whole family insane - only my mother kept her distance, as long as she lived, and had the good fortune to die in time. »

Carl Moll and the Eberstallers were unquestionably Nazis. But here, Alma turns the truth upside-down : she conceals the fact that she has been in friendly contact with her family for all those years, and that she has tried, with Richard Eberstaller's help, to sell the manuscript of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) to the Nazis. At first, she skillfully fits right into the ideologically overloaded atmosphere of the post-War era. However, when Alma is unable to present any solid evidence for her version, the authorities begin to smell a rat.

The competent Senior Restitution Commission at the Regional High Court for Civil Law Matters of Vienna consequently interrogates several persons who have been « habitués » of the Mahler-Werfel home before March 1938. Here, Willi Legler - Grethe Schindler's son - confirms the harmonious family relations between Alma and her relatives. Even her long-standing confidante, Agnes Ida Gebauer, clearly unwittingly, stresses the friendly interchange among the family members.

According to the testimony from Paul von Zsolnay, who doubtless knows the family very well, Alma is « very fond of her half-sister, Anna Maria Eberstaller, despite various little jealousies, and uses her husband, Doctor Eberstaller, as a legal adviser. »

A further witness goes right to the point :

« Herr » Mahler-Werfel « could not have acquired any better advocates than Professor Moll and the Eberstallers. »

One particularly weighty consideration is the fact that, without the proceeds from the sale, it would have been impossible to finance the urgently needed repairs to Alma's country-villa in Breitenstein-am-Semmering, which totally eliminates the contention that Carl Moll's actions might have been prompted by a desire for personal enrichment. And

not least, as far back as early-March 1938, Alma commissioned her step-father to sell Edvard Munch's « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) to the Austrian Gallery. This makes the counter-evidence overwhelming.

In any case, Alma feels herself so totally in the right that any further proceedings seem superfluous to her. With the help of friends and acquaintances from the « Ständestaat » (Corporate State) era, she pulls out all the stops in her effort to influence the Austrian justice system. And so, Alma visits some movers and shakers of that era like Richard Schmitz, in hopes that the once influential erstwhile Mayor of Vienna may be able to help her. Schmitz, however, after several years of confinement in a variety of concentration-camps, has become an old, broken man, without any official status or influence. He can do nothing for her.

The government attorney representing the museum argues that the Munch painting belongs to the Austrian Gallery because it had purchased the work from Carl Moll in 1939 for 7,000 « Reich » Marks. According to the attorney, Moll had a right to sell the painting because he needed the money to make repairs on Alma's country-villa. Later testimony by the repair crew reveals that this had cost 1,900 « Reich » Marks.

The museum states in a document :

« If we placed so much confidence in Moll that we delivered the pictures into his hands without proof of a power of attorney, we then could also place as much confidence in him to later acquire the paintings from him. »

...

Alma sells for 40,000 Swiss Francs the Villa (Eduard) Ast located on « Steinfeld-Gasse » Number 2 - « Woller-Gasse » Number 12, on the « Hohe Warte » hill in Döbling (Vienna's 19th District) .

Alma writes :

« In the **fall of 1947**, I took a trip to Vienna.

It began with an emergency landing in Newfoundland and a 20 hour wait for the next plane. I was offered an army cot, looked at it, faced about, and retired to the waiting room. A pocket edition of Plato's "Republic" and a pocket flask of Benedictine helped me pass the time. The delay cost me a day of rest in London, where I saw Anna again after 8 years. My daughter looked heart-rending, haggard and gray, as though coming from hell.

I arrived in Vienna worn out, with swollen feet. When I realized that I was the objective of the news cameramen lurking about the ramp, I pulled myself together for a dignified descent, but I had to hop up and down the steps 10 times before they were satisfied. My house on the "Hohe Warte" was uninhabitable - the roof gone, the top-floor collapsed, the interior in ashes, heating plant, water, and electricity ruined, the marble paneling torn out, used for officers' bathrooms in the neighbouring villas. I shared a hotel room with a colony of rats and lived on the canned food I had sent ahead from California.

Vienna was hell for me. The Opera, the “Burgtheater”, St. Stephen’s - everything lay in ruins. Rodin’s bust of Mahler was rumoured to be safe, hidden somewhere pending restoration of the Opera. There were few friends to remind me of the past. My good Sister Ida had married during the Nazi era and was no longer the same. Csokor had returned from a 9 year odyssey with tales of flight, internment, partisan fighting, and prisoner-of-war camps. Helene Berg had survived in the backwoods, trailed even there by the “Gestapo” for questioning about me and her long-dead, “culture-bolshevistic” husband.

My private affairs, which I had come to untangle, were unpleasantness itself. Mahler’s and Werfel’s desks, with their priceless contents, had been burned to cinders on the Hohe Warte ; all I recovered was a couple of the small note-books Mahler used to carry with him. The manuscripts of my songs, the joy and grief of many years, had fed the flames that consumed the wretched house. My pictures - my father’s pictures which he had left to me - hung undamaged in the Modern Gallery, but the whole, Nazi-infested Austrian bureaucracy seemed in league to prevent me from getting them back.

I was asked by an old judge in the Justice Department :

“ How could you, a daughter of our great Schindler, marry a Gustav Mahler and a Franz Werfel ? ”

The legal weapons against me had, of course, been supplied by my step-father, Moll. He had induced my mother to let him administer my father’s estate for me and my sister, until I would return, and, after my mother’s death, he had simply willed the paintings - which had never been his - to the Modern Gallery.

The rest of the estate had vanished in the pockets of his daughter and her high-ranking Nazi husband. Fortunately, I was not obliged to face this trio : Carl Moll, his daughter, and her husband, like a good many Viennese Nazis, had killed themselves as soon as the Russians marched in. »

Tuesday, 23 September 1947 : Exasperated, Alma Mahler leaves Vienna empty-handed. She flies via Prague, Frankfurt, and Brussels to London, from where she continues on to New York. She will never see her hometown again.

1948 : Following severe bomb damage, dismantling and expropriation, Wolfgang Brandstätter decides to move, on a temporary basis, the head-office and the publishing division (the « Bruckner-Verlag ») of the Oskar Brandstätter Printing Company from Leipzig to Wiesbaden (on « Wilhelminen-Straße ») . Musicologist Fritz Öser is appointed managing-director.

March-April 1948 : Alma Mahler receives a visit lasting more than a month from her daughter Anna.

After their brief reunion the previous year in London, the 2 women have a lot to tell each other.

3 years after Franz Werfel's death, Alma Mahler is plagued by financial worries. She is left with no other alternative but to sell some of her valuable hand-written documents.

« Otherwise, I have decided to put manuscripts up for sale, as I have no further income. »

Wednesday, 17 November 1948 :

The autograph manuscript of the first 3 movements of Anton Bruckner's Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) is eventually put up for auction in Switzerland by the renowned gallery « L'Art Ancien S A » located on « Garten-Straße » Number 24 in Zürich (1929-1937 : « Pelikan-Straße » Number 8) . Besides Bruckner's Third, there were manuscripts by Alban Berg (the partitell, or draft-score, of the Opera « Wozzeck ») , Gustav Mahler (the Ninth Symphony, « Das Lied von der Erde » , 3 songs from the cycle « Des Knaben Wunderhorn » , a few pages from the Tenth Symphony) ; and Franz Werfel (the « Verdi » biography and « Die Geschwister von Neapel ») . Felix Rosenthal, the managing director of « L'Art Ancien » , had a catalog expressly printed for this purpose containing information on the valuable manuscripts. The publication listed the minimum bids. The highest minimums were for Bruckner's Third and Mahler's « Das Lied » at 35,000 Swiss Francs each, followed by Berg's « Wozzeck » partitell (12,000 SF) and Mahler's Ninth (10,000 SF) . The Werfel manuscripts were priced at 6,000 SF each, in the middle range. All in all, the manuscripts Alma was offering for sale had a minimum value of 117,500 SF, the equivalent of some 130,210 U.S. dollars in today's purchasing power. Despite exhaustive research, it could not be determined if all the manuscripts were actually auctioned off, and what the final sum was. On learning of the Austrian National Library's interest, Alma offered to part with the manuscript for the asking price, but, by then, it was not possible to withdraw it from sale. The score was nevertheless acquired by the « Österreichische National-Bibliothek » (« Handschrift Nummer 19.475 ») and the 2 parts of the Symphony were finally re-united ! By another of the strange ironies as evident in Bruckner's posthumous career as in his life, the first modern edition of the 1877 version of the Third, which appeared 2 years later, was not based on the autograph manuscript.

To be able to examine this manuscript, with its multi-farious substitutions, crossings-out and corrections, is to be in contact with a piece of history in more ways than one.

To access online, type **Anton Bruckner** at <https://onb.digital/search> and go to **Manuskript Wagner Sinfonie No. 3 D moll** at the bottom of the page or https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_4927671&order=1&view=SINGLE .

« L'Art Ancien S A » was founded in 1920 in Lugano, Switzerland, by art historian Doctor Erwin Rosenthal (1889-1981) - an authority on German wood-cuts and other early prints - , and was initially linked to the firm of his father, Jacques Rosenthal, in Munich. In 1935, it became fully autonomous. From 1941 until 1958, Doctor Rosenthal lived in the United States and the firm was managed successively by Arthur Spaeth (1835-1937) , Alfred Frauendorfer

(1937-1971) , and Felix Rosenthal (1971-1983) , a son of Erwin Rosenthal. Their characters and preferences shaped the firm's stock : an initial concentration on incunabula and early printed books, medicine and science, gave way to drawings and prints of the 15th to the 20th centuries (notably ornament prints) , then to « Art nouveau » and fine-printing. During the 63 years of its existence (1920-1983) , the firm issued 72 catalogues and about 200 lists and bulletins, and conducted 22 auction sales in association with « Haus der Bücher » (Basel) and Kornfeld & Klipstein (Bern) .

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.

Spring 1949 : Alma Mahler receives a parcel from her house-keeper and confidante Agnes Ida Gebauer in Vienna which contains the letters written by Franz Werfel to her in all the years before 1938. Alma is delighted to get this treasure trove she has already given up for lost. Over and over again, she reads the letters and basks in memories of better years spent together.

Alma writes :

*« In **May 1949**, my beloved, admired, dreaded friend Hans Pfitzner died in Salzburg. I asked his wife to send me details of his last months and pictures taken after his death. They were the pictures of a man of 40 ; the harshness was gone, the mouth generous and beautiful. His death-mask reminded me of Chopin's, or Napoléon's. »*

...

« Gradually, inexorably, my loves turn into gray shadows. But if they were strong, their shadows loom larger and larger. By now, Gustav Mahler's shadow has completely devoured his small human form, and it is growing still, Franz Werfel's shadow has not yet reached such dimensions ; but his also is growing fast. Their stately advance is an epic. (...) »

Wednesday, 31 August 1949 : For her 70th birthday, Alma Mahler receives at her home in Pacific Palisades, California, an unusual present which also documents the extent to which she was indebted to the cultural scene : a bounded birthday book (months before her birthday, a couple she knew had written to her friends and acquaintances and asked them each to write on a sheet of paper) containing 77 letters from significant representatives of European and American cultural and intellectual history.

Among the well-wishers who transmitted their congratulations were her former husband Walter Gropius, Oskar Kokoschka, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Carl Zuckmayer, Franz Theodor Csokor, Lion Feuchtwanger, Fritz von Unruh, Willy Haas, Benjamin Britten, her former son-in-law Ernst Křenek, Darius Milhaud, Igor Stravinsky, Ernst Toch, conductors Erich

Kleiber, Eugene Ormandy, Fritz Stiedry and Leopold Stokowski, as well as former Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg.

Arnold Schönberg, who had not been invited to contribute to the book due to a previous quarrel with Alma, dedicated a birthday canon to her with the text :

« Centre of gravitation of your own solar system, orbited by radiant satellites, this is how your life appears to the admirer. »

Newer friends during these years included Benjamin Britten, Ludwig Bemelmans, Thornton Wilder, William Steinberg, Frederick Charles Adler, Delia Reinhardt, Gottfried von Einem, Dimitri Mitropoulos, Ernest Bloch, Charlotte Berend-Corinth (widow of Lovis Corinth) , Paul Nettle, Kathe Berl, Count Friedrich Karl Zedlitz-Trützschler, Leopold Stokowski, and Igor and Vera Stravinsky. Adolf Klarmann, professor of German literature at the University of Pennsylvania, also continued to be a good friend of Alma Mahler during these years. Professor Klarmann had been friends of both Franz Werfel and Alma since at least 1936, when he visited them in Vienna and in Breitenstein-am-Semmering, while conducting research about the works of Werfel.

Alma wrote in her diary on her 70th birthday :

« Gustav Mahler and Franz Werfel were the essence and the substance of my life. The rest were clouds - some mighty thunderheads, others mere curls on the horizon. »

1950 : The first post-War publication of a Bruckner work was a critical edition of the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**, 1877 version, without the « Scherzo » coda) , edited by Fritz Öser.

It will be republished with the « Scherzo » coda of 1878 by Leopold Nowak in 1981.

The « Bruckner-Verlag » in Wiesbaden, which had recently re-issued the Robert Haas edition (1935-1939) of the Eighth Symphony in C minor (**WAB 108**, hybrid version of 1887-1890) with a revised preface, published the Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) in an edition by Fritz Öser. Öser was aware that the Austrian National Library had recently acquired the first 3 movements of Mus. Hs. 19.475, but believed that this source carried the 1873 version ; he even states that « no manuscript of the second version (either autograph or copy) has hitherto come to light » . This is a strange comment, given that the manuscript of the Finale had been in the « Österreichische National-Bibliothek » since 1896, and that Öser had worked there from 1937 to 1945.

Early-1950's : Alma Mahler starts living in New York on a permanent basis, hoping to leave painful memories behind in Los Angeles. She sold the house in Beverly Hills and bought 4 small residential apartments in a house on the Upper East Side. She herself lived on the third floor, and used one apartment as a living area and another as sleeping

quarters. The 2 apartments on the floor above were used by August Heß, Franz Werfel's former valet, and by her guests.

For some time already, she had been working on her autobiography, which was based on her diaries. She was initially supported by Paul Frischauer as ghost-writer, but they had fallen out with one another back in 1947 when he criticized her numerous anti-Semitic slurs. In the 1950's, she worked with E. B. Ashton. He too perceived the necessity to censor her diaries due to her anti-Semitic utterances and numerous attacks on people who were still living.

1952 : Alma Mahler retires to New York to an apartment at 120 East 73rd Street in Manhattan, where she spends the last years of her life. There, she exposes all the trophies she collected throughout her life. Paintings of Oskar Kokoschka, scores of Gustav Mahler, and manuscripts of Franz Werfel. Like a fallen monarch in exile, Alma holds court, communicating with celebrities including Thomas Mann, Benjamin Britten (he dedicated to her the « Nocturne for tenor and small orchestra ») , Erich Maria Remarque, Dimitri Mitropoulos, and Igor Stravinsky.

Alma's refuge consists of 2 apartments facing one another : one side serving as a living-room, the other as a bedroom, separated only by the stairwell landing. The living-room is lined from floor to ceiling with book-shelves, which gives the impression that the walls consist solely of books. A table with 4 leather arm-chairs form the central point of the room. The second apartment, on the other hand, is dedicated to music. One eye-catcher is doubtless the black Blüthner grand-piano, on which a large portrait photo of Gustav Mahler is placed. Next to the desk stands a safe containing some valuable original manuscripts. Although her new domicile is in no way comparable to the Vienna apartment on « Elisabethen-Straße » , let alone the luxurious Villa Ast on the « Hohe Warte » hill, Alma seems totally content. Her standards are certainly no longer what they were in the 1920's and 1930's. When the French composer Darius Milhaud visits Alma in her New York apartment, he thinks he is standing in a museum.

Alma writes :

« In 1952, I moved to New York. Several times before, I had given my soul a holiday and fled to that city of light. Now, I decided to sell the house on North Bedford Drive, and, with the proceeds, bought an old one in the heart of New York and began a new, rich life. I went to concerts with the Schermans, and my name, as well as my evident delight in music, won me new musical friends. Thanks to them, I have been privileged to attend Philharmonic rehearsals and hear the outstanding performances of old and new masterworks in an empty concert hall - like mad King Ludwig of Bavaria, who used to have Wagner's operas performed for himself alone. »

...

« Several times before, I had given my soul a holiday and fled to that city of light. »

...

« I live on the third floor of my old house in the heart of New York, in 2 rooms. One bespeaks the power of words, the other that of music. "I have 2 firms to administer.", I say when I am asked why I keep so busy at my age.

But I still have champagne for my friends when something calls for a celebration - and something always does, for I believe in joy as the sovereign remedy for sickness and the sole preservative of youth.

From May to November, my living room faces the green tops of great trees. Books line it from floor to ceiling. (...) And among the photographs in this room are 2 of my daughter Anna's portrait heads of Schœnberg and Franz Werfel.

My bedroom contains my desk, which is never "clean", and my piano, all of my music, and, in the corner, a steel safe with the manuscripts of Mahler, Bruckner, and others. On the mantel and on the walls, I have the exquisitely carved baroque figures I brought back from Vienna in 1947. »

1953 : Professor Max Auer steps down as President of the « International Bruckner Society » .

Thursday, 9 April 1953 : Because of the War, it is argued that Edvard Munch's painting entitled « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) has become German property.

The Senior Restitution Commission at the Regional High Court for Civil Law Matters of Vienna throws out the court's initial decision describing it as « surprising » . It rules that no authorization to sell the painting has been proven, nor that the painting has been entrusted to the Moll family. Alma Mahler gains a complete victory !! The fact that she (as the wife of a Jew) was subject to political persecution is qualified as « self-evident » .

A new trial is ordered. The defense believes that the ruling will be in favour of Alma.

The director of the « Österreichische Galerie » , Doctor Carl Garzarolli, meets with Doctor Otto Kallir to negotiate a settlement. Kallir is a friend of Alma who owned the « Neue Galerie » in Vienna before emigrating to the United States in 1938. He established the « Galerie Saint-Étienne » in New York in 1939. Both during and after the War, Kallir maintains contact with Austrian officials in an effort to aid « émigrés » seeking property they left in Austria as a result of the « Anschluß » .

Under the terms of the settlement, Alma will give the museum the 3 Schindlers, and the museum will give her the Munch - by far, the most valuable of the paintings being contested. The agreement is reached pending authorization from the Ministry of Education, which has authority over public cultural institutions. Garzarolli tells Kallir the authorization is merely a formality.

Because they know what the outcome is of the decision on appeal, Doctor Garzarolli and the Ministry of Education refuse to honour their signed agreement with Doctor Kallir and demand that he return the agreement. He refuses.

Marina Mahler, the daughter of Anna Mahler, said :

« The Museum was willing to give it back but, by now, the (Munch) painting was valuable and the Finance Ministry fought to keep it. »

The hearings also made clear how the « Österreichische Galerie » ended up with the Schindler paintings after Carl Moll's death.

A memorandum prepared in 1959 by a source close to Alma Mahler-Werfel reads :

« Hitler was barely in Austria when Moll, who owed his whole existence to Jewish relations, became a fanatical Nazi. He lived with his daughter and son-in-law, Doctor Richard Eberstaller, and they were all such incriminated Nazis that when the Russians marched in, Eberstaller shot his wife, then Moll and then himself. Eberstaller had appointed the museum as his heir, and, from the fact that Moll had died a few minutes earlier than Eberstaller, the court presumed that Eberstaller was Moll's heir, and as such could “ dispose ” of his property as well. In this way, the Schindlers came to the “ Österreichische Galerie ” as an inheritance from Eberstaller. »

Mid-April 1953 : The court grants Edvard Munch's « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » to the Austrian Gallery, and leaves open the question of who owns the 3 works by Emil Jakob Schindler. It states that it would be « improper » to accuse Professor Carl Moll and his daughter Anna Maria Eberstaller since they were « highly-respected personalities » . It also states that if the country-villa (« Haus Mahler ») in Breitenstein-am-Semmering was entrusted to the Eberstallers, the idea that Alma « entrusted them with the custody of her remaining property becomes highly-probable » ; it is in accordance with « logical thinking » , that Alma did not only entrust the country-villa to her half-sister, but also the « disposal over the other moveable assets » . There is also mention of the fact that, at the end of the 1930's, Alma attempted, via her brother-in-law Richard Eberstaller, to sell Anton Bruckner's hand-written manuscript of the first 3 movements of his Third Symphony (**WAB 103**) to the Nazis.

The Senior Restitution Commission at the Regional High Court for Civil Law Matters of Vienna argues that since the Austrian Gallery has trusted Carl Moll when he came to fetch the painting in 1938, it can equally trust him when he sold the picture to the museum. This is a complete absurd reasoning, and unacceptable from a legal perspective. Alma was unaware of the fact that Moll asked for the painting in 1938. The Austrian Gallery knows that she had to flee Austria because she was married to the Jewish writer Franz Werfel. There is no authorization from Alma to sell.

The defense attorney dragged in Schindler's estate records, which failed to show that he had left the paintings to Alma. The omission was presumably an effort to avoid taxes. As a result, the defense argued that the paintings had never been Alma's in the first place.

The Schindler paintings became a vexing point for both prosecution and defense. Mahler-Werfel had loaned 3 Schindlers to the « Österreichische Galerie » , but Carl Moll's estate included 5 paintings by the artist. He had bought several Schindlers at the Dorotheum auction-house during the War, and the defense argued that he had sold others. The

defense also claimed that Moll had sold the Schindlers loaned to the museum by Mahler-Werfel, and that, perhaps, none of those at the museum in 1945 had ever belonged to her. Their case was bolstered by the titles of the paintings. Only one of the titles from the 1937 receipt matched the titles at the museum in 1945. To further confuse matters, Schindler's works were often titled according to their subject, and the artist sometimes depicted a subject more than once. The defense therefore claimed that Mahler-Werfel didn't own any of the Schindlers ; her attorney responded that she was entitled to « all » of them because she should have been Moll's heir.

Sunday, 15 May 1955 : The Austrian State Treaty, re-establishing Austria as a sovereign state, is signed among the Allied occupying powers at the Belvedere Palace in Vienna.

Edvard Munch's 1902 painting entitled « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) becomes Austrian property again. Alma Mahler will remain preoccupied with this case until the end of her life.

Until the 1960's, she strives to recover the Munch. Because of her bitter feelings about the failed outcome of her claims for restitution, she refuses to tread on the Austrian soil. She never visited her home city of Vienna, after her single post-War visit there in **September 1947**, although, as Gustav Mahler's widow, she was honoured on different occasions with invitations soliciting her presence.

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.

Saturday, 31 December 1955 : Alma Mahler celebrates New Year's Eve with friends in her New York flat on the Upper East Side :

« I have champagne for my friends when something calls for a celebration - and something always does. »

1958 : Alma Mahler's autobiography entitled « And the Bridge is Love » appears in English.

Alma writes :

« My life was beautiful. God allowed me to know some masterpieces of our time before they left the hands of their creators. And if I was permitted to hold for an instant your stirrups, my glorious knights, my life was justified and blessed. Everything, I feel, is simultaneous. Time does not pass. My father's death is as alive in me as Gustav Mahler's or Franz Werfel's. There is to me no past apart from the present, but, as the poet has written, "there is a land of the living and a land of the dead, and the bridge is love" ! »

The reactions to this English edition were muted. In particular, Walter Gropius reacted angrily, hurt by the representation of their earlier love-affair. The reactions of other friends and acquaintances, such as Paul Zsolnay, made it clear to Alma that a German-language edition, which had already been contemplated, should not be published without significant changes to the text. Willy Haas was given the task of preparing an edition for the German-speaking market, and was to smooth over the original text still further. Alma's previous ghost-writers had already suggested to her that she delete her racist political views. It was only the reactions to the English edition which changed her mind.

She writes to Willy Haas :

« Please remove all traces of the whole “ Jewish question ”. »

Her German-language biography, « Mein Leben » (My Life) , in no manner found the positive reception which Alma had expected. The book was considered « salacious » , ambiguous, and contradictory, and provoked caricature due to its egocentric presentation. Long-term friends such as Carl Zuckmayer and Thomas Mann had already distanced themselves from her following publication of the English version.

End of June 1960 : Although Alma Mahler-Werfel did not get the paintings she had sought, the Austrian government grants her « an honorary gift from the Federal Ministry of Education in the amount of 50,000 Austrian Shillings, which is a symbol of the lasting bond between Austria and the great works of Mahler and Franz Werfel, as well as with your own great personality (...) » .

She views the award as a proposed settlement for Edvard Munch's « Eine Sommernacht am Strand » (A Summer Night by the Beach) and the 3 Schindler paintings which are still at the Austrian Gallery (« Österreichische Galerie ») . Shortly after receiving the letter announcing the award, she writes Doctor Otto Kallir that she will not think of letting herself be appeased by such an offer and asks whether the money can be used as a lever to gain possession of the paintings. Austria will not relinquish them, and the award is given on **Monday, 12 December 1960**, as part of the Centennial year of Gustav Mahler's birth. Of course, Alma will refuse to come to Vienna for the commemoration.

October 1960 : Alma Mahler writes to her former house-keeper, Agnes Ida Gebauer, who is living in Vienna after dissolving an unhappy marriage, and tells her to move to her house in New York.

Anna Mahler remembers :

« Whenever “ mommy ” needed her, she came. She was a regular serf. In these last years in New York, she lived with Alma in her apartment and never slept - an old woman with a strong character. »

The over 60 year old Ida devotedly looks after Alma and often stays awake with her until the small hours of the

morning, for, in the final years of her life, Alma begins suffering severe bouts of insomnia. Then, the 2 women will talk about the old days in Vienna, Breitenstein-am-Semmering, and Venice, about Franz Werfel, about Alma's happy childhood years in Plankenberg, and about her beloved father, Emil Jakob Schindler. Alma is more and more pronouncedly anchored in the past.

Monday, 24 September 1962 : Professor Max Auer dies in Bad Ischl.

Friday, 11 December 1964 : Alma Mahler dies probably from complications of diabetes in her Manhattan apartment at 120 East 73rd Street, where she had spent the last decade of her life. She is 85.

The first funeral ceremony takes place 2 days later, with Soma Morgenstern giving the eulogy. However, Alma will be buried only on Monday, 8 February 1965, beside the grave of her daughter Manon Gropius in Vienna's Grinzing Cemetery, just a few steps away from her first husband Gustav Mahler.

1967 : Death of « Frau » Lili Schalk-Hopfen.

Monday, 27 May 1991 : Leopold Nowak dies in Vienna.

It took 62 years since the deprivation - and a very long time since the end of Nazism - until the regranting of the doctorate of philosophy to Paul Stefan by the Senate of the University of Vienna which finally took place posthumously, on **Thursday, 10 April 2003**, during a solemn ceremony.

2005 : The move to the Palais Mollard-Clary meant an extensive physical and administrative new start for the collection of the Austrian National Library, with perfect conditions being created in secure, climate-controlled rooms not only for the library but also for the archive material and museum items. The site houses the Globe Museum, the Department of Music and the Department of Planned Languages and Esperanto Museum.

The music archives - including most of the Anton Bruckner estate - moved there on Monday, November 14.

...

The Palais Mollard-Clary is a Baroque palace in Vienna. It is located in the First District (« Innere-Stadt ») , at « Herrengasse » Number 9. It was built from 1686 to 1689 for Imperial Count Franz Maximilian von Mollard (1621-1690) . In 1760, it was bought by Count Franz Wenzel von Clary und Aldringen. Emperor Josef II held his famous «

round tables » here.

Ever since it was founded in 1927, the Esperanto Museum at the Austrian National Library has held an extensive library, which was given the name « Department of Planned Languages » in 1990. Planned languages (languages that are deliberately created according to specific criteria) are the subject of the scientific discipline that has been known since the start of the 20th Century as inter-linguistics.

Sub-divided by document type, the library holds about 40,000 flyers, 35,000 printed volumes, 25,000 newspaper articles, 22,000 photographs, 10,000 hand-written texts and manuscripts, 3,700 journals, 3,500 museum artefacts, 1,500 posters and 1,200 sound recordings.

In 1927, Court Councillor Hugo Steiner (1878-1969) founded the « International Esperanto Museum » in Vienna, which already in 1928 was incorporated under this name into the Austrian National Library. According to Hugo Steiner, the idea of founding an Esperanto Museum arose during the 19th World Esperanto Congress in Danzig in 1927 and dates back to Felix Zamenhof (1868-1933) , a brother of the founder of Esperanto, Ludwik Zamenhof (1859-1917) .

In 1929, the new department was officially opened at a ceremony in the State Hall of the Austrian National Library. Following the annexation of Austria, the collection was closed in 1938 and the books in it were supposed to be included in the library of undesirable books that was planned for Berlin. Because they were the property of the Austrian National Library, it was possible to stop them from being removed.

In 1947, the collection re-opened in the Hofburg Palace near the « Michaeler-Platz » .